

A CHRONICLE
of the
CARMELITES IN PERSIA
*and the Papal Mission of the XVIIth
and XVIIIth centuries*

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PART II

(A) GOVERNMENT OF 'THE MISSION TO PERSIA AND THE INDIES'

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(C) COINAGES AND EXCHANGE VALUES MENTIONED IN CORRESPONDENCE



PART II

(A) GOVERNMENT OF 'THE MISSION TO PERSIA AND THE INDIES'

FOR THE READER who is not a Carmelite,¹ nor perhaps a Catholic, it may be helpful in perusing this account and in particular the biographical sketches which are appended to it to have, as a preliminary, some notion of the purpose and scope of the various offices named so often, and of the administration of the Order as a whole.

Just as with other of the Orders, e.g. the Franciscan Minors have as their head a 'Minister General': the Dominicans a 'Master General': others a 'Superior General': and in the Society of Jesus he is simply known as 'the General': with the Discalced Carmelites the head is styled the 'Praepositus General' (usually called in conversation and writing, for short, the 'Father General'), who when not away on inspection and visitation has his residence and his Curia in Rome. He is elected at a Chapter General (which now every sixth year begins to sit from the Wednesday before the third Sunday after Easter, *vide* article 357 of the *Rule and Constitutions* of 1928, but which formerly was held every third year) composed of past and present Praepositi and Definitors and Procurators General of the Order, of Provincials of the provinces and Vicar Provincials and their 'Socii' or Substitutes, as also of the Procurators of the missions and their Substitutes, for the term of six years (in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for three years): and he is aided in his government by four Definitors General (*vide* article 460) and by other Fathers with special technical functions, who form the 'Curia' of the Order. One is the 'Procurator General', who—as it will be often seen from this history—was the usual channel for the missionaries to represent their requirements, and for representing these in turn to the Holy See and various Congregations (of Propaganda, etc.): and apart from the missions he is the usual intermediary for business such as the grant of faculties. The Rule of the Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel, first drawn by St. Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem in 1226, confirmed by Innocent IV, re-enacted by the Brief *In supremo Apostolatus solio* of Urban VIII 22.3.1631, revised 10.1.1926, as last promulgated in 1928, explains (article 201) that

"according to the numbers of the Religious our houses are divided into Priories, Vicariates and Residences. Those houses, where there are at least six Fathers with an active vote . . . permanently, are Priories: those, where there are at least six professed Religious, of whom four or five only are Fathers with a seat in chapter, are called Vicariates: the rest of the houses are Residences."

In the 'Appendix to the Constitutions' article 31 "regarding our Missions" prescribed that a 'Vicar Provincial' nominated by the Praepositus General after taking the views of the Definitory General was to be in direct government of each mission, "who will remain in office till the time of the Chapter of the province, but can be re-elected in the ordinary way from one period of three years to another", and (article 33) that he "should once in each three years, unless some other Superior should make a visitation, visit the Residences and all Religious subject to him"; while by article 37 "about six months before the holding of the Chapter General, on a day appointed by the Vicar Provincial and his councillors, in some mission or other there should be held a Congress to elect a Procurator and Substitute to be

¹ When for sake of brevity the designation is used unqualified in these pages 'Carmelite' is to be understood as referring to the 'Discalced' Carmelites, who today number approximately three thousand apart from the Nuns and Tertiaries of the Order. It should be borne in mind, however, that the 'Calced' Carmelites—i.e. of the Observance before the Reform of the sixteenth century and the greater strictness then introduced—exist today side by side as a separate Order in the Church, and number some two thousand. In English-speaking countries, for short, Religious of the former have the initials 'O.D.C.' (in Latin countries 'O.C.D.') after their names: while the Calced Carmelites are distinguished by 'O.C.Carm.'

present at the said Chapter General, in which Congress all missionaries of that mission who are priests have an active vote”.

Under the existing revised Rule, however, missionary districts in foreign countries are no longer given the status of a province or their administrators that of Vicar Provincial: and article 479 for Europe, etc., now is: “But in future no province shall be created unless there are at least 30 Fathers with seats in chapter, and five convents, at least two of them priories: and (article 480), if the number of convents of any one province should become diminished on account of wars or other causes, or if the number of brethren should fall so low that the province cannot be duly governed, it shall be reduced to a semi-province, or even suppressed if only one or two convents have remained. . . .”

Then articles 517–8 provided for the election of Priors, article 486 for the holding of a Provincial Chapter every third year, twelve months in advance of the Chapter General in Rome: article 447 lays down that, if the Praepositus General be unable himself during his term to visit all convents of the Order, he will commit the duty to a Visitor or Visitors to make a visitation of one or more convents, or a whole province, and prescribe the authority such Visitors are to exercise.

Following the original establishment at Isfahan—the *Mother* house, not only for the Carmelite missions in the East, but in a sense for all the missionary work of the ‘Reformed’ Order for all time because it was the first obligation undertaken by the Congregation after its settlement in Italy—with the foundation of a convent at Hurmuz in 1612: of a hospice at Tatta in Sind which gradually became a permanency between 1613 and 1619: of a convent at Goa in 1620 (1625): of Residences at Basra and Shiraz in 1623: of another at Diu, in the Gulf of Cambay, in 1630: the numbers of the Religious, clerics and lay brothers, required to man those houses grew so that centralized control had to be provided. Before the accession of strength brought out by the Visitor General, Fr. Vincent of S. Francis, in 1621, there were already 17 Religious (8 Fathers, 5 Choir Brothers and 4 Lay Brothers: 4 others having returned to Europe, and 3 died):¹ whilst in 1663 there were 18 priests alone. There were occasions at Isfahan—rare perhaps, for the convent was usually poor—when it housed a community of ten or twelve as in 1694, and previously to 1671 (*vide* the report by the Procurator Fr. Valerius in *S.N.R.*, vol. I, p. 252: “. . . Isfahan . . . that house used to have eight to ten Religious”): at Goa, where novices and professions were welcomed and numerous, and a seminary or house of study was provided at one period, in 1641, for instance, the numbers of Religious were thirty-two.²

As early as 20.4.1612 the Praepositus General in Rome was writing of Fr. John Thaddeus as the “Prior”³ and, in addition, in January of that year the few Religious of that day had elected a ‘Superior’ for the house at Isfahan. The establishment at Hurmuz was destined to be a convent and seminary for novices, independent of the convent at Isfahan,⁴ a reserve for Isfahan in time of need; but it had an existence of ten years only, having necessarily to be abandoned and lost any object for its continuance with the disappearance of the flourishing town and fortress of the Portuguese era. Goa was therefore the only other establishment to have a separate existence as a priory. The two priories, Isfahan and Goa, of equal status, the smaller Residences Basra and Shiraz in the one case, Tatta and Diu in the other, grouped under them formed together the ‘Mission of Persia and the Indies’ which, however, was never definitely recognized as a ‘province’ by the Order.

It may indeed be noted, that on 16.6.1630 (*Regesta*, vol. 1, p. 76) the Definitory General, when declaring that “in Persia only Isfahan is properly a convent, and that there ought to be four choir-Religious residing as conventuals”, specified that:

“out of the Convent at Isfahan and others, if there be later, there ought not to be formed
“a province until it should be so decided by a Chapter General of the Order, and that in
“the meantime the Fathers in Persia should abstain from convoking a provincial chapter:

¹ See the list, compiled certainly in 1620–1, in O.C.D. 235 n.

² O.C.D. 235 n., *vide* list certainly compiled in 1640–1.

³ O.C.D. 236 b.

⁴ *Vide* letters of Fr. Vincent, Hurmuz, June 1613, O.C.D. 239 b.

"the Prior of Isfahan and any other are to be elected by their Convents in accordance with
 "the Constitutions of the Order, but Superiors placed at the head of Hospices or Residences
 "with the designation of 'president' or 'vicar' chosen at the pleasure of the Vicar
 "Provincial. . . ."

Again (see *Regesta*, vol. IV, p. 154) on 23.4.1648 the Definitory General specified:

"Since our mission in Persia and the East has not been converted into a province, the
 "Vicar Provincial and Socius may have only every 6 years a vote at the Chapter General,
 "as also in the case of the Procurator of the Mission, so long as the conversion into a province
 "of the Order has not been effected. . . ."

The Vicar Provincial, if already resident in the East, duly received his 'letters patent of' appointment from Rome and held office during the triennial period, but often for a much extended one—'confirmed' for a second term—and in all cases (it would appear) exercised authority till the arrival of his successor, if the latter were coming from Europe: whether, in those times when safe delivery of letters was so uncertain, a Religious already in the East, whose selection to be the next Vicar Provincial was known from correspondence, had to wait until the 'letters patent' were actually in his hands before he could exercise his functions, and the holder for the previous triennium carried on indefinitely, is not clear. *Regesta*, vol. III, p. 61, under 10.12.1637, prescribed that it was not sufficient for the mere indirect news of a successor's appointment to reach Fr. Dimas that he should lay down office. The headquarters of the whole Mission, i.e. of Persia and the Indies combined, was prescribed as Isfahan;¹ but it was the duty of the Vicar Provincial to visit the other posts and often he might remain away for the greater part of his period of office at the other convent in Goa, or even at Shiraz or Basra as exigencies might dictate or, in some cases, preferences lie, himself perhaps filling a vacancy as assistant to the vicar in one of the smaller posts, when through scarcity of numbers only one missionary was available. When the Vicar Provincial was detained in the Indian stations, he was permitted to nominate a Substitute² for the more convenient and speedy transaction of business in those of Persia and Basra, e.g. Fr. John Thaddeus to act for Fr. Leander, Fr. Stephen for Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas, Fr. Agathangelus for Fr. Agnellus. With him lay the appointments of 'vicars' or parish priests of the various 'Residences', transfers of Religious from one post to another, negotiations with the Persian Court, financial administration of the mission as a whole, reports to the Order and to the Sac. Congregation.

The following list of Vicars Provincial has been reconstructed from the data so far available, since no list is to be found among the correspondence preserved: naturally such a list is liable to have errors and omissions. But, first, attention may be called to the cosmopolitan composition of this mission, all the more noticeable in a country where the other four Orders were distinctly national—the Dominicans, Italians from Lombardy: the Augustinians, Portuguese: the Capuchins, French from Touraine: and the Jesuits, French and Polish. As to some 158 (out of 166) of the biographical notices hereafter given, in which the countries of origin of the Carmelites in question are known, the separate sovereign States to which those Religious had belonged at birth may be classified as follows:

Papal States	14
Duchy of Savoy	12
Duchy of Tuscany	2
Republic of Venice	5
Republic of Genoa	8
Duchy of Milan—(to Crown of Spain) and Lombardy	25
Naples, kingdom of—(to Crown of Spain)	11

¹ O.C.D. 284 g. Instructions of Praepositus to Fr. Eugenius, Visitor.

² See O.C.D. 241 a. at foot of a note in Portuguese on *Ordinationes*, by Fr. Dionysius of Jesus regarding alms and Masses, dated Isfahan 31.10.1667—authority given by the Definitory General on 4.11.1666 to appoint a 'Substitute'.

Sicily, kingdom of—(to Crown of Spain)	4
Spain	10
Portugal, kingdom of—(to Crown of Spain till 1640)	5
Portuguese Indies—(to Crown of Spain till 1640)	10
Flanders	7
France	27
Belgium	4
Holland	2
The Empire: Germany	3
Austria	2
Bohemia	1
Poland	4

The 'provinces' of the Order, where these Carmelites had made their profession originally, or their domicile in the Order remained, were even more diverse. Out of 150, where the province was recorded or presumable, the following were represented:

Roman	31	Aquitaine	5	Cologne	4
Lombardy	26	Avignon	9	Austria	1
Piedmont	8	Burgundy	3	Poland	4
Naples	12	Paris	11		—9
Venice	7	Gallo-Belgian	8	Professed in Persia	
Genoa	8	Belg-Flanders	6	or India	13
Etruria	1		—42		—13
Sicily	4				
	—97				

All this made for a diversity of outlook and culture in the body corporate of the Mission: save for one break of seventeen years, during 54 years at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries the position of Vicar Provincial was filled by non-Italians of various nationalities.

VICARS PROVINCIAL

1618-1621 ¹	Fr. John Thaddeus of S. Elisaeus	(Spain)
1621-1628 ²	Fr. Leander of the Annunciation	(Spain)
1629-1635 ³	Fr. Dimas of the Cross	(Tuscany)
1635-1639 ⁴	Fr. James of S. Teresa	(Savoy)
1640-1641 ⁵	Fr. Dominic of Christ	(Naples)
	Interregnum	
1643-1646 ⁶	Fr. Dominic of S. Mary	(Lombardy)
1646- ⁷	Fr. Augustine of S. Teresa	(Lombardy)
	Interregnum	
1649-1654 ⁸	Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas	(Holland)
1654-1662 ⁹	Fr. Felix of S. Antony	(Naples)
1662-1673 ¹⁰	Fr. Dionysius of Jesus	(Poland)
1674-1676 ¹¹	Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary	(Poland)
1677-1681 ¹²	Fr. John Baptist of S. Joseph	(Lombardy)
	Interregnum	
1684-1687 ¹³	Fr. Agnellus of the Immaculate Conception	(Lombardy)
1687-1696 ¹⁴	Fr. Elias of S. Albert	(Belgium-Wallon)
1697-1700 ¹⁵	Fr. Conrad of the Assumption	(Germany)
1701-1705 ¹⁶	Fr. Basil of S. Charles	(France)
1705-1708 ¹⁷	Fr. Hugo of S. Dionysius	(France-Burgundy)

1709-1713 ¹⁸	Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus	(France-Burgundy)
1714-1716 ¹⁹	Fr. Jerome Francis of S. Joseph	(France)
1717-1723 ²⁰	Fr. Faustin of S. Charles	(Lombardy)
Interregnum		
1726-1731 ²¹	Fr. Urban of S. Eliseus	(Savoy-Piedmont)
1731-1737 ²²	Fr. Placid of S. Nicolas	(Naples)
1738-1745 ²³	Fr. Urban of S. Eliseus	(Savoy-Piedmont)
1745-1750	? ? ? ?	
1750-1754 ²⁴	Fr. Cornelius of S. Joseph	(Lombardy)
1754-1757 ²⁵	Fr. Hyacinth of S. Teresa	(Savoy-Piedmont)
1757-1760	? ? ? ?	
1760-1762 ²⁶	Fr. Fidelis of S. Teresa	(Lombardy)
1762-1767 ²⁷	Fr. Cyril of the Holy Spirit	(Naples)
1767-1773 ²⁸	Fr. Fidelis of S. Teresa	(Lombardy)
1773-1777 ²⁹	Fr. Justin of the Heart of Jesus	(Lombardy)
1779-1791 ³⁰	Fr. Fulgentius of S. Mary	(Germany-Cologne)

Authority or evidence for the names and dates given above

¹ On 20.4.1612 the Praepositus General, Rome, in his letter wrote: ". . . If the Prior, Fr. 'John, has returned'" (i.e. from his mission to Russia and detention in Astrakhan) "I give him authority as *Vicar General*, as I have written other times: if he has not "returned or be absent after his return I give the same authority to whomsoever shall "be residing at Isfahan" (*vide* O.C.D. 236 b.)—this is perhaps to what reference is made in *Hier. Carmelitana* when 1615 is given as the date when Fr. John Thaddeus was "elected Vicar General of the whole mission in the East". He had been nominated prior of the convent at the previous Chapter General in Rome, and on 23.5.1614 all members of the community at Isfahan did him obedience as such (*vide* unsigned sheet in Latin in O.C.D. 237 m.). In correspondence neither Fr. John Thaddeus nor his contemporaries seem to have used that title of 'Vicar General'. In the letters preserved the first use of the title 'Vicar Provincial' appears to be in a letter of Fr. Dimas of 31.12.1618, O.C.D. 237 b., where, referring to Fr. John Thaddeus' arrival from Ardabil, he wrote: "The Vicar *Provincial* returned in health on the day of SS. Simon and Jude": and in a document, signed by Fr. John Thaddeus himself, Frs. Dimas, Balthazar and Leander as 'secretary', addressed to Frs. Redempt, Vincent and Benignus in Rome, on 15.4.1619 (O.C.D. 237 m.), which begins: "The Vicar *Provincial*, having long desired ". . . summoned from Hurmuz Fr. Leander, *Vicar* of that House. . . ." Further, on 16.6.1620 the Praepositus General, then Fr. Paul Simon, granted (O.C.D. 236 a.) faculties to the Visitor General, Fr. Vincent of S. Francis, to give authority to the "Vicar *Provincial* of Persia" to clothe novices.

Notwithstanding such use of the title, it is noteworthy that Fr. John Thaddeus himself in his letter of 31.8.1624 (O.C.D. 237 m.) to the Praepositus General Fr. Paul Simon, used the words: ". . . The Father Prior" (i.e. Fr. Prosper, who was being sent to Rome by common consent) "takes with him from this chapter a special instruction to ask that "a province should be constituted. Your Reverences will do what Our Lord may inspire you "to do . . .", which—taken together with the Instructions to the Visitor General, Fr. Eugenius of S. Benedict, of 1624 (O.C.D. 284 g.), . . . "if they should in Goa have made "an election of a prior of that house, Your Reverence will declare it uncanonical and "null, seeing that that foundation has not been accepted by the Definitory General . . ." —would seem to indicate that the Heads of the Order in Rome had not then determined whether the mission was to be a province. If that be the case, it is curious that in the instances quoted above of 1618-9 Fr. John Thaddeus should be styled by the Religious in Persia 'Vicar Provincial', unless this were an office personal to himself.

In his letter of 22.9.1621 to Fr. Paul Simon, Definitor General (O.C.D. 237 m.) Fr. John Thaddeus wrote: "Fr. Vincent, the Visitor, accepted my resignation of the *priorship* "after his arrival, and they elected —"; but that mentioned no resignation of the higher office of Vicar Provincial. That Fr. John Thaddeus was neither Vicar Provincial, nor Prior of Isfahan *after* September 1621 is indicated, in the first place, by Fr. Prosper in his letter of 23.9.1623 (O.C.D. 238 d.) speaking of the "orders" *he* had given to Fr. John Thaddeus regarding the founding of the mission at Shiraz, though he himself was only Prior of the convent: and, secondly, Fr. John Thaddeus himself in a letter of 29.9.1623 observed: "I say nothing as to mission affairs, because they concern him who "has charge of them: it is for the subject to obey. . . ."

- ² By the 'Instructions' of the Praepositus General to Fr. Vincent of S. Francis dated 30.6.1620 (O.C.D. 284 g.) the latter as Visitor General was directed in paragraph 7 to "give to "Fr. Redempt the patents of Vicar Provincial in Persia, *and his to Fr. Leander, of which "the latter was to make use in case of death of Fr. Redempt . . .*"—as actually had happened in May 1619, unknown to the Definitory General in Rome. Fr. Leander is called already on 8.9.1621 'Vicar Provincial' in a letter of Fr. Prosper of that date (O.C.D. 238 d.) . . . "our Fr. Visitor desired and signified that it would give pleasure "if there were elected as Prior Fr. Leander, *who is our Vicar Provincial*". The *ordinationes* (Orders issued after a visitation) of Fr. Vincent, dated 22nd September 1621 (O.C.D. 236 a.) begin in the first paragraph by granting permission to the "Vicar Provincial": and a letter from Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, from Shiraz 27.9.1626 (O.C.D. 238 o.), mentioned that, after founding the mission at Shiraz in August 1623, Fr. John Thaddeus wrote and "gave an account to the Fr. Vicar Provincial, Leander of the "Annunciation who was then at Goa, asking him for help. . . .": while Fr. John Thaddeus himself in his letter of 27.5.1625 (O.C.D. 237 m.) referred to Fr. Leander as "our Vicar Provincial".

(The account of the election of Prior in 1625 (O.C.D. 235 c.) mentions that orders had at that time arrived at Shiraz from the Definitory General in Rome that Fr. John Thaddeus should be Vicar Provincial *Substitute* for Fr. Leander, *Vicar Provincial*—the latter being detained in India (*vide* also Fr. Basil, 22.7.1625, O.C.D. 241 g.) " . . . by "orders from Rome Fr. John Thaddeus in the absence of the Vicar Provincial *supplet "vices illius in Persia*".)

When exactly Fr. Leander ceased to act as Vicar Provincial is not evident from letters extant: according to *Regesta* on 13.1.1628 the Definitory General declared his period of office to have expired. When Fr. Dimas wrote on 3.8.1626 (O.C.D. 237 b.), as Vicar Provincial Fr. Leander had accompanied the Visitor, Fr. Eugenius, to Shiraz and thence to Isfahan in June 1626 (see also Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 10.6.1626, O.C.D. 237 f.); and Fr. Dimas' letter of 30.5.1627 has a reference to Fr. Leander, at some previous date, having been "*then* Vicar of the mission". But Fr. Leander must have ceased to act as Vicar Provincial by the middle of 1628 because Fr. Basil's letter from Basra 27.9.1628 refers to "the new orders which we are awaiting, and providing us with a "Vicar Provincial so prudent and virtuous as is Fr. Dimas of the Cross. . . .". In three letters of Fr. Dimas (18.9.1629, 18.2.1630, 8.8.1630) Fr. Leander is called "Prior of "Isfahan" only.

- ³ Fr. Dimas had himself become Vicar Provincial before 22.9.1629, for on that date he signed as such a recommendation in French in favour of Teresa Shirley, widow of Robert, proceeding to Rome (O.C.D. 237 b.). He learnt of the approaching arrival of his successor, "Fr. James elected new Vicar Provincial by the Definitory", already at Aleppo when he was writing his letter of 31.10.1634 (O.C.D. 237 b.). He was still called Vicar Provincial when (to exercise his function as Prior of Isfahan at the Congress in Goa) he "left for India a few days ago" (*vide* letter of Fr. Balthazar of S. Mary 20.11.1634, O.C.D. 236 k.).

- ⁴ Fr. James of S. Teresa reached Basra in May 1635 (*vide* letter from Baghdad of Fr.

Epiphanius 28.5.1635, O.C.D. 242 e.). He was still in office in March 1639, or exercising it (*vide* letter of Fr. Dominic of Christ, Isfahan, in May 1640, O.C.D. 237 e.: "On the 10th March 1639 being myself in Aleppo, returning to these parts, a letter was "handed me from Fr. James of S. Teresa, then our Vicar Provincial.")

- ⁵ Though in neither his letter of 26.2.1640, nor that of 14.4.1641, nor any other of his, does Fr. Dominic of Christ speak of himself as 'Vicar Provincial', it is evident from their matter and from the 'orders', which he mentions having given, that in 1639 he returned from his mission as Procurator to Rome with the office of 'Vicar Provincial'.

The letter of Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary, 4.5.1642, O.C.D. 236 b., refers to the death of Fr. Dominic, *Vicar Provincial*, having taken place. He died in July 1641 (*vide* Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct. in MSS. *Hist. Miss.*, O.C.D. 285-6).

As he died during his term of office there was an interregnum until a new appointment could be made and notice sent out from Rome.

- ⁶ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary received in Goa the 'letters patent' of his appointment as Vicar Provincial in May 1643 (*vide* his letter from Isfahan, 9.8.1644, O.C.D. 237 f.).
- ⁷ About the end of 1645, or early in 1646, Fr. Augustine of S. Teresa, then in Rome, was appointed by the Order to proceed to Persia as Vicar Provincial (*vide Brief Narrative*, by Fr. Stephen in O.C.D. 236 a.: and also letter of Fr. Felix from Naples 6.11.1649, *S.R.*, vol. 135, p. 279). But he was captured on the voyage by corsairs and taken, first to Algiers, then to Tunis, where he was kept in slavery (*vide* letter of Fr. Felix cited: Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 21.6.1647, O.C.D. 237 f.: and Fr. Augustine's own letters from Algiers and Tunis, December 1647-August 1649, in O.C.D. 270 m.).

An interregnum followed till

- ⁸ Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas arrived in Isfahan in December 1648 (*vide* his letter, 17.1.1649, O.C.D. 237 g.). He was in Goa from 1650, and left Goa for Portugal early in 1654, being called up till January of that latter year 'Vicar Provincial' (*vide* Fr. Dionysius of Jesus 6.4.1654: ". . . Mense Januario *vicarius provincialis* "P. F. Dominus a S. Nicolas declaravit . . . post meum discessum Goa occurrit "aliquid Goae quod P. *vicarium provinciale* impulit ut iret in Lusitaniam . . ." O.C.D. 242 a.).
- ⁹ But Fr. Felix of S. Antony was ". . . end of January 1654 . . . appointed Vicar Provincial of the missions of Persia and the Indies . . ." (see *Chron. Basra*).
 "Vicar Provincial for about seven years" (*vide* in *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 224, list given in Rome by the Procurator Fr. Valerius to the Sac. Cong.), i.e. till 1661: and he is called 'Vicar Provincial' by the list of the Procurator in *S.R.*, vol. 238, p. 85, i.e. in 1662. (He had offered to resign in 1656, *vide* his own letter of 20.2.1656, O.C.D. 237 i.)
- ¹⁰ Fr. Dionysius of Jesus (*vide* *S.R.*, vol. 238, p. 41). The Procurator General of the Carmelites, Rome, 27.11.1662, asked for facilities for Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary and two others "going to Persia" and "also for Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, *Vicar Provincial*". The list of 1663 (in O.C.D. 235 n.) gives him as Vicar Provincial: and *Chron. Basra* shows him, when there in 1666-7 during the disturbances, to have been holding that office. He signed at Isfahan on 23.10.1667, as Vicar Provincial, orders for the date and place of the next Congress (O.C.D. 241 a.), and at Bandar 'Abbas on 28.1.1669 he signed a paper (O.C.D. 237 d.). In a letter of Fr. Felix, 1.8.1670, from Shiraz (O.C.D. 238 p.) he is mentioned as Vicar Provincial, making an inspection at Tatta in Sind: and in the list of April 1671 given in Rome by the Procurator Fr. Valerius he is given as Vicar Provincial (*S.R.*, vol. 429, p. 224). His death, while still Vicar Provincial, in January 1673 at Kung is recorded by Fr. Angelus (1.4.1673 in O.C.D. 236 i.): ". . . la mort de "N. R. P. Denys Vicaire Provincial a laissé nos missions acéphales".
- ¹¹ *Chron. Basra* in November 1674 mentions that the 'commission' for Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary to be Vicar Provincial arrived from Rome: a number of his letters show him in chief authority: on 8.8.1676 (O.C.D. 241 e.) Fr. Agathangelus wrote of him as Vicar Provincial.

- ¹² Fr. John Baptist of S. Joseph arrived at Basra in May 1677 as Vicar Provincial (*vide Chron. Basra*): his own letter of 21.3.1678 (O.C.D. 242 a.) refers to the office having been given him. In his letter of 15.2.1680 (*S.N.R.*, I, p. 471), from Bandar 'Abbas he signed himself 'Vicar Provincial'. He had died before 25.9.1681 at Shiraz (*vide* Fr. Fortunatus, O.C.D. 237 k. on that date).

An interregnum followed.

Fr. Fortunatus in his letter 28.9.1682 (O.C.D. 237 k.) speaks of the mission being "... nearly three years without a Vicar Provincial": his further letter of 10.6.1684: "... no Vicar Provincial or Visitor General for many years. . . ." Perhaps Fr. Joseph Angelus of Jesus Mary, Superior at Aleppo, had been appointed, for Fr. Fortunatus on 28.4.1682 (O.C.D. 237 k.) wrote: "... It is two years since "Fr. Joseph Angelus was appointed Superior of this mission, and it is not known "whether he is coming . . ." while on 8.8.1682 Fr. Agathangelus from Basra (O.C.D. 241 c.) gave similar information: "Fr. Joseph Angelus had written from Aleppo that he is coming to visit us. . . ." (In *S.R.*, vol. 238, p. 85, in 1662 the Procurator at Rome had reported that Fr. Joseph Angelus, aged 30, at Aleppo, two years in the missions, was due to transfer himself to Isfahan and Shiraz. There is a letter from him, Superior at Aleppo, 8.11.1679, in *S.R.*, vol. 476, p. 176.)

- ¹³ Fr. Agnellus (*vide S.R.*, vol. 487, p. 287): "on 3.7.1683 the Procurator General of the Order "in Rome informed the Sacr. Cong. that Fr. Agnellus is appointed Vicar Provincial "of the Missions". He arrived at Basra as Vicar Provincial 13.6.1684 (*Chron. Basra*): on 26.10.1684 he was at Shiraz about to proceed to India on visitation and mentioned in his report of that date (O.C.D. 238 k.?) that he had left as 'Vicar Provincial Substitute 'in Persia' Fr. Agathangelus. Nothing more seemed recorded of him.
- ¹⁴ Fr. Elias of S. Albert "in October 1687 received from Rome the appointment as Vicar "Provincial" (*vide* the *Vita P. F. Elia* . . . by Lay Brother Francis Mary, MSS. in O.C.D. 320 c.). In 1694 he is mentioned as still Vicar Provincial by *Chron. Basra*. Not long "before his consecration" (*vide Vita P. F. Elia* . . . cited)—which was on 30.12.1696—"he handed over . . . to Fr. Ladislav, appointed *Substitute* until the return "from Europe of"
- ¹⁵ "Fr. Conrad arrived 26.12.1696 to the joy of all" (*S.N.R.*, II, p. 185), appointed Vicar Provincial, while he had been still in Rome as Procurator (*vide Vita P. F. Elia* . . . quoted above), i.e. in 1695. See also letter to the Pope from Bishop Elias of S. Albert, 28.6.1697, in *S.N.R.*, II, p. 178, which he was "sending by Fr. Conrad, Vicar "Provincial".
- ¹⁶ After having been *Substitute* for the Vicar Provincial—doubtless Fr. Conrad who was still in Europe in May 1699 according to *S.N.R.*, II, p. 259—in 1699 and 1700 (*vide Chron. Basra*, 14.6.1699, and Fr. Basil's own letter of 2.2.1700 in *S.R.*, vol. 538, p. 407, where he signed himself "Vicar Provincial Substitute and Prior"), Fr. Basil of S. Charles mentioned in another letter as "having been Vicar Provincial for six years, but now only "Vicar" (that was on 20.10.1707, *vide S.R.*, vol. 567, p. 459). Fr. Peter of Alcantara in his letter 2.9.1706 (*S.R.*, vol. 560, p. 218) alluded to Fr. Basil "who was Vicar Provincial", and therefore then was no longer in that office. It seems likely therefore that, for some two years at least of the "six" mentioned by him, Fr. Basil was only acting 'Substitute', and that his 'letters patent' were issued by the Order in Rome in 1700, and reached him in Persia in 1701. His letter from Julfa, 10.2.1705 (reproduced in *Chron. Basra*), is signed as "Vicar Provincial": very shortly afterwards he must have handed over authority on the arrival of
- ¹⁷ Fr. Hugo of S. Dionysius, who is mentioned as "Vicar of Persia" in the financial accounts of the Order with the Sacr. Congregation covering the period up to 23.11.1704, and as having received his travelling expenses. *Catalog. Miss.* also has him: "missus in Persiam "Vicarius Provincialis 1704". He arrived at Isfahan 15.1.1706 (*S.N.R.*, I, p. 481). He signed as 'Vicar Provincial' his letter of 28.7.1707 (*S.R.*, vol. 561, p. 258), and in

a communication from the Praepositus General, Rome, to Cardinal Sacripante (*S.R.*, vol. 561, p. 95) on 27.5.1708, he is called "Vicar Provincial" still.

¹⁸ By 17.10.1708, however, Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus was writing from Aleppo and signing himself "Vicar Provincial of Persia". He arrived in Isfahan in March 1709 (see *Chron. Basra*) "Vicar Provincial and Visitor General"—a letter of Fr. Hugo of S. Dionysius, 2.4.1709, in *S.R.*, vol. 573, p. 48, is signed "Vicar of Julfa" only. *Chron. Basra* also mentions the arrival at Basra on 11.12.1714 of Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus as "ex-Vicar Provincial", so that it is probable he held office till the end of 1713. There is a letter of his from Isfahan, dated 26.12.1713 (*S.R.*, vol. 587, p. 134) reporting to the Cardinals of Propaganda on various affairs of the mission, mentioning that it "has already been arranged about my successor".

¹⁹ On 10.5.1714 (*S.R.*, vol. 600, p. 39) Fr. Jerome Francis of S. Joseph certainly signed as "Vicar Provincial": and on 3.9.1716 (O.C.D. 242 m.) Bishop Pidou of Baghdad signed a receipt for a loan made to him by Fr. Jerome Francis, "Vicar Provincial, Discalced Carmelites in Persia".

²⁰ On 5.2.1717 Fr. Faustin of S. Charles arrived at Basra as Vicar Provincial (*vide Chron. Basra*). On 4.10.1719 he received from Rome letters of confirmation—i.e. of the extension of his office—as Vicar Provincial (*vide the Responsio Fr. Philippi Mariae a S. Augustino ad P. F. Hieronymum Franciscum*, 20.6.1725, in O.C.D. 238 u.). He died on 20.2.1723 while still 'Vicar Provincial' (*vide the Responsio cited*).

Presumably an interregnum then ensued.

In view of the several letters of Fr. Philip Mary in 1725 and letters of Bishop Fedeli, O.P., of Isfahan, 25.5.1725 (*S.R.*, vol. 634, p. 305) all of which refer to Fr. Jerome Francis of S. Joseph as residing from 1721–5 in secular clothing in the house of the French consul, and none of them to his being Vicar Provincial, his letter of 1.12.1726 in O.C.D. 242 m. should be taken as proof of his reappointment as Vicar Provincial requires further evidence, the more so as

²¹ in December 1726 "patents as Vicar Provincial" arrived at Basra from the Praepositus "General, Rome, for Fr. Urban of S. Eliseus" (see *Chron. Basra*). On the 1st October 1727 from Aleppo (*S.N.R.*, III, p. 293) Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, Vicar Apostolic of the diocese of Baghdad, recommended "Fr. Urban, Provincial of Persia" as his successor.

"On the 1st May 1731 . . . arrived from Bandar 'Abbas . . . Vicar Provincial "Fr. Urban . . . to visit the house for the second time" (*vide Chron. Basra*).

²² "On the 21st December 1731 there reached me from Rome the patents as Vicar Provincial "from our R. Fr." (i.e. Praepositus) "General, Robert of S. Anne," wrote Fr. Placid of S. Nicolas in *Chron. Basra*. He signed the baptismal register, Basra, as "Vicar Provincial", 5.11.1734, was confirmed as such (a letter of Fr. Urban, 26.5.1733 in O.C.D. 242 h., stated that Fr. Placid was likely to be confirmed), and continued in the position till October 1737 (*vide footnote by Fr. Ambrose of S. Theresia to Cont. Basra Chron.*).

²³ For a second and longer period Fr. Urban was appointed—*vide Cont. Basra Chron.* under the year 1738: ". . . Fr. Urban who had succeeded as Vicar Provincial in place of "Fr. Placid". He signed the register at Basra as "Vicar Provincial" on 27.3.1739: is mentioned as such on 5.3.1741 (*Cont. Basra Chron.*) and as receiving confirmation of his office as Vicar Provincial of Persia, 20.12.1743 (*Cont. Basra Chron.*). A letter of Fr. Sebastian, dated Isfahan 29.5.1745 (*S.R.*, vol. 729) refers to: "Fr. Urban at present "Provincial of our province of Persia and Arabia".

²⁴ Fr. Urban had ceased to be Vicar Provincial, and Fr. Cornelius of S. Joseph is named as such on 29.3.1750 (*vide Cont. Basra Chron.*). Who occupied the position in the interval between 1745 and 1750 does not appear, or when the change was made; although, in the register of baptisms, Basra, on 17.11.1746, Fr. Cornelius apparently signed as "Visitor Provincial", which may be an error for 'Vicar Provincial'. Fr. Cornelius is still called "Vicar Provincial" at the beginning of 1755, when he went to visit Fr. Urban

on Kharg Island (*vide Cont. Basra Chron.*), although by then notified of his transfer to Syria in the same office, and letters patent had arrived from Rome for

- ²⁵ Fr. Hyacinth of S. Teresa to be Vicar Provincial in Fr. Cornelius' stead (*vide* under 10.9.1754, *Cont. Basra Chron.*): and he ceased to hold the post when "on the 4th November 1757 . . . Fr. Hyacinth . . . left for the Mission at Surat. . . ."

Perhaps an Interregnum followed, and thereafter is no mention of a fresh holder of the office (which became 'titular' in the sense that none of the remaining holders of it worked in Persia—but this is evidence that Basra was still considered part of the mission of Persia) until:

- ²⁶ Fr. Fidelis of S. Teresa, while at Baghdad, is called in a letter of Bishop Emmanuel of Baghdad, 17.6.1760 (*S.N.R.*, I, p. 280), "Vicar Provincial of Persia".
- ²⁷ Fr. Cyril of the Holy Spirit is termed "Vicar Provincial of Persia" in *Cont. Basra Chron.* under the date 13.8.1762: he had been appointed Visitor General of the Missions the same year, and really belonged to the Bombay mission, where he died 1768.
- ²⁸ On 21.10.1767 it was learnt at Basra that the new Praepositus General in Rome had nominated as "Vicar Provincial of this province of Persia" Fr. Fidelis of S. Teresa—as such the latter signed a document in *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 509: he, in 1770 making a visitation of Basra from Baghdad, is still called "Vicar Provincial"; but he died on 29.4.1773 (*vide Cont. Basra Chron.*).
- ²⁹ Fr. Justin of the Heart of Jesus, coming from Aleppo, where he had been Vicar, is named as "Vicar Provincial" in 1774 and to the end of *Cont. Basra Chron.* in 1777.
- ³⁰ Fr. Fulgentius a S. Maria was nominated "Vicar Provincial for the mission of *Mesopotamia* "and Persia" towards the end of 1779 (*vide Hierarchia Carmelitana*, part 2, 1934) and held office presumably till 1791, for in his letters from Basra 15.5.1792 and Baghdad 14.1.1795 he alludes to a Fr. Sebastian being 'Vicar Provincial': and in that of 23.9.1799 (all to be found in O.C.D. 242 g.) to the death of Fr. Sebastian having occurred at Basra.

VISITORS GENERAL

In order to keep the Order in Rome in touch with and in control of the state of the missions in all aspects—spiritual and the Observance of Carmelite discipline, and correction of laxity: administrative as regards the handling of funds and the decision of points of procedure: as well as the estimating of requirements in the supply of missionaries—the Praepositus General was in the habit of naming and dispatching from Europe as his representative during his term of office a senior Religious, often one who had already experience of the missions to be visited and of the East, in some cases (to economize travelling expenses, perhaps) the Procurator who had come from the missions to Rome for the Chapter General. On the other hand, at times the Visitor General would be given a commission to remain on in Persia and India as Vicar Provincial. Fr. James of S. Teresa was the first of those sent from Europe to hold both offices simultaneously, i.e. after he had finished his round of official visitations to the various residences and sent his report to Rome he was to remain in the East to govern the missions. To some this seemed an innovation with disadvantages to the missionaries and their well-being, so that in one letter the remark occurs: "Frs. Philip and Matthew said publicly that Fr. James could "not be Vicar Provincial and Visitor General both together".¹ Visitors also might continue to impose their authority as such indefinitely, unless its term were limited: there were drawbacks, financial and other, as can be seen from another letter² of 5.10.1651:

"it has been and is a very great burden to maintain Visitors constantly for seven or eight "years . . . because here the Visitors are more than our Praepositus General—they do as "they please": and again on 10.2.1653: "I have seen a visitation last 6, 7 and 8 years."

¹ Fr. Melchior of the Kings, 18.8.1636, O.C.D. 238 b.

² Fr. Felix, O.C.D. 237 i.

Another writer made the suggestion that it would be well to assign them a time-limit, since otherwise they might remain two or three years in one convent without making a visitation.¹

During the course of the visitation the Visitor General was accustomed to draw up, and leave with the missionaries, his *Ordinationes*, i.e. 'ordinances' or instructions for guidance. They covered as wide a ground as the Instructions given to the Visitors themselves in Rome, which varied greatly according to the outlook on missions in infidel countries and acquaintance with them of the Praepositus General and Definitors, and current of opinion in the Order at the time, as well as extraneous circumstances in Europe: it should not be overlooked by the lay reader that the Order was and is primarily dedicated to the Inner Life. This is the explanation why at times and in some cases insistence on the strict Observance of the Order as followed in Europe tended to immobilize the Religious inside the Convent or Residence, to the paralysing of the teaching and evangelizing side of the work for which they had come to the East. As might be expected in the case of Visitors who had never previously had experience or knowledge of oriental customs and vastly different standard of polite manners, the orders given at times conflicted with the interests of the mission in maintaining its connection with Persians: as, for instance, in 1675 in regard to instructions that the Religious should go barefoot except for sandals, it was objected by those in residence that they could not go with bare, damp or muddy feet on to the carpets, with which Persian rooms were furnished, without exciting the disgust or indignation of those present, who for that matter regarded contact with the bare skin of any Christian as pollution, and it was asserted that their missionary predecessors had always worn socks "of our colour" and black slippers, when going into the presence of Persians of the upper and middle classes. Similarly, to wear beards was to act in conformity with the mode of the country, where to go with shaven moustache was thought (and till the twentieth century, for that matter) a sign of effeminacy, or worse. One Visitor General, at least, launched out in expensive building operations which crippled the finances of the whole mission. They might bring out sorely needed funds from Europe, and be doubly welcome on that account; but their travelling and other expenses in the East had to be borne by the Mission from the very modest sum allowed annually *per capita*. The following appears to be an almost complete list of Visitors General who reached Persia from Europe:

Vincent of S. Francis, arrived at Isfahan about 18.5.1621. His 'ordinances' are in O.C.D. 236 a. While he was at Isfahan on 22.9.1621 a document was signed by the Prior and senior Religious to the effect that the Persian-Portuguese hostilities made it inadvisable for his journey to be prolonged to Hurmuz and India, and he left to return to Rome soon after.

Eugenius of S. Benedict, arrived at Basra 30.12.1624. His ordinances, commencing Basra 10.1.1625 and ending with Shiraz 20.5.1626, are in O.C.D. 241 i. The term of office as Praepositus General of Fr. Paul Simon, who had appointed him, began in May 1623: so, when he finally reached Isfahan in July 1626, "his term having expired, he would not make a visitation, "but was begged to do so by the community . . ." (*vide* affidavit by Frs. Dimas, Elisaeus, Balthazar, dated 3.8.1626, Isfahan, in O.C.D. 237 b.).

Epiphanius of S. John Baptist, left Naples 19.2.1629 and was at Isfahan 17.8.1629: thence he left for India, 13.9.1629 (see letter of Fr. Dimas, 18.9.1629, O.C.D. 237 b.), and arrived in Goa at the end of January 1630 (*vide* Fr. Dimas 8.8.1630, *idem*). He remained over four years in Goa, founding a 'House of Studies' in India and undertaking the construction of a second Convent in Goa, using funds badly needed in the Persian Residences, so that the Religious in Persia complained: ". . . since our Fr. "Visitor was in Goa, he has sent us not a farthing . . . certainly this mission in Persia "owes little to the Fr. Visitor. . . . Fr. Philip of the Most Holy Trinity wrote that "hitherto the Visitor had not made a visitation of that house" (see letter of Fr. Dimas, 22.9.1634, O.C.D. 239 b.). He left Goa in September 1634, and Basra on his return

¹ Fr. Barnabas of S. Charles, 5.4.1654, O.C.D. 241 f.

to Rome in February 1635 (*vide S.R.*, vol. 135, p. 530). Realizing no doubt that he had stayed too long at Goa, and not given satisfaction as regards the Persian mission posts, in his own letter to Fr. Paul Simon (28.1.1635, O.C.D. 242 e.) from Baghdad Fr. Epiphanius asked pardon for having done wrong in remaining longer at Goa than he ought to have done. Indeed, one of the Instructions given in Rome to his successor was to signify to Fr. Epiphanius that his functions had expired and that he should return to Europe (O.C.D. 236 a.).

James of S. Teresa had arrived at Basra by 23.9.1635, when he signed the baptismal register. On 16.5.1636 (O.C.D. 237 b.) Fr. Dimas wrote: "I found at Isfahan Fr. James of S. Teresa . . . Visitor General". He left Isfahan for India in June 1636 (*vide* Fr. Dimas, 13.8.1636, O.C.D. 237 b.), and on his way made his official visitation at Basra, 24.9.1636 (see *Chron. Basra*). Leaving Tatta in Sind in March 1637 he arrived in Goa as Visitor General (Fr. Dimas 1.1.1638): and on 12.5.1638 he was at Shiraz on his return from India. He stayed on in Persia in his other function as 'Vicar Provincial' (*vide* letter of May 1640 from Fr. Dominic of Christ, O.C.D. 237 e.) first, and then as Prior of Isfahan elected in 1638 and 1642: but, chosen Procurator to attend the Chapter General in Rome, before 4.5.1642 he had left Isfahan for Europe.

Charles of Jesus Mary is given in *Chron. Basra* as having arrived there as Visitor General in March, and made his visitation of the Residence 30th March 1639: he is mentioned by Tavernier, the French traveller and writer, who had accompanied him on the latter part of his journey to the East, and also in Fr. Stephen's *Brief Narrative* (O.C.D. 236 a.). In India, at Goa he was confronted with the difficult situation owing to the formation of two parties in the Convent, one of them supported by nationalist Portuguese official and local elements. He had already reached Kung from India by 11.4.1641 (*vide* letter of Fr. Dominic of Christ, Shiraz, O.C.D. 237 e.). At Shiraz in May that year he had taken part in the congress for the election of Procurator, and was at Isfahan in July 1641 (*vide* his letter, O.C.D. 236 b.), but was delayed there firstly owing to the death of the Vicar Provincial, and then because he considered it his duty to remain and protect the Carmelites against the attitude of the Bishop of Baghdad (Vicar Apostolic for Isfahan diocese) and his encroachments on their immunities (his letter of 4.5.1642). It was only in September–October 1643 that he left Persia.

Stephen of Jesus. Given special powers, particularly in relation to the situation in Goa (*vide* his *Brief Narrative*, O.C.D. 236 a., and also *S.R.*, vol. 429, p. 224), he made his visitation at Basra 15.12.1646 (*Chron. Basra*). He countersigned at Goa on 4.11.1647 a document as 'Visitor General' (O.C.D. 236 a.), and had been still at Goa 'Visitor General' till 20.2.1650, when he left it to return to Persia (*vide* his letter of 18.11.1650, O.C.D. 238 e.). About May 1650 he arrived at Isfahan; and his signature as "Visitor General" appears on a declaration made there by all Religious on 13.7.1651 (*S.R.*, vol. 222, p. 261).

A long interval then ensued—*vide* Fr. Felix, writing from Shiraz 20.2.1656, O.C.D. 237 i: ". . . for two triennial periods India has had no Visitor General. . . ."

Raymond of S. Margaret as Visitor General made his visitation at Basra 10.3.1660 (*Chron. Basra*). He was at Shiraz, Visitor General, 20.8.1660, about to leave for Bandar 'Abbas to embark on an English ship for Goa (*vide S.R.*, vol. 238, p. 62, a letter of Fr. Felix of that date); but died at Bandar 'Abbas in 1660 (*vide* Fr. Felix's letter, 26.12.1661, O.C.D. 241 k.).

There is no mention in the data available of another Visitor General till

Francis of Jesus as Visitor General arrived at Isfahan on Easter Tuesday 1668 (*vide* Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, 5.4.1668, O.C.D. 237 d.): on 31.5.1668 he was at Shiraz "Visitor" (*vide* Fr. Joachim Mary, 31.8.1669, O.C.D. 242 a.), but, not having the stamina to face the journey to Basra in the heat of the summer, left Shiraz after the autumn for Bandar 'Abbas, where he arrived 8.12.1668 (*vide* Fr. Dionysius 22.12.1668, O.C.D. 237 d.). His 'ordinances' are dated Bandar 'Abbas, 28.1.1669 (O.C.D. 236 a.): he

left on an English ship for Surat 4.2.1669, and proceeded thence to Goa (Fr. Angelus, Shiraz, 25.3.1669, O.C.D. 238 l.). On 23.10.1670 he died at Basra—"it does not appear that he made a visitation of this Residence before he was visited by the Lord" (*Chron. Basra*).

There is no trace in the letters on record, nor in *Chron. Basra*, of any Visitor General being in Persia, or at Basra from 1670 till 1678, except that

Godfrey of S. Andrew, "... Fr. Gottifredo, *Visitor General*, having returned to Rome from "Goa", is mentioned by Fr. Valerius in a letter from Kung, 25.11.1672 (O.C.D. 236 s.): and on 31.8.1675 writing from Shiraz Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary "regretted the return "of the *Visitor General* to Europe", and in another letter he thanked Rome for funds sent by the "Visitor General". Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus, in his *La Orden de Sta Teresa* . . . y las Misiones, Madrid, 1923, stated that Fr. Godfrey was taken to Malabar by Bishop Joseph of S. Mary (Sebastiani) on his second journey of 1660. (See also No. CCXVI in *Series Professionum at S. Maria d. Scala*, by Fr. Marcellinus a Sta Theresia.)

John Baptist of S. Joseph landed at Basra 23.5.1677, "sent as Visitor General of Persia and "the Indies, but because . . . he did not arrive before the celebration of the Chapter "General the Fr. Visitor did not read his letters patent nor, although pressed to do so, "would he accept the position. . . . He made his visitation of this residence 6.3.1678" (*Chron. Basra*). On 27.4.1678 he was at Shiraz, and he was still there in September of that year by his letters, but before November at Kung, where he was very ill. "... The Visitor General . . . left for India on 1st January 1679" (Fr. Agnellus, O.C.D. 242 a.). From India he was back again at Bandar 'Abbas in February 1680 (*vide* his letter of 15.2.1680, *S.N.R.*, I, p. 471), and he died at Shiraz in 1681, before September apparently. He was also Vicar Provincial.

Agnellus of the Immaculate Conception arrived at Basra 13.6.1684 as Visitor General, and Vicar Provincial as well. His report of his visitation is dated 21.6.1684. His report on Religious at Isfahan and Shiraz is dated from Shiraz 26.10.1684, and shortly afterwards he embarked from Bandar 'Abbas for India.

No other Visitor General is mentioned until

Peter Paul of S. Francis. There was a request from the Procurator General of the Order in Rome to the Sac. Cong. on 2.8.1695 (*S.R.*, vol. 521, p. 22 *et seq.*) that Fr. Peter Paul, appointed *Visitor General* of all the missions, be nominated also Apostolic Visitor: and this was done. With the title of Archbishop of Ancyra he arrived in Isfahan early in May 1699 (*vide Vita P. F. Elia a S. Alberto*, O.C.D. 320 e.). He sailed from Bandar 'Abbas for Surat on 4.4.1700 (*S.R.*, vol. 542, pp. 17-18). In *Chron. Basra* under the year 1700 he is designated "Apostolic Commissary and also our *Visitor General*"; but it is clear that he did not make a visitation of Basra.

No subsequent dispatch by the Order from Rome of a special Visitor General seems to have taken place—in the eighteenth century the mission posts in India, Goa, Diu, Tatta had been abandoned, or formed no part of the 'province of Persia'—until Fr. Cyril of the Holy Spirit is mentioned in a letter of Bishop Emmanuel, Baghdad, 25.7.1763 (*S.N.R.*, VII, p. 211) as having arrived at Baghdad 16.4.1763, "*Visitor General* "and Vicar Provincial and left for Basra 6.5.1763". Still later Fr. Fulgentius of S. Mary dated his 'ordinances' from the hospice of "S. Maria de Remedii", Basra, 20.9.1792, as "*Visitor General* of missions in Persia and Syria" (O.C.D. 284 g.).

Though not given to a Visitor General, the first 'Instructions' observed in the correspondence preserved were those of the Praepositus General, Fr. Ferdinand of S. Mary, dated Rome 18.10.1608, addressed to the missionaries in Persia. They dealt with the order of precedence in superintending the mission unless and until Fr. Paul Simon returned to Persia, and the faculties accorded for dispensations, the quality and kind of material to be obtained for inner garments of the Religious, if procurable; and specified that the rules of fasting of the Carmelite

observance were to be followed, if possible without giving scandal to the Armenians (otherwise the custom of the Augustinian Hermits, or of the Armenians themselves). With the latter, in the case of schismatics, the Carmelites were to avoid any communication other than conversation, and not to deal ceremoniously with the Armenian 'bishops', so far as scandal could be avoided. As long as funds lasted the missionaries were not to take them from anybody: when funds were exhausted they might, to a modest extent, accept them from the Shah; but if His Holiness sent a permanent ambassador, as was hoped, it would be for him to provide maintenance for all.

The 'Instructions' of 1620 from the Praepositus General, Fr. Matthias of S. Francis, to the Visitor General, Fr. Vincent, contained ten clauses and a postscript, among which may be cited: (2) he gave the Visitor General full faculties to come to an accord with the Vicar Provincial on the following points: the accepting of hospices or residences with or without oratories: the accepting of Persian or Indian novices, at least 18 years of age, and waiving of a knowledge of Latin, even in those who desired to take the habit as choir-brothers: about sending some of them in case of grave need to Europe: about riding horseback through the city of Isfahan: about accompanying the Shah when with his army or at his camp for some time (but not to stay there constantly): the eating of eggs and butter in fasting seasons. By the wish of the Definitory General, in all such matters the Vicar Provincial, if allowed by the Visitor General more or less discretion, was to consult, however, the three senior Fathers present, as each point arose; (4) the Visitor General was to come to a decision regarding the vineyard, which was attached to the Convent of Isfahan, and its use; (5) the Visitor General was to leave such orders as seemed most suitable regarding the giving of hospitality to other Religious, or to laymen: (6) he was to make rules for events worth record being noted down from the beginning of the mission, and a duplicate being sent yearly to Rome (alas! that this rule was too rarely observed—above all after the first quarter of the century); (7) the delivery of 'letters patent' to Fr. Redempt as Vicar Provincial of Persia was commanded; (10) and also a visitation of each post, and such orders being left for their good government as seemed fitting, and a full report on Isfahan, Hurmuz, Tatta in Sind, and Goa: and the Visitor was to show his faculties and 'commission' to the Religious. The postscript concerned the vow taken by the first missionaries not to receive money, and any modification of it: as also the reciting of the Office after the fashion of the Order when numbers permitted.

The 'Instructions' of 1624 (O.C.D. 284 g.) to the Visitor General, Fr. Eugenius of S. Benedict, emanated from Fr. Paul Simon, himself the first leader of the missions; and they are more full of detail as derived from the latter's local knowledge, and also notably less latitude was given to the Visitor. First, here is given the text of his 'commission':¹

"Fr. Paul Simon of Jesus Mary, Praepositus General of the Discalced Carmelite brothers "of the Congregation of S. Elias of the Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mt. Carmel, to "all to whose sight these presents may come eternal greeting in the Lord. Among the special "duties of Superiors, by which they are wont to help their subjects to make progress in "Christian perfection, is to be put the seasonal visitation, correcting, as it were, whatever is "less piously done, and preserving and increasing whatever good is being done. Wherefore "we, desiring to satisfy this duty of our office, by these present letters have committed to "the reverend Father Eugenius of S. Benedict, Prior of the convent of S. Silvester at "Tusculum, in whose uprightness and prudence we greatly trust in the Lord, the visitation "of all missions and convents of our Religious which are in Persia and the East under our "obedience, granting him every faculty and authority, which is in our competence by law "and our Constitutions, to undertake the aforesaid visitation, so that in both spheres he "can do as regards the Convents and the Religious in those parts, and in any affairs "happening at the time, whatsoever we can do by law, privilege, custom or any other title, "as if we were present. And we pray the Divine goodness to be pleased to direct and aid

¹ O.C.D. 238 c.

"him in everything. In faith of which we have granted these presents, provided with our seal and signed with our name.

"Rome, in our convent of S. Mary d. Scala, 1st February 1624,

"fra. Paul Simon of Jesus Mary, Praepositus General,

"fra. Vincent Mary of S. Teresa, secretary."

Many of the directions given concern the attempt to plant a new mission at Goa, which had not been too favourably received at Rome at first—it was a departure from the original scope of the mission to the Persians and the subject-races in their country. So the Visitor General was to go straight to Goa via Baghdad and Basra, and then to make his way to Isfahan, taking with him from Goa the Vicar Provincial. He was to see whether there was a licence from the Archbishop of Goa to found a mission: whether, with the alms given in Goa, the mission posts in Persia could be financed. If the Fathers in Goa were to provide those in Persia with Masses (i.e. the stipends offered for the saying of Masses) and there were any over and beyond the needs of both Goa and Persia, the Visitor might with the stipend money buy some goods easy of transport for sale in Rome. He was to see in Isfahan whether the Fathers in Persia agreed in the suitability of founding at Goa: should they do so, the Visitor was to adapt the community at Goa to a noviciate house, and on arrival of the Religious sent to Goa they were in particular to elect a prior, who was to be the novice-master: if need be, the Visitor might give a dispensation for their numbers being less than five in priest's Orders.

But, should the Religious already in Goa have elected a prior, the Visitor was to declare the election uncanonical and null, seeing that the establishment of a house at *Goa had not yet been accepted by the Definitory General*: and the Definitory General would only accept it now on conditions laid down, to be fulfilled on the return of the Visitor to Isfahan in company with the Vicar Provincial, and that a suitable community were dispatched to Goa with instructions that only in Goa might novices be clothed (except, if need be, at Isfahan) since there were no other convents in the region. The Visitor was, further, to see how many novices there were in Goa, whether they were the sons of Europeans: and on what he saw he was to pass orders for the future, in particular exacting obedience to the past orders of the Definitory General allowing only the reception and clothing of Europeans, seeing that privileges were of no avail as against what had been vetoed by superiors or what was contrary to the Constitutions, as the Pope had declared.

At Isfahan the Visitor was to discuss with the Fathers how that Convent was to be maintained, because they must not expect funds in aid from Italy, seeing that there was litigation over the income from the Baron di Caccuri's legacy and, even if it were recovered, it would be needed to pay journey expenses of the Religious sent out. They could give orders that the House at Goa should furnish an annual subsidy to the houses in Persia, and Tatta and Basra similarly: and besides they should furnish them with Masses (i.e. stipends for Masses).

The Visitor was to notify the Fathers of the determination reached in Rome to aim at the mission becoming fruitful (i.e. fructifying and being extended) in Persia and in the neighbouring regions, e.g. among the Georgians, Arabs, the Jacobite Christians and others: and so they had ordained that the Vicar Provincial should reside in Persia for the rest of the time he might have over from making visits; while on the other hand the Definitors General for the present did not aim at establishing missions in India: and, *had it not been to provide financial aid and Religious for those in Persia, they would not have accepted that of Goa*: and so the Visitor was to give instructions for no fresh missions to be organized in India. He, Fr. Paul Simon, desired some of the Religious to be dispatched to the Georgians to make a trial of the work and benefit which could be effected there, and see whether among the Georgians financial and other aid could be obtained for the missions in Persia and the others: and what disposition the people showed, and whether there had been an obstacle in the past to this.

Besides that, the Visitor was to dispatch from Isfahan four Religious, or at least three, to the mission in Basra, which His Holiness had enjoined on the Order—those Religious to reside at Basra, though they might make excursions to visit any Christians near, about which the

Visitor was to give instructions from Basra in accord with the senior Fathers, while he was to arrange that the Fathers would write from Basra to the Sacr. Congregation and to Mgr Ingoli, its first secretary.

Then—as regards matters of internal administration—the Visitor was

(a) to see how the decrees left by the former Visitor General were being observed by the Religious, revising where necessary, but bringing with him a copy of all such: while on the other hand he was to be careful not to multiply the orders left, unless there were grave needs, but rather to lighten their burden, so that all the Fathers might remain consoled;

(b) to give orders for whatever happened in each mission to be *daily* written down: that every three months, at least, the Superiors of the missions, or Religious to whom this task was entrusted, should transmit the information to the Vicar Provincial, who as well as the two Superiors of the convents at Isfahan and Goa should in their turn pass it on to the Fr. Praepositus General in Rome, using—if need be—the cypher, which the Visitor was taking out for that purpose, one copy of which was to be left in Isfahan, others in Goa, Tatta, Basra, etc. All letters, too, were to be written in duplicate—"not in Portuguese, but in a language which could be understood, and complaints not to be written";

(c) to give orders for the elections of the Priors to be held at the time of the provincial chapter—and that the Vicar Provincial's term was to last until his successor was notified from Rome;

(d) in missions where there was no Convent but only a Residence, such as Tatta and Basra, to leave orders that there were to be always at least two Fathers in priest's Orders, and that they were not to clothe novices, nor take novices;

(e) to see whether they had a seminary for boys in Isfahan, how they were educating them; and what results were accruing;

(f) to leave authority, if it were thought fitting, to the Vicar Provincial in concert with the secret votes of two other Fathers to sell or alienate real property and movables of any value;

(g) to obtain a report on what the Dominicans (in Nakhchiwan district) were doing and, if possible, letters from them to give to the Secretary of the Sacr. Congregation in Rome, but he was not to delay his return to Italy on this account nor send Religious specially there;

(h) in Aleppo, Baghdad and Basra to arrange ways and means for transmitting letters to and from Persia; if it were necessary to accept the resignation of any Religious holding office, the Visitor might do so after consultation with the senior Fathers, e.g. if it were necessary to send the Prior of Isfahan to Goa, or elsewhere and, should Fr. Leander not be able to leave Goa, his resignation might be allowed. In general, the Visitor was to encourage and comfort the Fathers by assurances that they were highly considered in Rome, and that the Order in Rome counted on them: and they were to be assured that he, Fr. Paul Simon, had the desire to help and promote the Missions: they were to be charged to rely greatly on their Superiors.

Next in sequence came the 'Instructions' given to Fr. Epiphanius of S. John Baptist by the Definitory General, dated 6.1.1630 and signed by the Praepositus General, Ferdinand of S. Mary—of a distinctly different type, being directed less towards missionary extension and organization than to the interior discipline of the convents and residences, and containing many restrictions and prohibitions: the paragraphs are not numbered and it will be convenient to group them by the subject-matter, not exactly in the order as the various clauses are in the original.

(A) Should any disturbance or persecution occur, when it should become necessary to take away the Blessed Sacrament and impossible to take It with themselves in flight, they should consume It, although not fasting; but, if possible, the Blessed Sacrament was to be carried with them and consumed when they were fasting, and for that purpose it would be well to preserve It in a receptacle inside a purse, which could be placed in the breast, attached to the neck.

The Divine Office was to be recited and sung in choir exactly as in the Carmelite Observance at all Residences in Persia and the East, any superiors introducing any other manner of reciting or singing it to be severely punished. As far as possible,

continuous prayer usually said in our noviciates before the Blessed Sacrament is to be observed: the instructions for novices, which are in the fourth part of the daily exercises, order how it is to be practised.

The latter to have their recreation separately from the Fathers.

As ordered in the Constitutions, not more than four to six extraordinary recreations to be permitted each year: and then it was not to be divided into two parts on separate days, or one part of the community to be sent out one day, the rest on another. Exemption from fasting on such days was not permissible, nor were laymen to be allowed to participate. Ordinary recreations not to exceed one hour: and, when they went out, the Religious were not to omit the Divine Office at the stated times. At Isfahan it should rather be considered very inconvenient to leave the House for their extraordinary recreations.

The Religious were to learn to shave themselves, so as not to make use of laymen.

As there were few occasions to go out of the House, they were to observe the "de exitu e claustro" of the Constitutions: and the Prior was to do whatever was required for that purpose, so that the other Religious would have the more time to give themselves to study and prayer, and perform the Divine Office with the greater solemnity, by which—as being the means provided for the Order—many more souls could be converted than by having many dealings with lay-folk. The same applied to the other Houses or Residences in Persia and the East.

At night a lighted lamp was to be hung in the midst of the dormitory, in a place where there would be no danger of fire, according to the decree of Pope Clement VIII. Except for the College, in all Houses Matins were to be said at midnight, and the Hours at the times fixed in the ordinary. As it had been proved that in Persia they could use fasting fare during Lent, Advent and on the vigils of Our Lady, it was ordered that such fare should continue to be used at those times: and heads of Houses were to arrange to have olive oil. . . . In India, where there were Christians, the Religious might follow the custom of the country.

Often in Refectory and out of it the Constitutions of the Order were to be read, and in refectory once a month the ordinances of the Chapter General and Definitory General, and the present 'Instructions'. The community should not burden itself with recitation of the Litanies of the Madonna after reciting the "sub tuum praesidium". In Goa alms were not to be asked in the name of the Mother of God, but of Our Lady of Carmel.

At Isfahan, so long as there was no Religious able to teach the languages, they might avail themselves of some Mulla, as moderately as possible; and some one of the Religious with the best talent for it was to devote himself to this in order to teach the others. The Constitutions regarding poverty were to be exactly observed, all furniture being brought into the common offices, from which they were to be distributed to the Religious as the Superior ordered: an inventory of all the goods of the Convent to be drawn up in the presence of selected Religious: the keys of the cells to be made after the style of the Order: no one might keep anything in boxes or hiding-places or secret writing-tables in his cell, except the Prior who by orders of the last Chapter General could have a box under his table to hold letters and other secret items.

(B) No Religious might have dealings with the king of Persia or any of his officials, without permission of the Vicar Provincial, or—in his absence—of the Prior.

It was thereby declared that the common head of the missions in Persia and in the East was to be called '*Vicar Provincial*', who would hold no other authority than that "given him by our Fr. General". As there were no Convents besides those of Isfahan and Goa, all the Fathers of the mission of Persia and the East were to have a passive vote in one of those two Convents and, when in residence there, an active vote; but, when engaged in district missions, there was no obligation on them to leave and abandon their posts (i.e. to vote).

The Vicar Provincial was to apportion their service with one Convent or the other, accommodating himself as far as possible to the inclinations of each of the Religious, but placing as many as possible in the Convents, so that the regular Observance might be followed, and that the Religious might not go out of doors except two and two. He could transfer Religious from one Convent to the other, and one Residence to another, and outside them in missions to the limit of 60 Italian miles, but the heads of the other Residences might not send Religious on missions farther than 30 miles distant, except by his orders.

- (C) In no wise were the missionaries to contract debts in building or buying houses, or any immovable property without permission of the Definitory General expressed in writing, and not taken as understood; but such debts might be made only on providing victuals for the Religious, when otherwise they could not be maintained, and then according to the views and consent of the 'Discreti', i.e. counsellors of the Prior, "whom we 'exhort not to agree' (to any loan being taken) 'just in order to have all the comforts, 'and to be so well treated as are the Religious in some parts of Europe, but to consider 'that, if they are in want of something, God will provide in some other way, or give 'them the patience, with which they do good to themselves and their neighbours'".

No money was to be lent to those who manifested a disposition to abandon unbelief or schism, because experience had shown in past years that, having obtained such loans, such individuals cheated the missionaries and left them inconvenienced by the loss. If such persons really sought God, they would be paid by the poverty of the Order being explained to them. The missionaries were in no wise to mix themselves up in secular affairs, as such was contrary to the Constitutions and altogether opposed to the profession of Carmelites; they were not to lend money to merchants or others, but to content themselves with helping everyone with religious charity.

It was to be arranged to keep and preserve the place granted by the Wazir of Isfahan for burying the dead of the Order, and where might be buried also such Catholic Christians as should wish to be buried at the hands of our Religious: and where some time each year the Religious could go and say some responses, as the Armenians do in their cemeteries: in that place nothing was to be planted or sown, but it was to be left uncultivated.

- (D) The Religious were to excuse themselves from attending on the feast-days of the patron-saints of others and in no wise to go in procession more than four together, even were there a large number of other Religious present.

They were in no wise to ride on horseback in the City (of Isfahan, Goa, etc.).

Very rarely might laymen be brought in to meals in their refectories, as prescribed by the Constitutions, and never were any Muhammadans, unbelievers or pagans to be allowed to meals, except in some unavoidable instance and then in accordance with the decrees.

They were not to give food to those who visited the Residences, whether Armenians or Muhammadans: and in no wise might the Religious take drinks in the houses of such when it so happened that they had to pay visits: should any rare occasion arise when nothing less could be done, it was to be according as seemed fit to the senior Religious of the community. Whenever the Superior should find himself obliged to consult the seniors or have their consent, he should call them all together, and in no wise consult them and obtain their consent separately.

In no wise might they permit Armenians and Arabs to celebrate in churches of the Order, consecration of azyme bread being forbidden by the Sovereign Pontiffs: nor in any wise were the Religious to avail themselves of the privilege the Dominicans had as regards Confirmation, nor celebrate Mass in the churches of schismatics, such being forbidden by Pope Paul V.

They were to take warning that they might not communicate *in divinis* with the schismatics, such as it would be to be present in copes or in any other way which would

indicate an ecclesiastical character, but only with Catholics even though these were of other rites.

It was permitted to give lessons to boys both of Christians and others in Christian doctrine, and for that to allow them inside the house, provided that they went away to feed and sleep in their own houses each day: and the Superior should assign for this one Father such as he might judge suitable, and none of the others were to interfere in the teaching. But they were not to allow in the House any Armenian boys or others to keep them in order to serve the Masses, since the Fathers ought to serve one another in all humility and charity; yet by this it was not intended to prohibit the boys of Catholic (Frank) Armenians from serving Mass, but only that they should not be brought up in the House for that object or any other.

When obliged to receive in the hospice anyone, whether a Religious or layman, he should be warned on entering of the time-limit it is permitted to have him in the House, so that such persons may provide themselves in time with dwellings: and the Superiors should provide to wait on them a sensible and edifying Religious.

When the Visitors General returned to Italy, Procurators came to the Chapter General and other Religious to Italy by express permission of the Fr. General, they were in no wise, under any pretext, to take with them any young laymen.

Five years later, in 1634, came the 'Instructions' given by Fr. Paul Simon, now for a second time Praepositus General, for the guidance of Fr. James of S. Teresa, who was Visitor General as well as Vicar Provincial (O.C.D. 236 a.): as in the case of his 'Instructions' of 1624 they are almost entirely of a practical nature, and show his desire to help and keep close touch.

- (α) his residence was to be in Persia, not in India;
- (β) when visiting India he was to report on the state of the missions there;
- (γ) he was to write frequently, in duplicate and triplicate, giving detailed accounts of all events;
- (δ) he was to cause the Priors and *Vicars of each Residence to write about the progress made, or a history from the foundation of each mission*, so that the Procurators going to the Chapters General in Rome might take them with a report of the whole mission;
- (ε) no missionary was to be sent back to Europe, still less those professed in India,
- (ζ) he was to be cautious in accepting novices, and those admitted to be of good stamp, with all requisite qualifications;
- (η) he was to arrange for the Convent at Goa, and for Basra and other Residences, to aid financially that on holy Mt. Carmel and that at Aleppo with Masses and alms;
- (θ) the Religious were not to be obliged to give hospitality to bishops going out from Rome to Persia, if they were of the Carmelite Order, except for some days: and, if they were to wish to exercise some jurisdiction over the Carmelite Religious, the latter were not to consent, but to say that they had orders, and await the reply from Rome;
- (ι) the Houses founded at Shiraz and Tatta in Sind, and others which had been abandoned, were to be reopened, and that on orders from the Sacr. Congregation and the Definitory General too.

Of another order, again, were the lengthy 'Instructions' given in 1638 to Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary (O.C.D. 284 g.), being directed largely to financial considerations, the discord in the Convent at Goa, as also to enquiries as to results of studies of the Religious and how to use them to the best advantage.

- (44) As regards their holy poverty, the Visitor General was to take note whether in the Convents and Residences items of expenditure were entered in detail, as also receipts from alms, in a book or books set apart for the purpose: by whom such books were

signed, and whether money was kept in the common chest, and each time taken out by two persons nominated: whether permission was asked for expenditure of major extent. A balance sheet, or extract of past accounts, was to be made out for each Convent, or Residence, showing what they had received annually, how much spent, distinguishing between money received locally and that from another Convent or Residence in the Mission, or from Rome. Of this abstract of accounts the Visitor was to dispatch one copy to the Praepositus General, and bring another with him to the Definitory General. He was to arrange for the Convent at Goa, and the Residences at Tatta and Basra from alms given to send aid to the Convent of Isfahan, and Residence at Shiraz. With special care the Visitor was to ascertain how the missionaries, who remained away from the Convents and Residences for some time, used and spent money, how far they depended on alms, what accounts they gave of their spending to their Superiors on their return. What use, or need, was there in keeping lay servants, or slaves? How many had they at each house, and of what age: what they cost and what had been done in the past? How did they arrange to give financial aid to converts?

He was to make enquiry, too, as to the purchase of the House at Aleppo: how much had been paid and spent, and how long the house bought had belonged to the Order.

The Visitor was also to ascertain the state of the Residence at Shiraz on its spiritual as also on its financial side: what use was derived from it for souls, what it cost and in particular was spent on lodging Christians passing through: what hope there might be of profit from it.

- (BB) If he were in the missions still at the time of the meeting or 'Congress' for the election of a Procurator to attend the Chapter General in Rome, the Visitor General was to arrange to be present and take part, and cause to be chosen the six Fathers, who together with the Vicar Provincial were to bring to an end the 'processes' for expulsion (i.e. from the Convent at Goa), and give his assistance so that these might be terminated with greater dispatch, either at the place of meeting or in some convent or wherever he judged best. He was to complete, as soon as possible, the arraignments in the suits, which had been handed to him by the Definitory General, and pay attention to the validity or invalidity of the professions made: he was to take full cognizance of any excesses or failings at Goa on the occasion of the election of the Procurator and Substitute for the past Chapter General, and together with the Fr. Vicar Provincial he was to examine them thoroughly and try to terminate them in an exemplary manner (should they not already have been altogether terminated by Fr. James and Fr. John Stephen), seeing that they had been serious, in public and known to lay-folk and foreign Religious. . . . In particular he was to consider whether it were suitable to send away from Goa any one or more of those who were the cause of those outbursts: and what satisfaction did it seem to him needful to give to anyone who had remained scandalized by the past.

The Visitor General was to use special care in showing himself neutral as between Portuguese, Indians and Europeans, and so keep the scales that the Religious did not group themselves in factions and cliques with animosities. Whatever missionaries had not taken the oath of obedience to the Definitory General and the vow regarding the Missions in accordance with the Instructions to Missionaries No. 1, the Visitor General was to arrange for them to take it willingly, and to send to Rome certificates of the same; but, should the Visitor meet with difficulty in getting the oath and vow taken, he was to let the matter stand rather than upset the Religious concerned.

- (CC) He was to ascertain how much each Religious knew of missionary practice . . . what uniformity there was in the use of the privileges for missionaries and what faculties in particular they had . . . the spirit of prayer to be found in the senior Religious, whether they had any desire for solitude for a time to look after their own souls, whether, when summoned to put this in practice, they were easy to manage and ready.

He was to find out whether there was any special course of study, both of doctrine to fit themselves for the conversion of infidels, and of method in bringing this about, for which end the Missionaries were there, so that they might so make themselves useful workers. What had been done with the printing-press for Arabic and Persian scripts, which was sent out from Rome to Isfahan—whether any use had been made of it, and what might be hoped from it. In matters of administration he was to have particular thought for the noviciate and, besides a very close observance of the orders given about this, he was to watch how novices were received and brought up, since only those ought to be received of whom it could be hoped that they would turn out good workers. If there were Religious suitable and it appeared fitting, he was to institute a course of Philosophy: in regard to Religious in Residences away from Convents where there was entire Observance of the Rule, the Visitor was to pay similar attention and see whether it was suitable to keep them there for any length of time, Superiors or Subjects or Lay Brothers, as the case might be, noting what Observance there was and with what punctuality the Life was lived in the Residences and to what extent their Life was dependent on the head of the Mission, and whether they looked after the profit of their own souls. He was to note what rule they follow with regard to limiting their external dealings and business with lay-folk, to admitting such to the refectory, and also whether the Religious went to eat outside their Houses. He was also to see whether it were well (and, if so, to practise) bringing out from time to time some of the Religious from the Residences and Convents, in order to put them to proof in solitude, obedience, and spiritual exercises, so that, whilst helping others, they did not lose themselves: but this was to be undertaken cautiously, so as to not to inflict any damage of consequence on the Residences. He was to observe whether in Convents and Residences everything took place in conformity with the spirit and Observance of the Order and its Constitutions; or whether, under the guise of ardour for souls or out of necessity, want of observance and a spirit of independence had become introduced; or whether by neglect they were failing in their proper vocation as missionaries. The spirit of obedience towards their chief Superiors, mainly in Rome, and the Congregation of Propaganda Fide was to be noted. He was to obtain careful information about the junior Religious, and all those clothed in the missions, both Portuguese and people of the country, as to their lives, education, skill—to say whether he thought the Order could make use of them in the missions, or whether it might be prudent to send some to Europe with the ships of the Portuguese fleet (though he was not to send any, or allow any to go, without permission from the higher authorities in Rome).

(DD) Lastly, there were two directions of another type. The Visitor General was to have, and to cause the other Carmelite Religious to have, kindly relations with the other Orders (in Persia and India): to give useful advice to all regarding their dealings with the Bishop,¹ obligations to visit him or follow him on his journeys, however, to be excluded; and he was to go into the causes and results of the order for the Priors and Sub-priors to be elected at the Chapters General.²

'Instructions' to Visitors General later than those of 2.4.1642 (O.C.D. 284 g.)—and those repeating the instructions to Fr. James in 1634—appear to be entirely missing in the records preserved.

The Definitory General, 10.6.1683 (see *Regesta*, vol. VI) allowed them to appoint and change Vicars of Residences at the time of the visitation, should the Vicar Provincial be absent: and they might issue fresh orders after the visitation of any post had ended.

¹ The Bishop concerned was Fr. Bernard of S. Teresa (Duval) just appointed to the diocese of Baghdad.

² The MSS. Book in which are to be 'noted the names of Superiors in the Missions' preserved in archives of the Order, 235c., is doubtless connected with the order cited here.

PRIORS OF THE CONVENT AT ISFAHAN

(i.e. in the City, not at Julfa)

It has been shown above that, from the time the Convent in Goa was recognized by the Definitory General, i.e. following the visitation of 1624, all missionaries became conventuals of either one convent or the other, having an active or passive voice in elections of the Priors and Sub-Priors as the case might be. At the beginning the appointments were made by the Definitory General, and Fr. Prosper would appear to have been the first Prior elected by the community in Isfahan. That was in 1621—or rather, owing to doubts whether that election were canonical, in 1622. Then, after Fr. Dimas' second term which began in 1634, the elections seem to have been made at Rome during the Chapters General in 1638, 1640, 1642—if that be the explanation of the *Liber* in MSS. in the archives of the Order, in which 'the elections of Superiors of our missions in Persia and the Indies are to be recorded'. But from 1643, with Fr. Dionysius of the Crown of Thorns, the Priors were certainly elected at Isfahan (in many cases holders of the office being re-elected and in some instances it was the Vicar Provincial who held it in addition to his own) until, perhaps, 1703.¹ By that time the Convent in the City had been discarded as the abode of the Religious to a large extent (i.e. few were afterwards living there) for the Residence at Julfa: and paucity in numbers must have prevented the holding of elections (which are not mentioned after 1682 actually in the records preserved), though the title of 'Prior' of Isfahan continued to be borne and used until 1719 (if not later). Thereafter it was the 'Vicar of Julfa', who presided at Isfahan in the absence of a 'Vicar Provincial' and signed letters. This will be seen from the words of Fr. Jerome Francis of S. Joseph in his claim in 1725 regarding the right to the office of 'Vicar of Julfa':²

"... auparavant que le Père Hiérome François fût envoyé en Europe par ses Supérieurs" (i.e. in 1719) "il gouverna toujours cette mission" (i.e. Julfa) "nonobstant qu'il fût *qualifié* du *titre* de Prieur du Couvent de Hispahan."

On 7.5.1674 (see *Regesta*, vol. V, p. 539) the Definitory General issued certain directions "for the successful government of our Eastern Missions":

- (a) 'that the Priorship of the Convent of Isfahan be maintained integrally, with a Superior who should have the name and authority of a Prior;
- (b) 'the Prior of Isfahan was to be elected by conventuals of the Convent, both those actually dwelling in it, and those in other Residences outside India;
- (c) 'such being the case, all should have an "active vote" at the election of the Prior. 'When his term of office had ended, he (or, in case of his death, the Vicar of that Convent), was to summon all such conventuals to proceed to the election of a new Prior. 'Should the conventuals in other Residences fail, or be unwilling to appear at the election, or renounce their right to do so in order not to deprive their flocks of their pastoral care, the election should still be valid, even if only two voters were present, all other requisites for canonical validity being observed;
- (d) 'in case of the Prior going for any reason to visit another Residence outside Isfahan, 'since all other Religious are conventuals of the Convent of Isfahan, he should retain 'his position of authority and continue to exercise his office as Prior.' (This was modified on 30.7.1683: 'When it should happen that the Prior proceeds to some Residence, 'he will have no jurisdiction there or be able to make any arrangements which ought altogether to be a matter for the Vicar of that place, but he will only enjoy precedence of place in front of vicars or presidents');
- (e) 'should the Vicar Provincial die, government of all Residences in Persia outside India

¹ See *Chron. Basra*, folio 212, re Fr. Peter being sent to Basra in 1703 "after the provincial chapter".

² O.C.D. 238 u.

'would be in the hands of the Prior of Isfahan, of those inside India in the hands of the Prior of Goa, until the Praepositus General in Rome had made a fresh appointment.'

By an ordinance issued, 27.5.1676 (see *Regesta*, vol. V, p. 587) by the Definitory General Religious at the Residence of Basra were excepted from voting as Conventuals of Isfahan at elections for prior; but subsequently, on 27.6.1678 (see *Regesta*, vol. VI, p. 48) this provision was modified:

"it was declared that Religious dwelling at the Residence at Basra are really conventuals of the Convent of Isfahan, and enjoy a passive vote in the election of the Prior of Isfahan, although on account of the distance between the two places and the expense of the journey they should not proceed to Isfahan to vote at it."

There was an extension of this on 10.6.1683 (see *Regesta*, vol. VI, p. 236),

"when there are four Religious in the Convent at Isfahan at the time of election for Prior, those Religious at Shiraz and Basra should not attend, notwithstanding (previous) pronouncements to the contrary".

At the same session it was ordered that, if there be four or at least three electors, two votes out of three would suffice: if only two a majority, provided all other canonical requisites were satisfied.

Among the important duties of the Priors of the two Convents of Isfahan and Goa was that of meeting at intervals, each with a 'Socius' or companion, chosen by fellow conventuals, at a 'Congress' in some mission centre judged convenient by the Vicar Provincial or the Visitor General—sometimes at Kung, at others Shiraz or Goa—for those delegates to select two of their number, or others of the community—designated 'Procurator of the missions in Persia and the Indies' and his 'Socius' or 'Substitute'—to proceed to Rome in time for the next triennial Chapter General of the whole Order, and there vote in representation of their province. Apart from the choice by his two companions at Isfahan (approved by those at Hurmuz) of Fr. Benignus of S. Michael in 1613 to be sent to the Chapter General and inform the heads of the Order of affairs in the mission *viva voce*, the first instance of the dispatch of a Procurator and his Substitute would seem to have been in the persons of Fr. Dominic of Christ and Fr. Leonard of the Holy Spirit in 1636.¹ There was a 'Congress' at Shiraz in 1641 for the election of a Procurator, when Fr. Basil was chosen to attend as 'Companion' of the Prior of Isfahan, Fr. Hubert as 'Companion' of the Prior of Goa. Yet in a letter of 8.5.1645 (O.C.D. 237 c.) Fr. Dionysius of the Crown of Thorns appeared to consider this procedure a novelty:

". . . Fr. James had written" (i.e. from Rome) "that next year, i.e. 1647, after the election of the Prior of Isfahan, the Priors of Goa and Isfahan and their Companions have to meet to elect a Procurator and Substitute; but I do not find that in the rules of the Definitory. . . ."

The latest reference to such 'Congresses' of the two Priors and their Companions is found in a letter of Fr. Elias of S. Albert, 24.9.1691 (O.C.D. 237 h.):

"Fr. Gaspar Joseph, Prior of Isfahan, with Fr. Conrad his 'Companion' for the Congress . . . they left three weeks and some days ago to hold the Congress in *India* . . . for which I have committed to the said Fr. Prior the office of Visitor."

Not long afterwards the Convent of Goa ceased to be linked with that of Isfahan in one missionary province, and Religious to be transferred from one to the other: the Residences of Tatta and Diu had previously been abandoned.

¹ See Fr. Melchior of the Kings, 19.9.1636; Fr. Dimas, 13.8.1636; Fr. Stephen, 8.1.1636.

But such expeditions, which took Religious, and heads of convents too, away from their work for months in the case of Congresses, and in that of the visit to Rome for years even—for good sometimes, because the Procurator or his Substitute, or both, once back in Europe might not return to Persia and India where his experience made him valuable—became a heavy, and distressing burden in those periods when the numbers of the Carmelites from one cause or another had fallen so much that there were insufficient to provide a minimum of two Religious in priestly orders for each Residence. That was not the sole detriment to set against the advantage of one of their number making known both to the Order and to the Sac. Congregation in Rome its immediate needs in funds and workers, or against the contentment of a visit to the homeland, the missionary's province, convent, relatives, and the recovery of health which the journey may well have meant to some: the expense of all such travelling had to be met, for the most part at all events, from the small annual grant made for each missionary's maintenance, a grant often in arrears. So it is not surprising to find one Religious¹ writing on 5.6.1669 to the Definitory General thus:

" . . . The majority and more capable of the missionaries are convinced that it causes 'great detriment, both temporal and spiritual, to send out from Europe Visitor Generals 'little acquainted with these regions. . . . The ordinance to hold a Congress of the Priors 'of Goa and Isfahan with their 'Socii' . . . is onerous and totally unsuited to the present 'condition of our missions, where we are so few that scarcely is there one of us for each 'House. The letters of the missionaries will show how extremely upset they have been for 'more than a year past to carry out this ordinance. It seems to me better either to hold 'the canonical election for the Procurator of the mission immediately after the election of 'the Prior of Isfahan, or, indeed, to send (to Rome) a deputy not chosen canonically, but 'by acclamation and by letters written to the Vicar Provincial. . . ."

In that period of reduced numbers even to assemble a quorum for the election of a Prior of Isfahan was difficult: one senior Religious² wrote in August 1670 to Rome that canonical elections, when held by three or four Religious only, were unsatisfactory in his opinion: another,³ in 1673 from Shiraz, suggested that Basra should be excluded from the posts to send a representative, pointing out that from Basra to Isfahan such a journey might occupy five months and cause scandal to poor Christians at Basra, were the sole confessor speaking Arabic absent at Easter. So, with the diminished numbers of mission posts and Religious, in addition to the loss of the stations in India, it is not surprising that these elections and journeys had fallen into abeyance by the beginning of the eighteenth century. In fact, on 21.11.1692 the Definitory General, on the ground of expense and risks in travelling, ordered that these Congresses should not be held.

The following account of holders of the office does not profess to be complete: there were so many changes in the second half of the seventeenth century.

After the return to Rome from Isfahan of Fr. Paul Simon, the first leader of the mission to Persia, the new Praepositus General of the Order, Fr. Ferdinand of S. Mary, issued to the two Fathers remaining in Persia on 18.10.1608 (O.C.D. 236 a.) what reads more as an exhortation and counsel than an order, the language giving the key to the spirit that animated the earlier missionaries in the field, the harmony and keenness (and 'team-work', as the English term it), which made possible the rapid extension of their sphere of activity and the consideration enjoyed among the Persians and the root taken by their establishment in the country:

"So long as Fr. Paul does not return there with other orders, Fr. John" (Thaddeus) "will have the charge and headship of the Mission, and the rest will obey him, as it will 'be ordered in the 'letters patent' which go with this: and all will strive with great diligence 'to preserve the love and peace and charity which is needed among a people, which does

¹ Fr. Angelus of S. Joseph, O.C.D. 238 l.

² Fr. Felix, Shiraz, 4.8.1670, O.C.D. 238 p.

³ Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary, 5.9.1673, Shiraz, O.C.D. 238 q.

"not have it, neither do they know God, and which we hope with the example of Your Reverences will receive the Faith and salvation. . . . In order that this charity may be preserved the more, I give all my voice and the authority that I have to Fr. John to absolve . . . and to grant the favours which I can grant . . . and, should Fr. John die (which may our Lord not wish), let the next Superior with like authority be Fr. Vincent, and so on, in succession as they die, the most senior is to succeed without any delay. . . . I return to recommend to you charity and loving-kindness one with another a thousand and more times, and finally I conclude by saying 'always love one another, brethren, bear one another's burdens, and so you will fulfil the law of Christ, and He himself will bless and keep you. Amen, amen.'"

In the course of the next few years, as recruits were received from Europe, novices and lay brothers found locally, the Carmelites became gradually able to model the administration on the lines of that in the convents in Europe.

1612. *Fr. John Thaddeus of S. Elisaeus*. The first use of the title 'Prior' in papers preserved is perhaps to be found in the 'clausula' (a copy of which is in O.C.D. 236 b.), written by the Praepositus General in Rome on 20.4.1612 to the 'Discalced Carmelite Fathers of Persia' and beginning: "if the Father *Prior* Fr. Juan. . . ." In a letter from Hurmuz of 3.6.1613 (O.C.D. 239 b.) Fr. Vincent of S. Francis wrote of him as the "Father Prior John of S. Elisaeus" (another letter of the same Father from Hurmuz, 9.5.1613, twice terms Fr. Redempt "Sub-prior").

In his narrative—undated, but of 1615—Fr. Leander used the words—"Fr. John Thaddeus, *Prior* of the convent arrived from . . . Astrakhan . . . on the eve of "Pentecost last year" (1614).

1616-9. *Fr. Redempt of the Cross* left Isfahan for Europe 29.9.1615; he died in 1619 on the voyage from Portugal to return to Persia: and the account (in Spanish in O.C.D. 234 e., presumably by himself) of his journey from Isfahan to Portugal mentions that at the time of his departure the letters patent of his appointment as Prior, though eagerly expected, had not reached Isfahan and ultimately came to his hands in Goa, forwarded via Basra, on 6.2.1617.

The Definitory General in Rome, 4.1.1616 (see *Regesta*, vol. I, p. 33) decided that "someone should be put over the Fathers both at Isfahan and Hurmuz . . . and there was chosen as Superior in this way Fr. Redempt of the Cross."

"Fr. Redempt was the *last Prior canonically chosen*"—after his death Fr. John Thaddeus carried on the duties informally (see O.C.D. 238 d.: a document of 4.6.1622 regarding the resignation of Fr. Prosper). From 1615 till 1621, therefore, there was no canonically chosen, titular Prior at the Convent; notwithstanding that in his letter of 22.9.1621 to the Definitory General (O.C.D. 237 m.) Fr. John Thaddeus wrote: ". . . Fr. Vincent, Visitor, accepted my resignation of the *priorship* after his arrival"). Shortly after his arrival at Isfahan in May 1621,

1622-5. *Fr. Prosper of the Holy Spirit* was elected Prior (*vide* his letter of 8.9.1621). But, on account of scruples and doubts in the minds of some of the Fathers as to the validity of that election, on 4.6.1622 in chapter he renounced his priorship, and the same day he was re-elected canonically "for the three years up till the time when the provincial chapters of our congregation are to be held in the year 1625" (O.C.D. 238 d., document of 4.6.1622 cited above). After the dispatch by common consent, and the departure to Europe of Fr. Prosper on 12.9.1624 (see Fr. Prosper, O.C.D. 238 d., letter from Aleppo 27.2.1625), the three Fathers at the convent decided, after consulting authorities, that they could validly hold an election, and they elected Fr. Dimas of the Cross, 12.5.1625. After a month the election was deemed null and void for technical reasons (e.g. one of the electors, Fr. Elisaeus, not being a 'conventual' of the Convent of Isfahan, his letters patent not assigning him to that convent), and

- Fr. Dimas reverted to the position of 'Vicar' of the mission at Isfahan (*vide* Fr. Dimas' account 30.7.1626, O.C.D. 235 c.).
- 1628-30. *Fr. Leander of the Annunciation*, according to a list of Carmelite missionaries, undated but evidently compiled in 1628 or 1629, became Prior then (O.C.D. 235 n.) — "afterwards a chapter was held and Fr. Leander elected Prior of Isfahan" (see Fr. Dimas' letters, 18.9.1629 and 2.8.1630). He, however, died in 1630.
- By 1631 Fr. Dimas of the Cross had again been elected:¹ and in 1634 once more as Prior,² all the while holding the office together with that of Vicar Provincial. He died 1639.
1638. "At the morning session on the 29th May 1638 *Fr. Dominic of Christ* was elected to be Prior of the Convent of Isfahan."³
- "1640, 6th June. *Fr. James of S. Teresa* was elected Prior of the Convent of Isfahan for the "year 1640":⁴ and also on
- "1642, 9th January. *Fr. James of S. Teresa* elected Prior of the Convent of Isfahan."⁵ He left for Europe, chosen Procurator to the Chapter General to be held in Rome, before 4.5.1642.
- 1643-6. *Fr. Dionysius of the Crown of Thorns*: he mentions being at the end of his three years' term of office in a letter of March 1646.⁶
1646. *Fr. Balthazar of S. Mary* (according to a letter of Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, March 1646,⁷
1649. *Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas* as Prior of Isfahan went to attend the 'Congress' at Goa for election of Procurator, which was to take place in Feb.-March 1650,⁸ and remained on in Goa till 1654.
1652. "*Fr. Balthazar of S. Mary* had come out of the chalice," wrote Fr. Stephen in May 1652.⁹
1655. *Fr. Dionysius of the Crown of Thorns* signed as Prior the declaration of 5.5.1655.¹⁰
- 1667-70. *Fr. Dionysius of Jesus*, according to a letter of Fr. Felix of 1670, in which it was stated that Fr. Dionysius had been Prior for the previous 3 years, as well as Vicar Provincial.¹¹
1670. *Fr. Angelus of S. Joseph*.¹²
1673. *Fr. Angelus of S. Joseph*, re-elected (or continued to exercise the office).¹³ He was "induced to renounce his priorship" in 1675.¹⁴
1675. "*Fr. Athanasius elected in his place*."¹⁵
1676. *Fr. Jerome of S. Mary*.¹⁶
1682. *Fr. Celsus of S. Mary*—who died on his way to take up the post.¹⁷
- 1682 (*Decr. 4th*). *Fr. Elias of S. Albert*.¹⁸
- 1685 (*May 2nd*). *Fr. Elias of S. Albert*, re-elected, *vide* the letter from Fr. Amadeus, Shiraz, 31.5.1685:¹⁹ "here the chapter has been held, and confirmed Fr. Elias as Prior." He resigned 20.9.1686.²⁰
1686. *Fr. Amadeus of the Most Holy Trinity*.²¹
1689. *Fr. Amadeus of the Most Holy Trinity*, re-elected (*vide* his signature as "Prior" to a Latin document dated 19.6.1689, O.C.D. 236 b.). His eligibility was disallowed by the Curia of the Order in Rome²² in July 1689: and in his stead there was elected
1689. *Fr. Charles Hyacinth of S. Teresa*;²³ but he died at Basra, 19.4.1691, before he took up the post (*vide Chron. Basra*).

¹ Fr. Dimas—letters, 31.7.1631 and 24.10.1631, O.C.D. 237 b.

² Fr. Dimas, 20.5.1634, O.C.D. 237 b.

³ and ⁴ *Vide the Liber* 'for recording elections in Persia and the Indies', in MSS. O.C.D. archives.

⁵ *Liber* in MSS. O.C.D. archives, cited above.

⁷ 7.3.1646, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁸ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, Isfahan, 20.5.1650, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁹ Isfahan, 12.5.1652, O.C.D. 238 c., an allusion to the votes being placed in the chalice.

¹⁰ O.C.D. 237 c.

¹¹ Shiraz, O.C.D. 238 p.; also Fr. Athanasius, Shiraz, 5.8.1670, O.C.D. 238 m.

¹² See Fr. Felix, Shiraz, 1.8.1670 and 4.8.1670, O.C.D. 238 p.

¹³ Fr. Angelus, Isfahan, 15.6.1673, O.C.D. 236 i.

¹⁴ and ¹⁵ Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary, 31.8.1675, O.C.D. 238 q.

¹⁶ Fr. Agathangelus, Basra, 8.8.1676, O.C.D. 241 c.

¹⁷ Fr. Agathangelus, Basra, 8.8.1682, O.C.D. 241 c., and Fr. Elias, 14.7.1683, O.C.D. 237 h.

¹⁸ Fr. Elias, 14.7.1683, O.C.D. 237 h.

¹⁹ O.C.D. 238 i.

²⁰, ²¹, ²² and ²³ Fr. Elias, 26.7.1689, O.C.D. 237 h.

1691. Fr. Gaspar Joseph of S. Anne—*vide* his letter¹ 23.7.1691: "postquam supra dorsum meum fabricaverunt patres omnem curam hujus domus." He was sent to India for the Congress about 1.9.1691:² . . . "Fr. Gaspar Joseph, Prior of Isfahan, left . . ."
1695. Fr. Severin of S. Joseph, according to *Catalog. Miss.* "died at Isfahan, Prior, in 1695". He had only arrived at Isfahan from Europe late in 1693.³
1696. Fr. John Francis of S. Hermengild was Prior on 30.12.1696 when he preached a sermon at the consecration of Bishop Elias.⁴
1699. Fr. Basil of S. Charles mentioned as 'Prior' on 14.6.1699 in *Chron. Basra*.
1700. Fr. Peter of Alcantara of S. Teresa was elected Prior at the Chapter in May, held the position till April 1702—and perhaps till April 1703, it would seem from *Chron. Basra*, alluding to his being sent to Basra *after* the chapter had been held at Isfahan that spring.
1705. Fr. Raymond of S. Michael signed as 'Prior', 10.2.1705, a letter printed in *Chron. Basra*: he also signed as 'Prior' a letter of 13.9.1707, Isfahan (O.C.D. 238 g.) when he had then been five years alone in the Convent in Isfahan city, "jam a 5 annis solus manens
"ac domum cum suo horto satis amplam pro modulo servans. . . ."

It seems probable that after Fr. Raymond—and he died at *Shiraz* in or before March 1715—there was no longer a resident Prior of the Convent, because he had no subordinates in residence there: only at rare intervals, and by exceptions, e.g. by Fr. Faustin and Lay Brother Ferdinand, were the Convent premises in the city inhabited: the Religious lived in the Residence at Julfa. Fr. Jerome Francis of S. Joseph in 1725 (in the argument over the post of Superior at Julfa,⁵ alluding to his own position before he went to Europe in 1719) does, however, claim that "il gouverna toujours cette maison" (Julfa) "non obstant qu'il fût qualifié 'du titre de Prieur du Couvent d'Hispanhan'", i.e. that he held the titular position of Prior, while residing at Julfa.

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Apart from the Instructions delivered to Visitors General before their departure from Rome by the Praepositus General, and from the directions enjoined on the missionaries by the 'ordinances' of the Visitors during or at the end of the Visitations, notice may here conveniently be taken of some of a series of decisions or injunctions regarding the Mission issued by the Definitory General in Rome and recorded in the *Regesta* of their proceedings, for these supplement those above-mentioned or otherwise explain developments in the main story.

On 18.5.1610—"because of the circumstances of the times"—the Fathers in Persia were authorized to beg alms: to accept and retain money for expenditure on pious uses (vol. I, p. 12). Without permission from the Praepositus General the Superior at Isfahan appointed in Rome, 4.1.1616 (vol. I, p. 33) might not dispatch any Religious to Europe (on 11.12.1687, "in order to stop missionaries returning to Europe without leave, the prohibition was reinforced by "penalties of six months' imprisonment"), nor anywhere except to other mission stations: the local Superior of any Residence might send up to a limit of 30 miles only any subordinate Religious (a decision of 9.1.1630 made liable to imprisonment and other penalties those who should return to Italy without such leave).

It was doubtless due to the criticisms by Fr. Vincent of S. Teresa of practices current when he wrote to Rome in 1613 that Religious

"might not ride through the City of Isfahan, nor keep horses at the House, nor incur
"expenditure not in conformity with Poverty. . . ."

¹ O.C.D. 236 b.

³ and ⁴ See *Vita P. F. Elia* . . ., O.C.D. 320 c.

² Fr. Elias, 24.9.1691, O.C.D. 237 h.

⁵ O.C.D. 238 u.

However, that injunction about riding appears to have not been generally practised so long as the Fathers had to be constantly attending on Shah 'Abbas I and visiting him. They might not allow Religious from other Orders to remain (as guests) in the House more than 15 days, or seculars more than 8: the admission of novices without special licence from the Praepositus General was forbidden.

Before sending Fr. Vincent of S. Francis as the first Visitor General the Definitory General on 16.6.1620 (see *Regesta*, vol. I, p. 76) modified those Instructions of 1616. The Visitor General was given faculties to grant authority to the Vicar Provincial in Persia, when three seniors were in agreement, to make new mission posts and hospices, admit Europeans and such as had been born in wedlock of Portuguese parents to the Carmelite habit: similar faculties to allow Religious to ride through the City of Isfahan, and to accompany the Shah to his camps, but not to remain there continuously.

In their session of 8.1.1630 (vol. II, p. 47) the Definitory General limited the reception of novices to the Convents proper, i.e. that at Isfahan and that of the Mother of God in Goa: and they insisted on the observance without dispensation of those Constitutions which prohibit the lodging of secular guests in the Convents, unless by

“chance they are men who have deserved well of our Congregation, as also that persons “extraneous to the Order should only rarely be admitted to the common meals in refectory”.

On 23.4.1638 the Chapter General conveyed its authority to the Definitory General in affairs of the Missions: so on 5.6.1638, *inter alia*, the Definitory General laid down, as regards that of Persia and the East:

- I. The Praepositus General should choose the Vicar Provincial while the Priors of the Convents of Isfahan and Goa were to be appointed either in the Chapter General or (outside the time of the chapter) by the Definitory General, who would always select the Sub-priors and novice-masters. (On 9.1.1642, however, the Definitory General committed to the Visitor General for the three years beginning 1643 the choosing of the Sub-priors.) Three ‘letters patent’ would be sent via Lisbon to the Convent at Goa by the ships leaving Lisbon towards February or March usually: the three others by way of the Hospice at Aleppo for the Convent of Isfahan. These sealed ‘letters patent’ to be opened in public chapter and read. The names of those appointed to offices were to be written in a ‘special book’ at Rome, “so that the secret may be kept”, i.e. in advance of the patents being received.
- II. As to duration, the offices of the Vicar Provincial, Priors and Sub-priors were to begin on the Saturday before the third Sunday after Easter, when elsewhere in the Provinces of the Order appointments were being made, and to last till that day in the third year from the announcement of their appointments by the opening of the sealed letters patent.
- III. Some thirteen clauses dealt with the authority of the Vicar Provincial, who was to have his residence in Persia proper, but during his three years’ term make a visitation of all posts, or delegate this duty to another, transmitting to the Definitory General copies of all ordinances he issued (re-enacted 10.6.1683). Priors and Vicars of Residences were under the obligation of furnishing him annually with a detailed account of progress at each station, and in his turn the Vicar Provincial was to compile from these an annual report to the Order in Rome. (Despite reiteration of this injunction by the Definitory General, 26.10.1662—see *Regesta*, vol. V, p. 173—on Vicars Provincial, Priors, Vicars and Presidents to transmit accurate statements annually of all matters concerning the Mission both to the Sacr. Cong. de Propaganda Fide and to the Definitory General itself, this instruction was, unfortunately, rarely properly observed, or exacted by headquarters in Rome.)

Each single Religious the Vicar Provincial was to assign as a conventual to one or

other of the Convents, and Religious under pains and penalties were not to seek to change their assignment. He could make it binding on those elected prior or sub-prior to accept those offices, as also on procurators and substitutes, when elected by majority votes: he could transfer the property of one convent to another with the consent of the chapters. (On 30.5.1650—see *Regesta*, vol. III, p. 346—it was made clear that the Sub-prior of Isfahan was to be chosen from conventuals residing in posts outside India, the Sub-prior of Goa from those conventuals at Indian stations, Tatta being reckoned in India, Basra outside India.)

- IV. Provision for the election, on the Saturday before the third Sunday after Easter, three years before each Chapter General, in which they were to take part, of a Procurator of the Mission and of his Substitute—the election covering a term of six years. They were to report to the Chapter General the names of Religious in the Mission, both living and dead, in the past years, and on the condition of the Mission. (A decision by the Definitory General on 10.6.1683—*Regesta*, vol. VI, p. 236—modified this: "No Congress shall be held to elect a Procurator and his Substitute from the Mission "in the East to the chapter immediately following, notwithstanding a declaration to "the contrary made elsewhere.")
- V. Specified the manner of the election of the Procurator and Substitute. Eight days before the departure of the Priors of Isfahan and Goa for the Congress where the election was to be held, a 'Socius' or companion for each of them was to be chosen by the chapter of the Convent, the Prior himself not voting: the person selected to be a priest and conventual, and have been professed at least five years. The Congress might be delayed eight days for voters who had not arrived by the appointed date. A Visitor General, if present, was to take precedence and preside: in his absence the Vicar Provincial, who was obliged to be present, though he was not to vote unless he simultaneously held the office of Prior. It was for the Vicar Provincial to designate the place for the Congress (see *Regesta* for 10.6.1683): Priors and 'Socii' incurred deposition and deprivation of vote for a year, respectively, by not attending.

On 17.5.1641 (see *Regesta*, vol. III, p. 124) the Definitory General withdrew from the Vicar Provincial the right hitherto held and delegated by him of accepting novices "for it is "the intention of the Congregation not to receive the profession of any". (By 10.6.1683—see *Regesta*, vol. VI, p. 236—this had been relaxed, for the Definitory General ordered that no one should be professed, whether chorist or lay brother, unless he took the additional vow to go to the Missions: and sanction was given the Convent of Goa to clothe six chorist brothers well versed in Latin, and three lay brothers.) On 4.11.1666 (vol. VI, p. 283) the Vicar Provincial was granted a faculty of appointing a Substitute for himself in Persia, when he was in India, and one in India, when he was in Persia. Owing to the difficulty, elsewhere explained, of collecting in one place the conventuals from the various Residences, on 7.7.1667 (vol. V, p. 310) the Definitory General authorized the election of the 'Socius' for the next Congress to take place at the same time as the election of the Priors of Isfahan and Goa.

The Ordinances issued by the Definitory General on 27.5.1676 (see *Regesta*, vol. V, p. 587) mainly applied to Residences in India, and to the Convent of Goa, where, strangely enough, and contrary to former decrees "the Vicar Provincial was to reside for the greater part of the time". "The regulations made by the Definitory General on 27.6.1678 (vol. VI, p. 48) are more disciplinary and concrete.

Religious at Isfahan were required to apply themselves to the study of oriental languages or which there was to be assigned them by the Vicar Provincial a "Praelector" to teach them daily at fixed times and, like those in other Residences, were admonished to pay serious attention to this requisite. Moreover, on 10.6.1683, the Definitory General decreed suspension from office for one year against any Prior or Vicar, who did not provide for such language masters: and Religious negligent in learning the language would be confined to the House till they had learnt enough of it in the opinion of their Superior. The prohibition by past

Visitors General of riding through the streets of Isfahan and Shiraz, or the carrying of arms was renewed. No Persian hat or cloak might be worn in the towns; on journeys, however, any European and uniform hat might be used and, where the Muhammadans objected to non-Muslims wearing white cloaks, a grey-coloured habit and simple 'Abba (i.e. Persian cloak). Under pain of punishments, and of suspension for Superiors, to be inflicted by the Vicar Provincial, no Religious might be present at public entertainments or banquets (this, as will have been noted in the main story, had not been made a rule in the past as regards the Shahs' hospitality; and dispensations must have been accorded frequently in the future, as instances will show).

A regulation in this list, which the archives today indicate to have been imperfectly observed, was:

"the renewal of the ordinance that each missionary is required twice a year to write to
"the Praepositus General or other senior Superior, and give news of the state of the
"Residences and of the Mission":

on the other hand no one, subordinate or Superior, was to dare open or keep back letters coming for the missionaries from their Superiors (i.e. in Rome, etc.), or those written by the Religious in Persia and the Indies to their Superiors. It was enjoined as a standing order that in every House of the Mission three books were to be kept, (a) for accounts; (b) for the visitations; (c) for the recording of whatever happened in the Mission.

Contrary to the precedents of many years and instances, it was now decided that a Vicar Provincial ought not simultaneously to be Prior of a Convent "on account of the various "inconveniences which can arise from his (local) absence". The request of the head of the French India Company at Gāmbnun, or Bandar 'Abbas, for a Religious to leave Shiraz for that place, live with the French at the port, and in due course return to the Residence at Shiraz was granted by the Definitory General. (This, however, was modified on 24.5.1685—see *Regesta*, vol. VI, p. 291—the Definitory General having

"had news that it is impossible for our missionaries to remain the whole year in our
"Residence [?] sic] at Gāmbnun or Bandar 'Abbas on account of the very bad climate,
"especially in summer-time; and as in going and coming between Gāmbnun and Shiraz,
"and vice versa, a considerable outlay of money is required, besides the risk . . . of very
"serious illness for the Religious, particularly those returning to Shiraz from Gāmbnun
"because of the change of climate, totally different, as proved by experience; and as also
"on the other hand our Religious in going and returning from Basra to Gāmbnun by the
"ships going there from India or returning often incur small expense or none at all, owing
"to the usual kindness and generosity observed towards our Religious by the masters of
"the ships, the Vicar Provincial of Persia and India is ordered to keep at least four Religious
"in the Residence at Basra, two of whom, the Vicar Provincial should designate, are to
"go to Gāmbnun with the ships returning to India, and with the ships coming from India
"they are to return from Gāmbnun to Basra and be subordinate to the Fr. Vicar at
"Basra. . . .")

Finally, Religious in the Mission posts were forbidden to mix themselves in the business of lay-folk.

Two years later, 12.6.1680 (see *Regesta*, vol. VI, p. 120), with regard to Procurators from the Mission in Persia and the East it was laid down that both they and their Substitutes jointly ought to get off every six years to attend the Chapter General in Rome, the one to be elected by the Residences in Persia, the other by those in India. But, though both had to attend, the Substitute would vote in the elections in Rome only were the Procurator not to put in an appearance; when from death or other cause neither attended at the time of the Chapter General, they ought to come to Rome in the following triennial period. If the Vicar Provincial

were himself elected Procurator or Substitute, he was given the faculty of leaving two substitutes, one in Persia, the other in India, who after his departure might sit in his seat and perform his functions (see *Regesta* for 10.6.1683, vol. VI, p. 237).

On 30.7.1683 the Definitory General drew up from all their preceding enactments a compendium of "Instructions to the Missions":

"Since on account of the variety of the particular activities of different convents different "Instructions have been issued, e.g. for convents of the noviciates, the hermitages, and "studies, arranged to suit activities at each, it was judged fitting by our Definitory General, "to whom this was committed by our Chapter General, to prescribe instructions adjusted "to the occupations and duties of missionaries in the East, to have a compulsory force "and be permanently binding. They are collected from ordinances made at many different "times and, together with the repeal of others to the contrary, they are extended to the "missionaries for their observance: in other matters, not here specifically noted, they ought "to keep to those statutes found in our Constitutions, ordinances for all. . . ."

Divided into twelve chapters, regarding the

- (a) activities for the missionaries;
- (b) new missions not to be accepted, and the clothing of novices;
- (c) Vicar Provincial;
- (d) Substitute to the Vicar Provincial;
- (e) Visitor General;
- (f) election of Priors, their jurisdiction;
- (g) other elections to be held in chapters at convents;
- (h) Congress, and election for a Procurator;
- (i) Procurator and the Substitute;
- (j) Vicars of Residences;
- (k) archives and what is to be kept in them;
- (l) distribution and disposal of property;

this compendium is of great length, and repetition here of enactments already mentioned would be tedious. Only certain orders not hitherto quoted will here be given, e.g. in

- (a) "the Religious will first do two hours of mental prayer in common, without any dispensation: at the customary hours the examination of conscience is likewise to be "done in common: regularly they are to take in silence the meal which is preceded "by the reading of Sacred Scripture or of another spiritual book: once a week to hold "a debate on Polemic Theology, or Ethics: and so to distribute other occupations both "external and domestic that one does not stop the other; everything be always done "with (due) subordination to their Superior.

"But in the Convent of Isfahan, where the Vicar Provincial will have to arrange "for there always to be four or five, when there be so many they shall recite together "the Divine Office in that way as it is recited in the Houses of Study, but with shorter "pauses: and the other exercises are to be distributed after the manner of Houses of "Study. In the Convent of Goa, when actually there shall be literary exercises there, "they are to arise for Matins at midnight, except in those months when the heat is "excessive, so that other Religious also do not arise at midnight. The custom of other "churches, particularly of Regulars, is to be followed as to the hour of singing solemn "Mass. . . .

"Spiritual exercises are to be done by everyone for ten days each year. When it "can be done, the baptizing of children near to death both in the towns and hamlets "shall be continued, care being taken, however, that it be done only at the point of "death. So that both this and other occupations of the missionaries may be the more

“readily admitted in them, they shall be studious to show themselves at the disposal
 “of the Armenians, and whatsoever others whose salvation will be at their charge, by
 “visiting them, treating them kindly and, where it be the custom, by frequenting
 “their houses.

“And, because notice of Religious in our Congregation dying rarely reaches the
 “Missions, there will be recited for them in the Convents and Residences for one week
 “each in common their responsories, and in private three parts of the Rosary by every-
 “one. For missionaries dying in India, Persia or Syria, or those who die on the journey
 “or destined for the Missions, prayers for the dead ought to be offered in that Province,
 “in which they were conventuals before being assigned to the Seminary or to the
 “Missions. In addition the same suffrages are to be offered in each Convent and
 “Residence of our Missions as are done in their own Provinces for Religious dying
 “in them.

“All cells are to be furnished according to the regulation in our Constitutions, first
 “part, chap. 3. But we give a dispensation for the habits, shirts, and for the blankets
 “on the beds that these can be made of lighter material, but still of wool, and to be
 “made of rougher cloth, as has been the use up to now.

“Superiors are to take care that, whenever it be necessary to give instructions to
 “others and especially to women in the mysteries of our Faith and in Christian doctrine,
 “that shall be done regularly in the church or in another public and open place: in
 “no wise or under any pretext, even of confession, shall they or others, non-penitents,
 “be permitted to enter cells of the Religious.

- (b) “Without express permission from the Definitory General and a faculty in writing
 “no one shall be admitted to the habit and make a profession, on pain of nullity of
 “the same. For the intention of the Order is on no account to admit, in this way,
 “to the habit and to profession any except Europeans.

“But if anyone, when such permission has been obtained, shall be clothed, it shall
 “be done by the express sanction of the Vicar Provincial.

“There shall be admitted to the habit, and to be professed none except sons of a
 “European father and mother—those who are called *castizos* or *mestizos*, however,
 “we wish to have completed twenty years of age, to have persevered for a whole year
 “in petitioning for the habit, and to have studied philosophy. No Superior can give
 “a dispensation from this: indeed permission given otherwise shall not be valid.

“Brahmins and Canarese shall in no wise be received, whether as choir or lay
 “brothers, on pain of nullity both of the profession and the reception of such persons.
 “Without the express licence of the Definitory General in writing neither the Vicar
 “Provincial nor anyone else can give a dispensation from this.

“In case licence be granted for anyone, whoever it may be, they are not to admit
 “anyone without a sufficient knowledge of Latin and a certificate of baptism, which
 “is to be read out, together with information provided, in the Chapter General before
 “reception into the habit.

“As, because of the lack of lay brothers, they usually employ Tertiaries we give a
 “dispensation for the Convent at Goa and the Residence at Diu with regard to their
 “habit that, as up till now, such persons can remove it, and join with the Religious
 “in the acts of the community publicly performed in church, and serve the first meal,
 “as in other matters laid down for Tertiaries.

- (f) “All conventuals of the two Convents have an active vote. When there are less than
 “four Religious at Isfahan and more than two at Shiraz, while the two junior remain
 “at Shiraz, the remaining senior Religious by profession are obliged to proceed to
 “Isfahan to vote.

“When anyone absent be elected Prior, until his arrival he who has just laid down
 “the office shall continue to rule the House with the title of Vicar. On the death of
 “a Vicar Provincial the Prior has no authority to change Vicars of Residences, except

- “for urgent need. Whenever a Prior be about to leave for the Chapter General in Rome as Procurator, he shall nominate a Vicar to govern the House in his absence.
- (g) “On account of the small number of Religious in the Convent of Isfahan the election of Sub-priors and others shall be omitted.
- (j) “Vicars of Residences each month shall make a reckoning of expenditure, such as in Convents is done by the Prior with his counsellors. One page is to have the receipts each month, the other the expenditure—to correspond with each other, the Vicar and senior Father to sign them, as also the book of Masses.
- (k) “In the press, with three keys to it, in each Convent or Residence there shall be space for the archives, in which are to be kept (besides the three books—accounts, visitation orders, record of events)—entries of Masses, privileges of the Order, any special ones for that Residence, what title deeds are held concerning the property of the House: should any of these be got out, until they are put back a note is to be placed in the archives specifying in whose possession that book or document is.
- “Besides these, at Isfahan there shall be archives in which the Vicar Provincial preserves all original documents concerning the Convent and Residences in Persia: the Prior to have one key of this archive-box, the Vicar Provincial or his Substitute the other.
- (l) “The Vicar Provincial will have charge of the distribution of money sent for the financial assistance of the mission posts, or in whatever manner, but is to distribute the whole of it at once according to the needs of each post, keeping in reserve such portion as may be required for journey expenses of himself and others (a provision, originally, of 19.11.1658). Of the money so distributed the Priors of the Convents, Vicars and presidents at Residences are to have the control, as well as of alms from Masses and other sources; all to be kept in the press with three keys, held respectively by the Prior or Vicar and senior Fathers, without the presence of each of whom it ought not to be possible for money to be withdrawn. The Vicar Provincial has to give to the Visitor General and his successor as Vicar Provincial, who will both sign and send it to the Definitory General, an account of the distribution of such funds.
- “In no wise, and under no pretext, may money be advanced on loan to Muhammadans or other infidels whatsoever, even on the pretext of their embracing the Catholic Faith: if in some rare case need or Christian charity require that Catholics be given the assistance of a loan, it shall be done with the consent of the senior Fathers, or counsellors of the Prior respectively. In such case the sum is not to exceed 12 silver scudi, and something of greater value is first to be received in pledge.
- “When money is to be put out at interest, it shall be done with the consent of the Chapter, or of all at the particular Residence, written sanction having first been received from the Vicar Provincial, such permission only to be used in case of grave need.
- “The Vicar Provincial is bound absolutely to employ all alms received from begging by Conventuals of Goa in Mozambique by placing the money at interest or in contracts to yield a profit or in buying real property: the interest on the investment of this capital to be distributed by the Vicar Provincial according to the wants of the Residences especially in Persia.

“Various queries having arisen regarding the above provisions and been settled, on 21.11.1689 in the Definitory General there was a fresh discussion about matters concerning the Missions of Persia and the Indies and, all reports from them since the previous sessions having been considered, and the Fr. Procurator of those Missions” (this was Fr. Peter Paul of S. Francis) “having made oral statements privately and publicly, the Definitory General were of opinion that nothing could be definitely decided but what it might not soon have to be changed, in view of the small number of the Religious. So, to lighten inconveniences which might perhaps arise from the Rule, as an experiment they issued

"certain orders, to last till the Definitors General had fuller news and experience: such orders being recorded in the *Acta*, vol. VII, p. 112 (55).

"In 1695 other ordinances were made, as recorded in vol. VIII, p. 61 and p. 80. On 19.12.1703 there were some fresh orders, see vol. X, p. 8. In 1704, on account of the completely altered state of the Missions in the East of the Carmelite Order, the ordinances were changed and others substituted, see vol. X, p. 66: these were confirmed on 19.12.1719, and new ones added, see vol. XI, p. 284."

Indeed, with Portuguese official intransigence over non-Portuguese Religious being in Portuguese India, on 21.11.1692 in an extraordinary session the Definitory General laid down that:

- "(a) the Praepositus General should appoint *two* Vicars Provincial, one for the Convent of Isfahan and Residences outside India, the other for the Convent of Goa and Residence inside India, since it is proved by experience that, in view of the distance between the places, one single Vicar Provincial cannot attend to the government both inside and outside India.
- "(b) the Praepositus General gave a faculty to the Vicars Provincial in consultation and agreement with each other to transfer Religious from one zone to the other: each might act as agent and procurator for the other.
- "(c) to avoid expense and risk a Congress for the election of a Procurator would no more be held, or the election of 'Socii' to it: but two years before the Chapter General . . . there shall be in the one Convent election of a Procurator, in the other of a Substitute, alternatively from each in future. . . .
- "(d) at such elections the Frs. Vicar Provincials, Priors and all conventuals in the Convents at the time of election have votes: Vicars of Residences might also be present, should they wish.
- "(e) both Procurator and Substitute should by letters inform themselves of the condition of all stations, and report on them to the Chapter General. . . .
- "(f) in regard to the departure of a Vicar Provincial for some urgent reason outside the limits of his jurisdiction, in the appointment of Vicars of Residences, distribution of money grants, authorizing any building costing more than 50 scudi, punishing faults and suspending Priors from their offices, the Vicar Provincial was to depend on the assent or opinion of either the Prior of the Convent or another consultor.
- "(g) in April or thereabouts, when elections are wont to be held, it is the 'winter-time' in India: and, should anyone resident on the Malabar coast be elected Prior (of Goa), he would only be able to arrive after many months: so the Definitory General ordered that in future elections for Prior of Goa should be from three years to three years, on the Feast of All Saints of our Order, i.e. 14th November. . . ."

(N.B.—These quotations from the *Regesta* are taken from the digest of the Proceedings of the Definitory General made from the MSS. by Fr. Ambrosius a Sta Theresia, Archivist General of the Order.)

(B) FINANCING OF 'THE MISSION TO PERSIA AND THE INDIES'

THE PROVISION of funds for their living and other expenses counted for so much in the directions taken by the Mission in the course of its life, in the restriction of its activities and also in the apparent meagreness of results as to be in part responsible for its disappearance from the Persian field; and some account of the sources and amounts and remittance of the income is required to enable the reader to judge rightly the position.

To Religious who have taken the vow of poverty, privations—at the best frugal feeding and barest necessities—are matters of choice, and part of the Religious Life: and it is doubtless common for communities to get into debt; but, when surrounding conditions are in Christian countries, there is all the difference to the pressure and effect on health and general utility of work in those semi-civilized, where some amenities are essential. In building up organizations in European or civilized countries the Mendicant Orders have been usually able to rely on obtaining the requisite funds in alms-offerings or bequests of the rich locally: *in partibus infidelium* obviously such could rarely prove the case for missionaries. It was the aim of the pioneer Carmelite missionaries to burden the Order as little as possible and to become self-supporting. On the other hand there is a considerable supply of evidence going to show that, on its part, the Congregation of Italy, and subsequently the whole united Order contributed little from the resources of the Order and its component provinces to maintain the various posts.

As has been related elsewhere in this compilation, it was the Baron di Cacurri, who in 1602-4, with his offer to endow a mission among Muslims, made it possible for the initial dispatch of the Mission to Persia to take place. The sequel to the Cacurri legacy, the apportionment of it, is briefly told in a manuscript book kept in the archives of the Order:

"Among the benefactors deserving eternal remembrance, who have co-operated to "provide temporal sustenance for our missions, the foremost was the illustrious Don Francis "Cimini, Baron of lands called Cacurri, situated in the province of cis-Calabria in the "kingdom of Naples. For in his last testament, made on the 28th September 1608, he "assigned for the financial support of a *seminary*,¹ which by virtue of the Brief of Paul V "given on 15.10.1605 was to be erected, 3,000 *ducats a year* of Neapolitan money, which "make 2,250 in Roman money, as a bequest annually to be paid by his heir and nephew, "D. Paul Cimini."

"After many difficulties raised over the acceptance of the estate thus burdened, this heir "at length accepted it in December 1608; but, in respect of the above-mentioned pious "bequest, he made an agreement with Fr. Ferdinand of S. Mary, specially appointed at "Rome for that purpose, by which he bound himself to give instead of those 3,000 ducats "to our Seminary 1,400 ducats secured on the annual yield of various taxes, and other "annual fiscal revenues legally constituted, and also in the month of June of the said year

¹ The same manuscript-book in the archives of the missions, O.C.D., has the following on record:

"*The Roman Seminary*

"For more successful results (to be obtained) from the work of the missions, in the Chapter General of our Congregation "held in the year 1605 it was decreed that there should be erected in Rome a Seminary for the missions, in which our "brethren anxious to go out to the missions might be trained in skill in the necessary languages, in learning for disputa- "tions and in other exercises more adapted to the objective of the missions, and be able to undertake such a task the "more expeditiously. Wherefore our Convent of S. Silvestro in Tusculano was first allotted to this object: after some "years our Convent of S. Paul, newly finished and solely for this: then, too, S. Mary of the Victory: finally *in the year* "1662 the Convent of S. Pancrazio without the walls of the City, where the seminarists live under the direction of a Fr. "Rector and Vice-rector who are chosen for the period of 3 years by the Definitory General which immediately follows "after the Chapter General. . . ."

A plan of the fabric of the convent of the Seminary at San Pancrazio was submitted to the Definitory General, 27.10.1662 (see *Regesta*, vol. V, p. 174), by Fr. Dominic of the Most Holy Trinity, then Praepositus General, and approved.

"to present another 600 ducats, so as to complete the sum of 2,000 ducats, but as to the
 "remaining 1,000 ducats a year he promised to pay there and then 2,000 ducats, and
 "afterwards for 8 years 1,000 ducats each year, so as to produce a total sum of 8,000 ducats,
 "which sum ought afterwards to yield the remaining income. The consent of the king
 "and the Pope having been first obtained, this agreement was covenanted in a public
 "instrument drawn up 10.2.1609.

"By the covenant mentioned the Seminary received possession of that pious bequest,
 "but for the reason that the party covenanting, i.e. Don Paul Cimini, had stood by his
 "promises to a very small extent, as the result of a long law-suit lasting up to the year 1622,
 "it was at length settled that a new contract should be made: and by it in the place of
 "the bequest mentioned above there were assigned to our Seminary certain capital sums,
 "and revenues accruing on various excise-taxes of the city and kingdom of Naples. Although
 "these were very uncertain in their yield, they were accepted and applied to our Roman
 "Seminary.

"Thus that pious bequest of 3,000 ducats our Seminary never effectively received, but
 "only verbally, and in place of the said sum it now enjoys the following income:

	CAPITAL		
	ducats	dari	grains
"(i) On the excise on oil and soap and new taxes and customs "of Apulia	9,823	2	11
"(i) On the tax on silk in Catalonia, and new customs in the "kingdom of Naples	6,590	—	19
"(iii) On the excise on salt	2,550	—	—
" " " wine (a seventh)	1,000	—	—
"(iv) On customs and excise, gold and silver	617	—	15
"(v) On wine, sold and exported outside the kingdom	522	2	10
<hr/>			
"ducats: 21,103 1 15			

"The yield from the taxes mentioned fluctuated according to circumstances affecting
 "general prosperity, e.g. the rebellion at Naples in 1647, the epidemic of plague throughout
 "the kingdom in 1656, decline of trade and the increase in cost of money in 1690. . . ."

When Fr. Paul Simon, first leader of the mission, set out from Isfahan to return to Europe
 in the spring of 1608, he left with his companions

"250 gold scudi (395 Roman scudi) with instructions that it was to last us for two years.
 "But the expense of living here is very great."¹

Shah 'Abbas had sent them, when they arrived, 100 Tumans,² i.e. 1,000 gold scudi, 40 of
 which were distributed by Fr. Paul Simon among the Mihmandar and royal officials charged
 with the reception of the mission, but the remaining 60 "returned as not needed": at the start
 the missionaries endeavoured to keep strictly to an intention not to receive money in cash
 from Persians.

At some length in his letter of 3.1.1619³ Fr. John Thaddeus explained to the Definitory
 General in Rome how they should not rely on obtaining locally funds sufficient to keep up
 the mission, and needed a subvention from the Order:

"We cannot rely here on living on alms-offerings, because there is no one from whom
 "to beg them. The Muhammadans cannot be asked because, besides the inconvenience,

¹ Fr. John Thaddeus, undated, O.C.D. 236 a.

² Fr. John Thaddeus added: "this king is *not* very liberal".

³ Fr. John Thaddeus, O.C.D. 237 m.

"they consider as rogues and have a very bad opinion of those who out of laziness (so it appears to them) live by begging from others. This is a thing which displeases the king too, as he himself verbally expressed to me, telling me that he desired that we should live without being under an obligation to anyone. There is no reason why we should do things such as would make us objects of contempt and dislike to the king in particular: we, who claim to preach to them the Christian Faith and to persuade them to make such a great change, ought, in order to render ourselves capable of doing that, to try and gain the greatest possible credit and reputation with them.

". . . The Christians of these countries can neither be, nor ought to be asked to give to us because, apart from our being unable to look for more than a very small sum as they are of like mind with the Muslims regarding those who go about begging, they are far from liberal, so that the very priests of their own race have difficulty in extracting alms from them: in fact often when importunate the latter are driven away from their houses . . . even were we able to expect a great deal, it is not right for us to put ourselves under obligations to them . . . we are here for the contrary purpose—to rescue them from their errors through plain speaking. . . .

". . . Nor can any reliance be placed on the 'Franks' passing through Isfahan for alms enough to suffice us for our food, for they are so very few, and most of them merchants, more intent on making money than on giving it away to others. . . . So that I conclude that, since we cannot exist in these parts on alms, it is needful for the Fathers to be diligent in providing us from Italy with funds for our food . . . so that we may not lose our reputation, which is above all else valued in these parts, by being seen running from door to door, day after day, shamelessly, perhaps begging from persons whom we ought rather to be helping some 4 'abbasi to provide a day's victuals for the Convent. . . ."

From Rome he had been informed that a sum of 500 scudi had been kept in reserve for the missionaries: that led Fr. John Thaddeus to remark:

"The provision for our support—scudi 500 per annum—which, Your Reverences acquaint us, has been assigned and placed on one side for this Mission will be of no utility unless sent here: and there is no lack of opportunity for sending it, because two or three times yearly ships leave Venice for Aleppo" (Alexandretta, the port for Aleppo, is meant): "and, should by chance owing to the wars in Italy the Venetian ships fail to come, those from Marseilles are never lacking—ordinarily every 2 months or little less frequently ships sail from that port for Syria.

"On this point we have also to point out that, on account of the distances, the difficulties experienced in the past in remitting funds and the many disasters that may happen on the way with the risk of loss of the money sent, it would be well that not only the allotment should be sent annually without fail and in advance, so that the Convent may not suffer any privation (such as that in which we have found ourselves in the past, with no means of remedying it), but also that in Persia the provision should always be made for two years in advance—one year for current needs, that for the second year kept in reserve, in case some year the ordinary funds to be remitted from Italy fail to come to hand, either from inability to remit them, or because they have been lost *en route* at sea, or on land."

Although the Definitory General in Rome, 16.6.1620 (see *Regesta*, vol. I, p. 76) ordered that the Religious in Persia were to be maintained by a remittance to them every year of 500 scudi from the income of the Cimini bequest it is to be doubted whether remittances from Europe became any more regular. The first Visitor General, who arrived out at Isfahan in the summer of 1621,

"brought only 325 scudi gold, which were spent while he was in the House—after his departure we began to get into debt,"¹

¹ Fr. Prosper, 8.9.1621, O.C.D. 238 d.

and again:

"it is necessary to give away money to many, and one has to spend more on those outside than in the Convent. . . ."¹

The Prior (Fr. Prosper) mentioned, too, that they were fifteen in the House to be fed, including servants.

Then, 11.4.1622:

". . . We are in great straits. . . . We had been living on the 500 ducats of Pietro della Valle. . . . Only on bread and vegetables and rice, without extra things . . . with the expenses we have spent 1,000 ducats, and till now I have gone very frugally. A Religious costs a great deal. We can hope for nothing from Hurmuz. . . ."

Next year the position was worse, for the Fathers had the courage to create two new missions at Shiraz and Basra:

"Of the 900 scudi sent for this House we were given 534: another 620 gold scudi were sent by Fr. Leander from India of which we recovered 310; so that in all we have 844 gold scudi. We were owing 300 gold scudi, besides the 500 repaid to P. della Valle: 300 had been spent on putting the House at Shiraz into shape, and 300 scudi on expenses at Isfahan in the past 5 months: 600 scudi gold were still owed as the price of the House at Shiraz. . . ."

"At that time the Fathers in Isfahan stood in great want for means of subsistence, for two years past having maintained themselves on loans . . . and in the greatest misery",

related Fr. Basil in his account² of his being sent to Basra, March 1623.

The 'Instructions' given by the Praepositus General in 1624 to the second Visitor General included:³

"In Isfahan your Reverence will discuss with the Religious how that Convent ought to be maintained, because no aid can reach them from Italy seeing that there is a law-suit over the income from the Baron's money" (i.e. di Caccuri) "which, even if it could be recovered, is needed for the journey-money of the Religious who are sent out. Instructions could be given that Goa provide a subvention each year . . . and besides they could provide them with Masses. . . ."

In another part of those 'Instructions' the Visitor General was directed:

"to see in Goa whether with the help of that House the Religious in Persia can be maintained and you will arrange for it" (i.e. the Convent in Goa) "to make provision for them in Persia on account of Masses offered. . . ."

After consultation with the chapter the Prior of Isfahan went off to Europe in the spring of 1625

"to collect funds at Palermo . . . the mission has now 130 Tumans=1,300 gold scudi of debt",

reported the Visitor General in question, 16.1.1625;⁴ and the Vicar at Shiraz in 1626 stated:

"This House owes 280 gold scudi or so, besides the 160 gold scudi to conclude payment of its purchase price. . . ."

¹ Fr. Prosper, 2.12.1621, O.C.D. 238 d.

² O.C.D. 284 g.

³ 20.6.1623, O.C.D. 241 g., and 8.4.1625, O.C.D. 241 a.

⁴ Fr. Eugenius, O.C.D. 242 i.

In 1628, i.e. three years after the Prior, Fr. Prosper, had departed Fr. Dimas wrote to him:

"We are in great need: since your departure no money has been received from either 'Rome or Goa—only some alms . . .':"

adding in a later letter that the third Visitor General arrived in Isfahan (i.e. in August 1629)

"with only 6 or 7 gold scudi, having left the rest in Aleppo, whence at present only 150 sequins have been sent. . . ."

Two items of account preserved show that in 1629

"at Isfahan and Shiraz there are annually expended on the subsistence of the Religious and the servants of each House 50 Tumans, which make 750 Spanish reals or pieces of 'eight. . . ."

Although from 1629–31 the Religious there had been provided, gratis, with staple commodities of food, and firing, etc., by the generosity of the Khan of Shiraz, in 1631 instructions came from Rome to abandon, on grounds of economy, the Residence at Shiraz: it was still closed (the Residence at Tatta had also been closed for a time) when in May 1634 the Vicar Provincial complained:¹

"Very little financial help is coming from India for this Mission . . . and for want of 'a stipend for the Religious, and other reasons no return has been made to Shiraz. . . . 'In past years, i.e. in the time of our General Fr. Matthias, orders had been given for the 'Houses in India to aid this Persian mission. The Procurator of this convent (at Goa) 'wrote . . . 'we are sending you 474 sarafini, all that this House owes for Masses applied 'for all March 1633' . . .",

and again four months later:

"Since our Fr. Visitor has been in Goa he has sent us not a farthing. I say it without 'exaggeration, except for 30 Tumans two years ago remitted by him from Tatta. . . . This 'is one of the reasons why no return has been made to the House at Shiraz. . . ."

The Definitory General did, 7.6.1638 (see *Regesta*) state that 600 scudi were being paid from "money of the Mission" for the present needs of our Convent at Isfahan and Residence at Shiraz; but every one of the 'Instructions' to Visitors General in 1624, 1630, 1634, 1638 in fact emphasized the obligation for the Carmelite missions in India to undertake the supply of funds for the Convent and Residence in Persia, e.g. that of 1638:²

"You are to arrange for the Convent at Goa and the Residences at Tatta and Basra 'to provide financial aid in alms to the Convent at Isfahan and Residence at Shiraz . . .",

and in 1642, to Fr. Augustine of S. Teresa:³

"You will arrange that the Convent at Goa, the Residence at Basra and others help, as 'much as they can, the poor House at Isfahan. . . ."

Though reopened from the end of 1634, by 1644 the Residence at Shiraz had been once more closed:

"heavy expenses . . . on account of the great frequency of guests who are wont to seek our 'hospitality, as Shiraz is on the road from India, the Persian ports and Basra."⁴

¹ Fr. Dimas, 20.5.1634, O.C.D. 237 b.

² and ³ O.C.D. 284 g.

⁴ *Idem*, 237 c., letter of 8.5.1645.

By 1646 a considerable sum was needed to put the buildings at Shiraz—of sun-dried clay and straw brick, it will be borne in mind—in a state of repair, while the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, had reported on 8.5.1645 to Rome that

'as to the House at Shiraz, expenditure on repairs to it and the upkeep would be impossible to meet, considering the position of the Convent at Isfahan, where they were in great straits and at a standstill, having paid off 161 Tumans due on a loan, and were burdened with other debts and interest due. . . .'

Indeed the Fathers began to sell off the garden and parts of the buildings they had owned at Shiraz since 1623, and this Residence was left without a Religious dwelling there till 1654. During the years of the discord within the Convent of Goa itself, and the irruption of Fr. John of Christ from Portugal, 1643–5, supplies from India to Persia had been altogether suspended: indeed two Religious were sent to collect in Mozambique and returned in 1646. (This was not the only instance of such collecting tours: at least twice in later years from Persia they went as far afield as the Philippines.) By 1654 it would appear that there had been some improvement financially through remittances from Europe and savings, for at the beginning of his long term as vicar provincial Fr. Felix of S. Antony had received and put out at interest in Basra at 9 per cent 350 sequins, which previously in Isfahan had brought in no more than 6 per cent:¹ and 1,400 scudi were owing from Goa, 700 due from Basra. "I have found in the whole mission some 4,000 reals of eight."²

Thereon, pointing out that to keep up all the mission posts a sum of 500 scudi annually was needed, which arriving in small sums from Rome was used up directly it reached Persia (in his letter of 21.6.1655 his figure was different: "according to accounts at least 1,000 scudi a year are needed to keep up this Mission"), Fr. Felix put forward to the Definitory General a proposal that they should remit, once and for all, a lump sum of 3,000–4,000 scudi, in advance of the ordinary annual stipends, to form the capital of a fund, on the interest of which all the Mission could live: he had been fired with the prospect of putting it out at Basra, where 12 per cent was obtainable as against only 7 per cent in Isfahan:³

"If Your Reverences be pleased to send in one remittance another 4,000 scudi we could make a fund here to produce a permanent income, which would suffice to keep up the whole Mission, and Your Reverences would be exempt from ever remitting any more . . ."⁴

Curiously enough, seeing that by the 1900's none of that race and religion were to be found living west of Bandar 'Abbas, there were then a number of Hindu *baniyas*, money-changers, established at Isfahan and Shiraz, Basra and elsewhere: and fortunately, perhaps, the Definitory General did not act on the proposal of Fr. Felix. For the following twenty years saw a number of financial losses and, as other Religious of his time reveal in their letters, the Vicar Provincial,

"Fr. Felix, is most unfortunate and incautious in matters of business:⁵

"Nothing has been sent out for the four Houses as stipends for 3 years past. Fr. Blaise writes from Basra that the Pasha and Tupchi-Bashi" (i.e. commander of the artillery) "have swallowed up all the 1,000 scudi we had put out at interest for the upkeep of that House: and with the expenses of the Visitor that makes 4,500 scudi gone in four years. . . ."⁶

In 1669 also the French Consul at Aleppo, M. Baron, informed the Sacr. Congregation⁷ that

"1,200 scudi remitted by the Sacr. Congregation for the Carmelite Fathers of Persia had been employed to appease the persecution stirred up" (in Aleppo) "by the false Christians of this region against the Carmelites of Aleppo."

¹ 8.4.1654, O.C.D. 241 k.

² 21.6.1655, *idem*.

³ 10.10.1625, *idem*.

⁴ 21.6.1655, *idem*.

⁵ 27.4.1671, O.C.D. 236 i.

⁶ Fr. Barnabas, 29.8.1661, O.C.D. 242 e.

⁷ *S.R.*, vol. 238, *post* p. 31, letter of 16.3.1667.

Then, after an important sum had previously been lost through imprudence, an Italian trader being involved,

'20 Tumans had gone through it having been placed on interest with Hindu *banias* of no credit; and 7 Tumans which had been lent to a Muslim in Shiraz.'¹

This Vicar Provincial had made the innovation, considerably criticized, of concentrating the savings from stipends and receipts from alms of each separate House in one sum in his own hands, and then allotting, as seemed necessary to him, advances to each mission.

But a far more important development for the Mission in Persia had been the assumption of control of missions in general by the Sacr. Congregation de Propaganda Fide out of the hands of the Curias of the Religious Orders, a control which also made itself felt gradually in the administration of revenue and distribution of fixed scales of stipends, travelling allowances, etc. There is ample evidence in letters of four or five of the Religious to show the apprehension excited by intimation of the measure and the grief caused the Carmelites. The announcement from Rome had reached the Vicar Provincial in November 1656. In December 1656² Fr. Barnabas informed the Praepositus General that:

"The decision of our Holy Father, Pope Alexander (whom God preserve), that our 'missions in Phoenicia, Syria, Parthia, Persia, Arabia, Tatta and India shall be, both in 'temporal and spiritual matters, immediately under the administration of the Sacr. Cong. 'de Propaganda Fide all of us missionaries in Persia and Arabia have heard with extreme 'sorrow, and we have been astonished above measure at such a great change . . . and 'we, the Religious of Persia and Arabia (we have no reply as yet from Tatta and India), 'are determined (if our Holy Father the Pope continue in the resolution he has made) to 'leave the missions and return to Europe . . . because to you alone we have promised 'obedience when making our profession and not to the Sacr. Congregation, and your 'Reverence we shall obey willingly and with all our heart till death. . . ."

Then there was the confidence that their brethren in the Order would never let them want for food or necessities in each mission for long, but would provide this sooner or later, even if irregularly: while, if their resources in Europe were transferred:

" . . . we are sure that the Sacr. Congregation will never look after us with the same 'solicitude, love and liberality as up till now we have always been cared for by our Superiors. ' . . . with the taking away from us of that of which we have hitherto been possessed so 'legitimately,³ and had distributed to us so wisely our ruin will ensue. . . ."

One and all appear to have petitioned the Praepositus General for permission to return to their provinces, though distressed at the thought of abandoning consecrated churches and missions. They had arranged to send Fr. Barnabas to Rome as Procurator to obtain that permission, or at any rate the administration of the income of the Mission for the benefit of the missionaries; but Fr. Casimir's sudden death deprived him of a 'locum tenens' for Basra.⁴ For nearly two years they remained in suspense and unsettled: then some reassurances must have reached them:⁵

" . . . I shall hope they will continue to improve: we do not believe that our Lord Pope 'Alexander VII, a Pontiff so rich, will take away from a very poor Order a revenue possessed so legitimately for so many years, and so piously distributed in supplying with 'victuals 7 Residences in an infidel country,"

and finally by June 1658 instructions from the Definitory General of such a nature that all remained at their posts.⁶

¹ Fr. Angelus, 27.4.1671, O.C.D. 236 i.

² 16.12.1656, O.C.D. 241 f.

³ Fr. Barnabas, 16.12.1656, O.C.D. 241 f.

⁴ *Idem*, 22.7.1657.

⁵ *Idem*, 25.2.1658.

⁶ *Idem*, 14.6.1658.

What exactly became the difference of administration for these Carmelite missions, before and after 1656, it is now somewhat hard for a layman to conjecture, after three centuries, and in the absence of any explicit memoranda in the archives; but it would appear that (a) applications for missionaries to be dispatched to the East had to be made by the Procurator of the Order in Rome to the Sacr. Congregation, and approved, (b) for journeys and sailing-passages to destinations fixed rates would be paid, (c) a fixed allowance, or subvention, for each Religious would henceforth be assigned annually by the Congregation. Perhaps not at first, but before the end of the century, the income and capital of any funds, such as the Cimini bequest, were managed by the Sacr. Congregation and held by the Cardinal Prefect: but the actual transmission of the fixed annual stipends was left to the Procurator of the Order in Rome, he being furnished with the bills of exchange or actual cash by the Sacr. Congregation. There was the College of San Pancrazio in Rome to be maintained from the same source: if there were at times an excess of income presumably it was kept in reserve by the Congregation: locally in the East, when they could obtain them, the missionaries might still freely dispose of any alms offered. But the days had gone when the Carmelites could open fresh missionary posts, and send out Religious haphazard—there are instances of applications to proceed to the East being rejected by the secretariat of the Congregation. After the transfer of financial control few Visitors General were sent out by the Order, for instance. Reports by Procurators of the Mission sent to represent the provinces in the Chapter General were made to the Sacr. Congregation—in the case of that of 1671 very fully as regards the personality of the individual Religious in the East, and conditions obtaining. Choice of appointment of the Vicar Provincial remained with the Order.

Where the new system did seem to fall heavily on the missionaries was that (a) at certain periods, for a number of years together, through some defect in the chain of organization and transmission the Religious did not receive their allowances regularly, (b) the rates fixed were low, (c) no margin or grants seem to have been allowed for repairs to buildings, or special needs such as famine and looting and oppression during the civil warfare in Persia, so that with the cessation of help from Portuguese India there were times when in Isfahan and Shiraz the Carmelites were living in the direst poverty.

	<i>Roman scudi</i>
The scale of stipend for the Bishop of Isfahan ¹ was:	200
" " " " " " a Vicar Apostolic ²	100
" " " " " " each Religious	50

For journey-money³ from Rome the allowance was to:

	<i>scudi</i>
Tripoli	32 ⁴
Aleppo	42
Basra	72
Shiraz and Isfahan	80

¹ As Vicar Apostolic for the Mogul's dominions, the Archbishop of Ancyra was allotted 250 scudi see *S.R.*, vol. 628, p. 405. The bishopric of Baghdad was endowed (whereas that of Isfahan was not), and its bishops enjoyed a far more adequate stipend—800 scudi in Bp. Pidou's time, 522 in Bp. Ballyet's (*S.N.R.*, IV, p. 516), and even as Vicar Apostolic Mgr Picquet in 1675 was assigned 320 scudi (*S.R.*, vol. 459, p. 104). With the 6,000 doubloons of the foundress of the see, by decree of Pope Alexander VII, 25.2.1666, in the name of the Sacr. Cong. there were purchased 107 'Luoghi di Monti' of the 3rd issue, and 49½ of the 2nd issue, income reserved at the disposal of the bishop for the time being (*vide S.N.R.*, IV, *post* p. 21). A minute in the secretariat of the Sacr. Cong. de Prop. Fide, attached to a letter of the Bishop of Baghdad, docketed 21.9.1740, gives the endowed capital of the see as invested in "134 Luoghi di Monti, which yield annually 390 Roman scudi".

² e.g. Fr. Barnabas Fedeli, O.P., *S.R.*, vol. 573, p. 333, 16.9.1710.

³ *S.R.*, vol. 490, summary, of 23.7.1703.

⁴ When the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Faustin, was due to sail from Marseilles for Alexandretta, 31.7.1716, he wrote (O.C.D. 242 m.): "We have given the captain of a French vessel for the table 25 francs each."

Allowance for a habit and purchase of objects of pious devotion: *scudi* 8.

Thus:

"333 'abbasi are to be the grant for one year for 2 Religious at Shiraz,"

i.e. less than 7 Tumans:¹

"The Syndic of our Missions has remitted to us in Venice 1,600 Roman scudi (together with another 20 scudi) to take and distribute in Persia and Syria to the orders of the "Definitory General . . .",

wrote the Procurator of the Mission in 1671:² and in 1671 also, exceptionally:

"After speech with the Pope," the Sacr. Congregation de Prop. Fide allotted 700 scudi towards the restoration of the mission at Basra, which had been ruined and burnt during the Arab-Turkish warfare.³

The actual financial position as regards such income as they derived from Rome is shown clearly when Fr. Vincent Mary of S. Catherine of Sienna, Vicar General of the Order and himself an old missionary in the East, applied to the Sacr. Congregation for funds, writing that he had 811 scudi left over from receipts, part of which sum had to be kept for the missionary Seminary of S. Pancrazio and the rest only would be available for grants to the missionaries in Persia, and in a memorandum, 12.3.1678, the secretariat of the Sacr. Congregation gave the following abstract:⁴

<i>"Receipts:</i>		<i>scudi baiocchi</i>	
" (i) From Luoghi de Monti (Roman) there is recovered annually			
"scudi 509.70, of which 39.90 given by the Monte Benivoglio			
"for the year 1670, in which year nothing could be recovered:			
"so that there remain to be assigned:		469	80
" (ii) from the Casa Santa of the SS ^{ma} Annunziata at Naples . . .		333	32
" (iii) from the Barony of Cacurri . . .		370	36
" (iv) from the yield" (i.e. on taxes) "at Naples, which sometimes pay			
"a dividend, and sometimes do not and which for the most			
"part cannot be recovered: and, when they are recovered,			
"amount to . . .		99	44
		<hr/>	
		"scudi: ⁵ 1,272	92

¹ Fr. Dionysius of Jesus from Kung, 13.4.1669, O.C.D. 238 s.

² *S.N.R.*, I, p. 278-9.

³ *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 562, 31.8.1671.

⁴ *S.R.*, vol. 468, p. 120.

⁵ This total, scudi 1,272.92, shows greatly reduced income from that given in another list—in O.C.D. 236 a.—of which the date, presumably between 1622 and 1656, has unfortunately not been noted, in the copy made here:

		<i>capital</i>	<i>yield</i>
"Rome	From Luoghi di Monti . . .	scudi: 11,300	608
"Naples	From the gabelle (excise) on silk at Naples . . .	6,200	434
	"From the new customs impost, Naples . . .	781	54
	"From Customs duties of Apulia . . .	658	45
	"From the excise on oil and soap . . .	9,044	634
	"From the Convent of S. Teresa, Naples . . .	—	48
	"Baron John Baptist Cimino di Cacurri (not		
	"paid) . . .	18,620	1,488"

In the fifteenth century the Franciscan Friars Minor, Fr. Bernardin from Terni, Fortunatus from Perugia and others were founders of primitive 'Monti di Pietà', 'mounts of charity', i.e. pawn-shops, the capital of which was furnished by charitable persons, and which, beginning by lending money to the necessitous gratis, because of the inhibitions against usury soon failed and perished by natural exhaustion of resources. It was Fr. Bernardin from Feltre, born 1439, died 1494, who, overcoming opposition from some canonists on that score of usury, was first able to set up a system of lending at a low rate of interest, required in equity, as he demonstrated, to meet the cost of wages of the employees, hire of premises and storage of the objects pawned—a signal departure in the economics of Europe, tenaciously fought by Jewish moneylenders of the

"These are employed for grants for the above-mentioned Residences:

	<i>scudi</i>	
"Tripoli in Syria and Mt. Libanon (where are 3 Religious)	150	
"Aleppo	"	= 150
"Basra	"	= 150
"Shiraz	"	= 150
"Isfahan	"	= 150
<hr/>		
"Total, 15 missionaries at 50 scudi each, yearly:	750	00
"For the upkeep of San Pancrazio, where are at present 24 students,		
"the Rector, Vice-Rector and two lectors of Arabic and Con-		
"troversy:	900	00
<hr/>		
	"scudi: 1650	00

"So that this swallows up far more than all the receipts: and, in order to give journey-money to those going out to Persia and Syria, necessarily the allowances to the other missionaries mentioned have to be reduced, as can be seen from the books up to date. "Of these receipts so far there has been got in scudi: 811.87, part of which has to be kept "for S. Pancrazio . . ."

The reduction in the income sent from Rome was not the only hardship encountered by the Mission: its savings from thrift and alms-offerings were often squandered through unwise investment: Fr. Angelus of S. Joseph may be quoted, 22.12.1675:¹

"The reason why we have lost the greater part of our capital, i.e. about 300 Tumans = 4,500 écus (scudi or crowns) about 2 years ago in the hands of two Hindus, and 100 Tumans "this year in the hands of a certain Ramchand, also a Hindu, is our lack of knowledge of "business. We ought not to have put out more than 50 Tumans in one place. . . ."

Another trial was the non-receipt at the proper time of the subvention from Rome, on which they now chiefly had to depend. The Vicar Provincial, 13.8.1678, from Shiraz complained:

"Eight months ago you wrote that you had dispatched 450 Roman scudi as allowances "for the mission, but it has not been yet received. We are in great straits. We had have "to borrow 300 piastres. In Isfahan they have a little money. . . . The three mission "posts in Persia, notwithstanding the small number of Religious, are in debt for 10,000 to "11,000 'abbasi",

and, remarking that he had written five or six times about this with no result, he mentioned that the last Vicar at Shiraz had got through 960 piastres in 20 months, there being only three Fathers at Shiraz, and without having to undertake anything extraordinary.

There was little elasticity with the severe régime, by which the missionaries had to forfeit

time. The points on which Fr. Bernardin from Feltre based his campaign were: the need and urgency of forming with the charitable help of the rich a common fund and capital, from which to be able to take money to lend to the middle classes: to attract deposits to these 'Monti di Pietà', and thus create reserves, so as to be able in time to lend considerable sums: to free Christians absolutely from Hebrew usury: to strive to make lending honest and moral: and by putting this source of financial help at the disposal of the necessitous to improve morals. Only up to 3 lire were loans made free of all interest. These 'Monti' were rapidly established in all the cities of Italy: they still exist today, as part of the government organization. In time there came the development of the issue of shares with the capital they held: 'Luoghi di Monti' (in Latin 'loca'), which were the 'consols' of the day, controlled by the Papal Government in Rome.

It was in these 'stocks' that the funds of the bequest of Baron Cimini di Cacurri were invested about this time. Already on 4.6.1653 (see *Regesta*, vol. IV, p. 361) the Syndic of the Missions was "ordered by the Definitory General to invest out of "the money of the Congregation 700 scudi in 'luoghi di monti'".

¹ O.C.D. 236 b.

from their individual allowances any special expenditure or debt incurred at one of their posts, even outside the jurisdiction of the Vicar Provincial. Thus in 1683, when the Visitor General had represented how, as he had been obliged to pay a sum owing in Malabar, it had been charged to the Carmelite posts in Persia, a minute in the secretariat of the Sacr. Congregation stated¹ sympathetically that the missions in Persia are:

"miserably provided for out of the income from the *Barony of Cacurri*, which does not amount at present to more than 1,460 scudi, 800 of which was spent on the upkeep of the Seminary of San Pancrazio² which reduces the total for the Mission to 660 scudi: and this is usually swallowed up in journey-money for the missionaries sent, for which reason the Mission experiences very great penury. . . ."

How hard it must have been for these devoted Carmelites, especially in that period when communications through Turkey (owing to the prevailing warfare with Christendom) were uncertain, can be gauged from a memorandum³ presented in Rome by a Religious, Fr. Joseph Ignatius of S. Mary, 26.8.1695, just returned from Persia:

"For 1689	No stipends (grant) received.
" " 1690	Nil.
" " 1691	Nil.
" " 1692	Sequins 124, which make 240 scudi, received.
" " 1693	Nil.
" " 1694	Nil.
" " 1695	425 scudi, received.
	<hr/> "665 scudi,"

when the total for the 7 years should have been 2,800 scudi, paid. (There were at that time 12 Fathers, 2 Lay Brothers in the 4 Residences in Persia). When, as in 1695, the numbers had become sufficient for the work to be developed, for economy several of the Religious had to be sent away from Isfahan, or back to Europe. Clearly it was because of that memorandum that, 21.11.1695 (see *Regesta*, vol. VIII, p. 80), the Definitory General issued the following direction:

"About the financial assistance for the Missions.

"In order to obviate the constant appeals and complaints which are received from and made by our missionaries, sometimes to the Sacr. Congregation, at others to the Procurator General, or to the Syndic of the Missions on account, as they say, of the delay in the allowances reaching and the small amounts sent—owing to difficulties met in obtaining this money, insufficiency of income, increase of the rates of exchange which render dispatch difficult because of the great loss incurred (which, from Naples to Rome alone, is now 31 scudi and more per cent)—in order to obviate all that, the Definitory General with the concurrence of the Sacr. Congregation has laid down the ordinances and decisions given below, to be followed without any breach in future both by missionaries and by the Procurator General and Syndic for the time being, viz:

"Financial aid is to be given to 5 Residences alone, as has always been the practice up to now, the Order having been unable to extend it to others than: Tripoli, Aleppo, Basra, Shiraz, Isfahan.

"In each of these 5 Residences the Order will maintain two priests, to whom the Definitory General assign 50 Roman scudi yearly each, leaving to their free disposal their Mass and

¹ S.R., vol. 486, p. 385 *et seq.*

² The Definitory General, 2.3.1687, directed the Convent at Malta to transmit surplus alms for Masses, which could not be said by Carmelites in Malta, to help the Seminary of San Pancrazio, which from lack of alms could not be suitably maintained.

³ S.N.R., I, p. 148.

"other alms or income, that they may have or can obtain for their advantage. So from the income left for this purpose for the benefit of the Missions by Baron Francesco Cimini, and by whatsoever person it has come or may come, there are assigned them 500 scudi annually, to be sent annually in advance by the Procurator General, or Syndic for the time being, so that in view of the length of the journey the missionaries can be aided in time, beginning with the year 1696 for the allowance of 1697 and so on from year to year, provision having been already made for the arrears. This is to be distributed, for the one year to each Residence, i.e. 100 scudi to Aleppo, 100 to Tripoli, 100 to Basra, 100 to Shiraz, 100 to Isfahan. With that, present and future missionaries cannot claim more: and, with the Masses and receipts they now enjoy and alms they will have, this will serve for their extraordinary expenditure or repairs to the Residences or for journey-money, which sometimes may be required for missionaries returning. And, so that they can with the more fervour attend to the Missions and work in the vineyard of the Lord, by whom they are called, without any anxiety and fear of the allowances assigned for their support failing or being diminished, the Definitory General wish that (as when the missionaries leave Christendom for the Missions there has sometimes been spent of necessity on journey expenses the allowances which were to serve for feeding the missionaries, sometimes the entire journey-money not having been issued to them because of insufficient income and difficulty in extracting it), when any missionary starts and any money is issued for allowances endeavour will be had to remit it by safe merchants, and no longer by way of the missionaries, and that he may be given also money separately for his own journey expenses without his having to touch on any account the lump sum for allowances, to be assigned separately from Residence to Residence. Receipts are to be furnished in triplicate by those to whom the money is handed (so that if one be lost the other arrive) in the form specified below, to be sent to our Definitory General or to the Procurator General. No allowance will be sent a second time until receipt of the first has been acknowledged, unless it has been proved to our Definitory General that the missionary or merchant to whom the money sent had been remitted, had perished or be dead, or some like accident befallen him to prevent the money being delivered, or their arrival at those places, or else their return to Christendom with the receipts certified by the Prior or Vicars of the said Residences. To obviate any exorbitant claim, as has happened in the past, and superfluous expense which has been incurred by missionaries on their departure, they should adjust themselves to the present times and the meagreness of the income, and conform to the distribution made and approved by the Sac. Congregation, which assigns how much journey money ought to be given to missionaries, who leave Christendom for the Levant, and the exact sum from place to place, together with a grant in aid to purchase habits and devotional objects and similar expenses. The Definitory General wishes this to be observed and followed Residence by Residence, ordering the Procurator General and Syndic for the time being not to alter on any account by giving more or less, but the exact sum assigned. In particular cases judged necessary by the Definitory General orders will be given him in writing, as the Definitory General reserves to itself the faculty to appraise just reasons for departing from these provisions. . . ."

Another summary, of 1704,¹ shows that:

"for the 3 years, 1.10.1701 to 23.11.1704 inclusive, there had been paid to the Missionaries in Persia for their allowances for the years 1702 and 1703: scudi: 1,000
 "To two Fathers for their journey-money to Persia" (i.e. including 16 for
 "habits, etc.) 176"

A complication arose over the opening of the new Residence at Julfa in 1695, and the appointment of Fr. Elias of S. Albert as the third Bishop of Isfahan, steps which had been taken

¹ S.R., vol. 550, p. 87. On p. 289 there is stated, as regards the revenue: "left by the Baron di Cacurri for the Carmelite Mission, the superintendence of which Cardinal Sacripante, the Prefect, has . . ."

largely on assurances given by the Shariman family that they would endow both Residence and bishopric, and which the Sacr. Congregation held to relieve Rome of the onus of any contribution. In the chapter dealing with the Residence at Julfa it has been shown at length how the Sacr. Cong. had remitted no stipends on account of that House till 1714 or after, notwithstanding many requests from the missionaries; while, as regards the bishopric, there is a minute¹ (signed by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, and addressed to the Cardinal Prefect) in comment on Mgr Elias' letter of claim, 20.9.1702, referring to:

"letters written by the Sharimans in the years 1693 and 1694, by which they promised to 'pay 30 Tumans yearly for Mgr Elias, if he were elected Bishop of Isfahan. . . .'"

These Sharimans had begun by paying 150 scudi annually to keep up the bishopric; but within two or three years persecution by the schismatic Armenians and Persians had involved the family in such losses as to make them allege inability to continue annual support of the bishopric: so that Mgr Elias was forced to appeal to the Sacr. Cong. for a grant in aid (and 100 scudi were allotted to him). It was largely to remedy the financial embarrassment of the bishopric that Bishop Elias proceeded to Rome in 1699.

Another financial misfortune caught the mission: about 1710 the French Royal East India Company had become insolvent. With all their frequent periods of great penury and stress, at other times by economies and perhaps by alms from Europeans of position in Isfahan and elsewhere the Carmelites seem to have laid by and invested funds in Persia. Thus Fr. Faustin, Vicar Provincial (in an undated letter, O.C.D. 242 b., from its contents written in 1719):

"We are in great straits through the subvention failing (to arrive) from Rome, and 'through the bankruptcy of the French East India Company, in which this Mission had invested 7,000 Rupees of capital, with the interest on which, and with the subvention sent from Rome, it was able to maintain itself to a sufficient extent. Now for 9 years past we have not obtained a farthing from it' (i.e. the French company) 'and our Mission already is in debt for 100 Tumans, which make 2,000 piastres of 10 shahi each. . . . On my arrival' (i.e. in 1717) 'I found 85 Tumans owed, and in my past 3 years of office I have added 15 Tumans to the debt. In Isfahan virtuals are most dear so that, living miserably, we need not less than 12 Tumans per annum out of the 20 Tumans, or a little more, that come to us from Rome to be distributed among all the Residences, to each of which 6½ Tumans are due.

"The Capuchin Father, our procurator in Surat, notified me that if we did not speedily 'make an application to the Court in Paris we should lose undoubtedly both capital and interest. Not having the time to make application for the requisite permission . . . I first took counsel with these missionaries of mine and consulted the consul for France, and all deem it necessary that I should dispatch one of the Religious to Paris. Fr. Jerome Francis having shown himself ready to go, and Captain Bakarisc [*sic*] an English captain to take him (as the latter is returning to England) . . . the Father has been given letters 'patent for Marseilles. . . ."

"From 1716 till the year 1719 inclusive I have received the grant for 2 years only: so 'that this Mission is a creditor for two years' allowance, as also for 34 piastres, short from 'the 20 Tumans which the Sacr. Cong. paid by means of Fr. ———"

Largely in order to pay for repairs needed to the premises of the bishops of Baghdad at Hamadan, entrusted to his charge, Fr. Faustin had cheerfully plunged into heavier debt by 1721:²

"I have spent 19 Tumans, which are 340 piastres in 'isolatas', which are of 19 shahi 'each. . . . I have spent another 13 Tumans . . . in all 32 Tumans, i.e. piastres 640.

¹ S.R., vol. 543.

² Vide Fr. Faustin, 26.5.1721, O.C.D. 238 g.

"Of these I took 15 Tumans at interest from the Indian Sarraf" (vulgo Shroff, or cashier) "of the Dutch (Company's) agents, paying monthly 1 shahi on each Tuman as interest by the kindness of these gentlemen. The rest the English gentlemen" (i.e. the East India Company's agents) "have lent me—a debt of 14 Tumans and shortly I shall have to do the like again, not having received *last year or this* (1720 or 1721) any allowance" (i.e. from Rome), "nor has any money been received in Aleppo, where our procurator has another claim for 9 Tumans. The truth is that *since 1716 I have received no grant*" (from Rome) "except for the subsidy for one year and 20 Tumans in liquidation of Mgr Pidou's debt. For two years I have been unable to send money to Basra and Shiraz. . . ."

Possibly the above-quoted statement regarding the claim of the Mission against the French Royal East India Company, and the dispatch of Fr. Jerome Francis of S. Joseph to Paris to make application to the Court explains in part the appearance of '*Revenues derived in Paris*' in the following extract from a manuscript-book preserved in the archives of the Order, and which from its terms must date from after 1721: possibly, too, on his voyage to France with the English 'captain', Fr. Jerome Francis took the route via the Philippines from India, and there collected in alms-offerings a substantial sum which, as he had been Vicar of Julfa, he had specially assigned to the support of that Residence:

"Revenues derived in Rome,

"For the Seminary in Rome, and Missions in common.

"Capital of the Fund

	<i>capital scudi</i>	<i>yield scudi baiocchi</i>	
"In the first Monte of S. Peter, i.e. one 'locus' (? bond or 'share), and 68 hundredths of a 'locus' in the first issue (i.e. 168 Roman scudi); for each 'locus' consists of not less than 100 scudi, and the hundredth part is 1 scudo—bearing 3 per cent:	168	5	4
"(A list follows in the original of the various 'loca', all at 3 per cent, save one, the Monte Benivoglio at 4½ per cent, making a total of)	16,612	391	86

"Revenues derived in Paris

"For the missions in Persia in common, and for the Residence at Julfa in particular, from alms collected by 2 missionaries of ours (one of whom was Fr. Jerome Francis of S. Joseph) in the East Indies and Philippine Islands for this object, the following capital sums were invested at interest, at Paris in France:

"Capital of the Fund

	<i>French livres</i>	
"No. 1. (For the mission posts in Persia, in common) "On the excise of the kingdom of France, by deed of Monsieur Lauverjeon, notary public, 26th March 1721, bearing 2½, i.e. 2½ livres per cent	4,480	112
"No. 2. (For the Residence at Julfa in particular) "Year and day as above, before the same notary; "other 'livres' secured on the same excise taxes	6,520	163
"No. 3. (For the same Residence at Julfa in part) "Idem, before the same notary, 17.7.1721, another "capital in 'livres'	2,120	53
	13,120	328

"In Roman money, in which 1 French livre = 2 Roman	scudi	scudi	baiocchi
" 'Julios' this sum makes:	2,624	65	60
"So, from No. 1, for the mission posts in common the annual interest			
"was:		22	40
"From No. 2, for the mission at Julfa in particular		32	60
"From No. 3, " " " " "		10	60."

Even if the missionary College at San Pancrazio of the Order took 300 scudi of the interest from the Roman investments—and logically, if the number of missionaries in the East were less, one would expect a smaller number of students to fill their places, and less spent on maintaining them—the remaining 150 scudi from Roman and Paris capital (not to speak of any in Naples, if it continued to exist in 1725 and after) would have sufficed to maintain 3 or 4 Religious in Persia, *if paid regularly*. But it will have been remarked that, from causes unrevealed in the papers available, there had been a failure to deliver in Persia the annual income from these funds, the grant *per capita* sanctioned by the Sacr. Congregation—somewhere there was defective organization: and, if the Sacr. Congregation had more or less regularly, as it would appear, passed on drafts for the amounts due to the Syndic of the Order in Rome, and the latter had similarly transferred the money to procurators in Marseilles or elsewhere, the latter were not summoned by the Sacr. Congregation to file receipts of due remittance to Persia, or payment, after a certain interval. From 1689 to 1691, in 1693 and 1694, from 1715 to 1719 there had been omission on someone's part to deliver the pay.

Worse was to happen to the missionaries when the long struggle and upheaval and warfare, which followed the Afghan invasion and siege of Isfahan in 1721, did materially cut off Persia from communications with the rest of the world:

"From the year 1719 to the present day no money has been sent to me—from 1721 to 1727 no letter sent to me, or reply",

wrote Bishop Barnabas Fedeli, O.P., of Isfahan, 6.11.1627.¹

The Carmelite Vicar of Julfa, Fr. Philip Mary, made the hardships of those years, including the non-receipt of funds from Europe, all the more vivid in his letter of 21.9.1724, addressed to his colleague at Shiraz:²

"In the *five years* that I have been vicar of this House of Julfa I have not had one single 'good day, *having always had to live on alms* (begged) and . . . I have suffered many afflictions, in particular the famine at the time of the siege and later . . . having been obliged 'to sell some of the things belonging to the House, both in order to keep myself alive, 'having found myself with nothing but bread and water, as also in order to pay some 'debts contracted by me before the siege. . . . At present that it is the season to lay in 'stocks' (i.e. for the winter) 'I have not a farthing. I have already written how we owed '25 Tumans to the English merchants' (i.e. the East India Company), '16 to the Dutch, 'with whom was pledged the greater part of the silver of our convent of Isfahan,"

and in another letter of 17.11.1724 the same Religious mentioned:

"I had written how Mr. Hussey, who was chief of the English Company at Isfahan 'had lent 3 Tumans during the siege to our Vicar Provincial against some rugs and the 'gold cross of the late Bishop of Baghdad, together with the vessels for the holy oils from 'Isfahan and other silverware; and now the said Mr. Hussey is writing from Basra that 'either the objects pledged should be handed over, or the money paid . . . if I need to 'eat soup, I have to make it myself, while many times I have not the wherewithal to make 'it. . . ."

¹ S.N.R., III, p. 546.

² O.C.D. 238 u.

Not only, then, were no stipends received from Rome, but debts had to be met somehow:

"... In short, in these two years since the siege I have had to pay 7 or 8 Tumans "of debts. . . ."

It was not alone in the case of Isfahan, and Persia, that this defective organization was displayed. A minute in the secretariat of the Sacr. Cong. de Prop. Fide, appended to a letter from the Bishop of Baghdad, 21.9.1740,¹ put on record that:

"... Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, Vicar Apostolic for the diocese of Baghdad, should have "received 200 scudi per annum, but for want of receiving his allowance for four years he "resigned. . . ."

After Fr. Philip Mary had become Bishop of Isfahan, according to the account current² with the Procurator of the Order in Rome from his consecration in 1736 till his death in 1749, no stipend had been remitted him from Rome between 1739 and 1745: and he was heavily in debt when he died, having had nothing to meet the expense of journeys to the Court of Nadir Shah, a visitation of the diocese, and his successor was compelled to make good part or whole of a bill for 600 ducats he had drawn on an Armenian at Venice. He died in such poverty that only "3 Rupees, which make 1½ scudi", were found on his person and distributed to the poor.³

By comparison the income of the bishopric of Baghdad was far ampler and it was endowed, yet Bishop Emmanuel Ballyet wrote to the Cardinal Prefect, 16.5.1749:⁴

"Je prends la liberté de réitérer mes besoins à Votre Eminence, et luy donner avis que "voicy la *cinquième* année que ie n'ay reçu mon argent de ma pension. . . ."

That omission was doubtless rectified by the Bishop's visit to Rome in 1753; but once more on 20.7.1758⁵ he was complaining to the Cardinal Prefect:

"Je suis touiours dans l'attente *des 4 années* de mes revenus que le Père Pie me retient "si cruellement . . . parce que avec ce retard ie suis touiours obligé de m'endetter avec "des intérêts exorbitants. . . ."

Since Bishop Cornelius of Isfahan as late as 15.10.1767 had an identical complaint:⁶

"by the time of arrival of this letter in Rome it will be nearly 4 years that I have failed to "receive my annual allowance. It is true that in his last letter dated 28.4.1766 Fr. Pio "notifies me that he had received 200 scudi for the year ended 17.5.1765; but till now neither "that, nor any other money has reached me, nor even have I had from him any notice of "his having dispatched it. . . ."

This evidence would appear to point to the Syndic of the Missions, or Procurator General of the Order having failed to transmit money when received from the Sacr. Congregation.

With a definite income from endowed funds existing on the one hand, with, on the other, such treatment being meted out to the Carmelite bishops in the East, the student of the history of the Mission need the less wonder why no attempt was made to send out missionaries to Julfa after 1752, reopen the House there after 1760, why nothing was done after the abandonment of Shiraz in 1738 to repair the Residence or recover its value by a sale, nor why no movement is recorded to redeem the historic Convent and fine church with its spacious garden at Isfahan, mortgaged in 1757 with a Persian creditor for the trifling sum of 25 Tumans, say 125 sequins.

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¹ S.R., vol. 703, p. 447.

² S.R., vol. 750, and see p. 54, 24.5.1749, of it also.

³ S.R., vol. 747, p. 89, letter of 15.12.1749, Fr. Sébastien.

⁴ S.N.R., V, p. 323.

⁵ *Idem*, VI, p. 411.

⁶ *Idem*, II, p. 466.

(C) COINAGES AND EXCHANGE VALUES, ETC., MENTIONED IN THE
MATERIALS COLLECTED FOR THIS WORK, AND ELSEWHERE

Roman and Italian.

The *Ducat* (gold) was introduced in Sicily under Roger II (A.D. 1093-1154), stamped on it being the words: 'Sit tibi, X, dat QTV regis iste *ducat*'—from the last word of which came its popular name. This abbreviated inscription stood for: 'Sit Tibi, Christe, datus quem tu regis iste ducatus' = 'To Thee, O Christ, be dedicated this duchy which Thou rulest' (*vide Frey's Dictionary of Numismatics*).

The *Ducat* (silver) of Venice = 124 soldi.

The *Scudo* (gold), which took its name from 'the shield or scutcheon on it' was introduced by Charles V of France as king of Naples and Sicily about 1295 (*vide Frey's Dictionary*, cited).

(One gold scudo of the Papal States, 1676-89, shown to the compiler of this work at the British Museum, weighed $52\frac{1}{2}$ grains of gold, i.e. little less than a half-sovereign English.)

Elsewhere than in the Papal States it was reckoned as = 160 soldi.

The *Scudo* (silver) was introduced into the Papal States in the latter half of the 16th century.

1 scudo was made up of 100 baiocchi (120 grains): in most parts of Italy it was reckoned as 160 soldi.

Before the Great War, 1914, 1 scudo = 5 lire.

1609 (*vide O.C.D.* 236 a.)

250 gold scudi—or 'ungari' of 15 'Julio' = 375 Roman scudi.

i.e. 1 gold scudo = $1\frac{1}{2}$ Roman scudi.

1622 (*Archives, O.C.D. Rome, Schedule of Income of Missions*, pp. 180-221).

20 grains = 1 dari.

5 daris = 1 Neapolitan ducat.

2,250 scudi, Roman money = 3,000 Neapolitan ducats.

i.e. 1 scudo, Roman money = 1 ducat, Neapolitan, plus 75 baiocchi.

10 baiocchi = 1 Paolo.

1674 (*vide S.R.*, vol. 444)

45 Roman scudi = 15 gold pieces of England.

i.e. 3 Roman scudi = 1 gold piece of England.

$5\frac{1}{2}$ scudi = $5\frac{1}{2}$ crowns.

i.e. 1 scudo = 1 crown.

1701 (*vide S.R.*, vol. 539, p. 298) thaler pengo grosch

At Warsaw 200 scudi exchanged for 228 2 12

1716 (*vide O.C.D.* 241 m. letter of 31.7.1716).

At Marseilles 1 Paolo exchanged for 8 soldi

"and they want to make 1 Roman scudo = 4 francs."

1721 (*vide O.C.D.*, *Schedule*, cited above).

2 Roman 'Julio' = 1 French 'livre.'

1 scudo = 5 livres.

1722 (*Viaggi* of Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia)

2 Paoli = 1 lira.

- 1725 (S.R., vol. 653, letter of 18.8.1725)
 60 scudi = 3 Tumans, Persian.
 i.e. 20 scudi = 1 Tuman.
 1740 (S.R., vol. 703, p. 447)
 274 Roman scudi = 686 piastres.
 i.e. 1 scudo = $2\frac{1}{2}$ piastres.
 1754 (S.R., vol. 759, p. 251).
 526 Roman scudi = 54 'hazar', Persian.
 1778 (*Acta* for 1778. Sacr. Cong. de Prop. Fide).
 5,000 ducats = 40,000 Paoli.
 i.e. 1 ducat = 8 Paoli.

Venetian.

- The *Zecchino* (anglicè, 'sequin') corresponded to the ducat.
 1695 (S.N.R., II. p. 149)
 124 zecchini = 240 scudi.
 1700 (S.R., vol. 541, p. 20 *et seq.*)
 2,268 Venetian sequins = 324 Tumans.
 i.e. 7 sequins = 1 Tuman.
 1728 (*Factory Records*, East India Company)
 131 sequins = 5,240 shahi, Persian.
 i.e. 1 sequin = 40 shahi.
 1730 (O.C.D. 242 h., letter of 20.7.1730)
 "about 6 Venetian sequins = 1 Tuman, Persian."
 1754 (O.C.D. 242 b. Basra)
 100 sequins = piastres 385, plus 5 mahmudi.
 i.e. 1 sequin = piastres 3.85 approx.
 1754 (S.R., vol. 759, p. 251).
 5 Venetian sequins = 1 Tuman (or 200 shahi).

Spanish (*Factory Records*, cited).

- 1625 1 Real de ocho = 1 doubloon, computed at 6 shillings, English.
 c. 1640 1,590 Spanish reals, and 'pieces of eight' = 106 Tumans.
 6,000 " " " " " " = £1,500, English.
 i.e. 4 reals, or pieces of eight = £1.
 and 1 real = 5 shillings.
 1667 (a) 6,230 reals of eight = £1,869 3s. od.
 i.e. 1 real = 6 shillings.
 (b) 1 real of eight = Rupees 2 14 0.
 100 reals = Rupees 212½.
 1669 (S.R., vol. 422, p. 168)
 150 doubloons = 1,500 lire.
 i.e. 1 doubloon = 10 lire.

French. The 'Couronne' (Écu) first issued by Charles VI of France in 1422. One écu of 60 sols, under Louis XV, varied at 3 livres, 5 livres, 6 livres.

1 livre of 20 sous.

1 sou of 12 deniers (but this rate could not be maintained—*vide* Frey's work).

- 1675 (O.C.D. 236 b.)
 4,500 écus = 300 Tumans.
 i.e. 15 écus = 1 Tuman.

- 1695 (*S.N.R.*, II., p. 79).
 6,000 French "lire" = 120 Tumans.
 i.e. 50 " " = 1 Tuman.
 1721 (*vide* O.C.D. *Schedule*, etc., cited above).
 1 French livre = 2 Roman 'Julii'.
 1739 (*S.N.R.*, IV, p. 506)
 25 French écus of 3 lire = 1 Tuman.
 1745 (*S.N.R.*, V, p. 260)
 2½ sous = 1 bisti, Persian.
 ½ livre, French = 1 mahmudi.
 1 livre, French = 1 'abbasi.

Indian.

- 1642 (*Factory Records*, East India Company).
 1 Rupee taken as 2 shillings 3 pence, English.
 1667 Rupees 212½ = 100 Reals of Eight.
 1726 Rupees 45¾ = 100 'abbasi.
 1728 Rupee 1 = 9 shahi.
 1767 Rupees: 100,000 = more than 50,000 Roman scudi (*S.N.R.* VI, p. 358).

Persian.

- The (gold) Tuman of 10,000 dinar, or 50 'abbasi.
 (so 1 'abbasi = 200 dinar).
 1 'abbasi = 2 mahmudi.
 = 4 shahi.
 = 8 bisti.

Frey's *Dictionary of Numismatics* is incorrect in its surmise that the Tuman was introduced in the reign of Shah 'Abbas I, 1687-29, as the citing of it as currency by Vincenzo degl' Alessandri in 1574, referring to earlier years in the reign of Shah Tahmasp will show.

- 1574 (*vide* Vincenzo degl' Alessandri account in Fondo Chigi, Vatican Library, No. II, 48, p. 301)
 15 bisti = 2 lire and 10 soldi.
 i.e. 6 bisti = 1 lira.
 60 shahi = 4 Venetian sequins.
 i.e. 15 shahi = 1 sequin.
 2,000 aspri = 400 scudi.
 i.e. 5 aspri = 1 scudo.
 300 Tumans = 6,000 scudi.
 i.e. 1 Tuman = 20 scudi.
 (In Turkey the 'aspre' was 1/120th of 1 piastre, or guruh, i.e. one-third of 1 para.)
 1609 (O.C.D. 236 a.)
 100 Tumans = 1,000 gold scudi = 1,500 Roman scudi.
 1622 (*Factory Records*, East India Company).
 600 Tumans taken as £2,000.
 i.e. 1 Tuman = £3 6s. 8d.
 1625 (O.C.D. 242 i, letter of 16.1.1625)
 130 Tumans = 1,300 ori (literally 'gold pieces' the same denomination as the 'hazar' (1,000-i.e. dinar), or qran of later times, but here referring to 'gold scudi' no doubt).
 i.e. 1 Tuman = 10 ori.
 1623-6 (O.C.D. 241 i.)
 1 oro = 5 'abbasi = 1½ piastres.

1625 Accounts of the mission at Shiraz were tabulated as:

<u>'abbasi</u>	<u>shahi</u>	<u>qasbak</u>
3,744	1	7

1626 (O.C.D. 238 o.)

60 Tumans = 600 ori.

c. 1640

106 Tumans = 1,590 Spanish reals, and pieces of eight.

i.e. 1 Tuman = 15 Spanish reals, or pieces of eight.

1666 (*Factory Records*, East India Company)

11,703 mahmudi = £702 3s. 9d.

1667 9,000 Tumans taken as £30,000.

i.e. Tuman = £3 6s. 8d.

1669 (*Ordinationes*, O.C.D. 236 a.)

30-35 'abbasi = 10 or 12 piastres.

i.e. 1 Tuman = 15-16 piastres.

1683 (*S.R.*, vol. 490, p. 252)

1,000 Tumans = 15,000 scudi.

i.e. 1 Tuman = 15 scudi.

1694 (*S.N.R.*, II, p. 108)

550 Tumans = 8,250 scudi.

i.e. 1 Tuman = 15 scudi.

(N.B.—In 1688: "Now, since a new coinage has been struck . . . there have been three "sorts of money current here—that of the highest, medium and lowest valuation—the old "coinage being partly prohibited, partly allowed." *S.N.R.*, I, p. 493.)

1696 (*S.N.R.*, II, p. 279 *et seq.*)

120 Tumans = 6,000 French lire.

i.e. 1 Tuman = 50 French lire.

1699 (*S.R.*, vol. 541, p. 20 *et seq.*)

240 Tumans = 2,160 Venetians, or 'ungari.'

i.e. 1 Tuman = 9 Venetian sequins, or 'ungari.'

1702 (*S.N.R.*, II, p. 348)

150 Tumans = 2,250 scudi.

1 Tuman = 15 scudi.

1719 (O.C.D. 242 b.)

(a) 100 Tumans = 2,000 piastres of 10 shahi each.

i.e. 1 Tuman = 20 piastres.

(b) 1½ Tumans = 30 piastres in 'Isolote' of Aleppo, each of which = 10 shahi.

i.e. 1 Tuman = 20 piastres.

1721 (O.C.D. 238 g., letter of 26.5.1721.)

"32 Tumans, which are 640 piastres in 'Isolatas' of 10 shahi each."

1725 (*S.R.*, vol. 653, letter of 18.8.1725)

3 Tumans = 60 scudi.

1 Tuman = 50 'abbasi = 20 scudi.

1728 (*S.N.R.* II, p. 149)

324 Tumans = 2,268 Venetian sequins.

i.e. 1 Tuman = 7 sequins.

(*Factory Records*, East India Company)

(a) 5,240 shahi = 131 sequins.

i.e. 40 shahi = 1 sequin.

(b) 22 shahi = 1 German dollar.

1729 (*Chron. Basra*), at Basra

9 Tumans = 200 piastres, isolatas.

i.e. 1 Tuman = 22½ piastres, approx.

- 1730 (O.C.D. 242 h.)
 (a) 7 Tumans = 100 Roman scudi.
 i.e. 1 Tuman = over 14 scudi.
 (b) 1 Tuman = 6 Venetian sequins, approx.
 1739 (*S.N.R.*, IV, p. 506)
 1 Tuman = 25 French (crowns) of 3 livres.
 1740 (*S.R.*, vol. 703, p. 447): the first mention noticed in the correspondence of 'hazar'
 —Persian for 1,000—as a denomination or coin (i.e. 1,000 dinar), the gran of
 modern terminology,
 '24 hazar, and 55 piastres = 254 Roman scudi.'
 1745 (*S.N.R.*, V, p. 260)
 1 bisti ($\frac{1}{2}$ shahi) = $2\frac{1}{2}$ soldi = sous.
 1 mahmudi = $\frac{1}{2}$ livre (French).
 1 'abbasi = 1 livre (French).
 1754 (*S.R.*, vol. 759, p. 251).
 1 Tuman = 5 Venetian sequins.

Turkish.

- 1625 (O.C.D. 241 i., letter of 16.1.1625)
 1,209 piastres = 4,029 'abbasi.
 i.e. 1 piastre = 3.3 'abbasi.
 1669 (O.C.D. 236 a. *Ordinationes*)
 10 or 12 piastres = 30–35 'abbasi.
 i.e. 1 piastre = about 3 'abbasi.
 1779 (O.C.D. 242 b.)
 2,000 piastres of 10 shahi each = 100 Tumans.
 i.e. 1 piastre = 10 shahi (or $2\frac{1}{2}$ 'abbasi).
 1728 (*Factory Records*, East India Company)
 1 'zalotta' = 9 shahi.
 1729 (*Chron. Basra*) at Basra.
 200 piastres, isolotas = 9 Tumans (i.e. 1,800 shahi).
 i.e. 1 piastre = 9 shahi.

PART III

PART III

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF RELIGIOUS OF THE ORDER OF THE DISCALCED CARMELITES MENTIONED AS HAVING BEEN IN PERSIA BETWEEN 1600-1775

IN THIS present year of grace 1938, so far as the Order is aware, it is in possession of no list of the Professed in the 17th and 18th centuries, nor of the dead, for any convent in Europe¹ or beyond the limits of Europe, except for the following:

- (a) A manuscript collection of names of missionaries, made by Fr. Joseph Mary of S. Theresia (a Spaniard by race) sent to Bombay before 1847, who wrote in it that he had "collected these memorials of Carmelite missionaries with much labour from "a list eaten by moths" (white ants?) "and had to leave as they were many gaps "in that list, as it was impossible to fill them"; so that this reproduction of the original list is full of misreadings in names and dates, and often quite unreliable. For short, it is here cited as *Catalog. Miss.* (O.C.D., 285 a.).
- (b) A list No. 2 of "all the Italian Congregation for 1730-1830" only (O.C.D. 152 a., see the sources cited by Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia in his *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, part 1, 1934). Few of those professed after 1730 concern the years covered by the present work.
- (c) A list of the Dead of the Province of Lombardy of the Order 1606-1769, in print at the Casa Generalizia, Rome.
(There is also to be found in the State Archives at Milan a manuscript book 1 of the Professed of the Carmelite Province of Lombardy (packet 215) for the years 1619-81),
- (d) A list of the Missionary dead of the Order from 1749-1802 (O.C.D. 439 k.).
- (e) A list of the Dead of the Convent of Turin from 1730 O.C.D. 129 c.
- (f) A list of Professed of the Province of Piedmont from 1624, O.C.D. 144 b. (from the beginning to its removal).
- (g) A list of the Professed at S. Maria d. Scala of the Roman Province, complete (which is gradually being edited and published by Fr. Marcellinus a S. Theresia of the Convent named).
- (h) A list of Professed of the Gallo-Belgian Province (1675-1736).
- (i) A full Necrology of the Province of Paris, printed (from the beginning till about 1700).
- (j) A list of Professed of the Province of Cologne (Germany) in the Order, 1626-1736.
- (k) A list of Professed and Dead of the Province of Austria from 1701-1800.
- (l) *Chronology and Biography* of Religious, dead in the Province of Venice, printed 1925.
- (m) A list of Professed for the Province of Naples, 1623-79 and 1724-30.

¹ Convents were looted, as well as suppressed for a time, wholesale in France during the years of the French Revolution, in Venice and elsewhere in Italy during the French invasion which came in its train, in other parts of Europe during the political upheavals of 1848, and other such events. It is to be borne in mind that, after the seizure of Rome in 1870 from Papal government and its incorporation in the Kingdom of Italy, among the many confiscations of Church property which took place was that of many libraries of Religious Orders following the application of the law of 1873: a writer in the *Osservatore Romano* in 1937 stated that 59 libraries of suppressed convents were put together, and in 1876 the National Library, "Vittorio Emanuele", was opened with 120,000 volumes. Among the Orders the Discalced Carmelites lost four libraries, at S. Maria della Scala 8,000 volumes. This may indicate a possible contributory cause to the present scarcity in the archives of the Order of correspondence and documents from the missions.

It should be understood, therefore, that the biographical notices, and lists of holders of offices in the Mission of Persia, have not been communicated by the Authorities of the Order in the form here cast, nor do they exist—as far as is known—in any shape or form (save for the few exceptions shortly to be mentioned), but that they have been *constructed* by the compiler of this history of the Mission mainly from mentions by name of the Religious in:

- (A) their own letters and writings extant, or those of their brethren;
- (B) from the Chronicle of the one mission of Basra between 1670 and 1733, published from the original manuscript, with a translation in English, by the late Sir H. Gollancz in 1927 under the title *Settlement of the Order of Carmelites in Mesopotamia XVII and XVIII Centuries*;
- (C) from the continuation of that Chronicle, 1733–78, published in 1934 by the Rev. Father Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist General of the Order, as *Chronica Bassorensis Missionis*;
- (D) from the *Hierarchia Carmelitana*—some ten of the biographical notices of those of the Order, who became prelates in Persia and Mesopotamia, written by the same Father Archivist General;
- (E) from the unfinished manuscript *History of the Carmelite Missions* in general, from 1604 up till about the year 1658, by Fr. Eusebius ab Omnibus Sanctis, composed about 1730, kept in the archives of the Order in Rome and lacking in references to sources of his information, dates, and in modern standards of historical record, besides being fragmentary and intermittent as to the Persian mission in particular;
- (F) and from brief data picked out of the lists (a) to (m) enumerated above;
- (G) to a very large extent also from letters and other information preserved in the original manuscript in the archives of the Sacr. Congregation de Propaganda Fide at Rome;
- (H) from mentions in the *Regesta: Acta Definitorii Generalis*—extracts lately made by the Archivist Fr. Ambrosius named above from the records of proceedings of the Definitory General in Rome.

Evidently, therefore, there may be a number of names of missionaries not included in these notices, because not mentioned in the documents seen by the present compiler: there may be many facts about their work and lives omitted, and equally errors of fact through faulty readings of and conclusions from, texts.

(Fathers, unless otherwise stated.)

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Alexander of S. Silvester (Lay Brother)	789
Aloysius Mary of the Heart of Jesus	790
Amadeus of the Most Holy Trinity	791
Angelus (Lay Brother)	792
Angelus Felix of the Holy Spirit	793
Angelus Mary of S. Peter	794
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Balthazar of the Mother of God	806
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Bartholomew Mary of S. Francis	811
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Bernard of S. Teresa (Bishop of Baghdad)	818
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Epiphanius of S. John Baptist	877
Eugenius of S. Benedict (later Praepositus General of the Order)	879
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Faustin of S. Charles	p. 881
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Felix of S. Joseph	886
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Ferdinand of Jesus Mary	887
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Francis Mary of S. Sirus (Lay Brother)	892
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George of the Holy Spirit	894
Hermengild of S. Marcellus	895
Hilary of S. Anne (Lay Brother)	896
Hubert of S. Charles	896
Hugo of S. Dionysius	896
Hyacinth of S. Augustine	897
Hyacinth of the Mother of God (Lay Brother)	897
Hyacinth of S. Teresa	897
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John Baptist (Lay Brother)	912
John Baptist of S. Elias	912
John Baptist of S. Joseph	912
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John of the Cross (Lay Brother)	914
John Francis of S. Hermengild	914
John of Jesus Mary	915
John Joseph of S. Antony	916
John Mary of Jesus	918
John Mary of S. Joseph	919
John Peter of the Mother of God	919
John Stephen of S. Teresa	919
John Thaddeus of S. Elisaeus (Bishop of Isfahan)	920
Joseph Angelus of Jesus Mary	934
Joseph Dominic of S. Rose	934
Joseph Ignatius of S. Mary	935
Joseph of Jesus Mary (Lay Brother)	935
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Joseph Mary of Jesus	936
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Justin of S. Teresa	946
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Louis of S. Francis (Lay Brother)	957
Louis of S. Teresa	958
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Patrick of S. Louis	966
Paul Augustine of S. Stephen	966
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Tussanus (Toussaint) of Jesus	1013
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Valentine of the Conception (Lay Brother)	1020
Valerius of S. Joseph	1020
Victorinus of S. Iodoc	1021
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Xavier of S. Charles	1026

AGATHANGELUS of S. Mary

A Bohemian.

Family name: Michael Strzecka. Born at Prague, Bohemia, 16.12.1723. Prov. in Order: Austria Professed Vienna 8.9.1740.¹ Arrived at Basra from Europe 29.1.1758, and left for an Indian mission, 7.3.1758.²

"Died at Bandar 'Abbas, 1757," says *Catal. Miss.*—on 5.5.1758, according to the List of

¹ Fr. Ambrose of S. Theresia, footnote to *Cont. Basra Chron.*

² Cf. *Cont. Basra Chron.*, 1758.

the Austrian Province; but *Cont. Basra Chron.* has no mention of his death having been reported at Basra.

AGATHANGELUS of S. Teresa

A Frenchman.

Born 1641 or 1642.¹ Prov. in Order: Aquitaine. Professed c. 1663—"21 years in the "Order"—*vide* the visitation report of the Visitor General Fr. Agnellus, Basra, 29.6.1684, in O.C.D. 241 a. Sent to the Persian mission 1672.² Arrived Basra 11.1.1674: in November 1674 nominated Vicar and on 11.12.1674 received his 'letters patent' as Vicar of Basra.³ Signed in the registers there for the first time in January 1674:⁴ signed the baptismal register 8.8.1674 and 21.1.1675.⁵ Taken to Persia by the Visitor General after 19.3.1678, but returned to Basra from Shiraz 15.10.1678, being given a fresh appointment as Vicar.⁶ Signed the baptismal register at Basra 7.9.1679, and as 'Parish Priest' 17.6.1680: 3.1.1685. In *Chron. Basra*, besides a lengthy account of the attitude of the "Sabaeans"—more properly, Mandaean—(the so-called 'Christians of S. John Baptist') towards the Catholic Faith and sacraments at this date, there is to be found documentary evidence of the rebuilding, during his incumbency, of the church of the Carmelites at Basra, blessed on 10.9.1679, as well as of the negotiations for a licence from the Turkish authorities. Certainly once on account of poor health he had been obliged to go to Persia for a change of climate and, elected or appointed 'Vicar Provincial 'Substitute' (as 'Socius' or companion he was to attend the Congress in Shiraz in 1685, *vide* the letter of Fr. Amadeus, 31.5.1685, in O.C.D. 238 i.), he set out—presumably a second time—for Persia on 19.2.1685 and "after transacting some business of the province" returned to Basra, 17.12.1685. The 'visitation' report cited praised him for good government and prudence, for rebuilding the church and arranging the house, while . . . 'Turks as well as Christians 'esteemed him'. "Having obtained permission from our superiors to rebuild and establish "our mission at Bandar 'Abbas," he set off on 2.2.1686 from Basra for Bandar 'Abbas, where "after many labours for the Catholic Religion he died 3.6.1686, deprived of all human consolation, even of our Religious," says *Chron. Basra*: and it is more likely correct than *Catalog. Miss.*, which gives him as having died at Hurmuz.

He was the first to compile that chronicle of the mission at Basra—from folios 1 to 132 in the original MSS. (i.e. pp. 1–87 in the Latin text of the published edition, pp. 329–407 in the English translation), one quarter of the whole may be assigned to his pen or to his supervision—mentioning in the preamble that all previous events had either not been recorded, or the record lost, and so "in this book will be noted, by the Divine favour, whatever shall have "happened since my arrival at this residence, viz. from the 11th January A.D. 1674"—which as far as the year 1733 was transcribed, translated into English and published by the late Sir Hermann Gollancz in 1927 as the *Chronicle of Events between the years 1623 and 1733 relating to the Settlement of the Order of Carmelites in Mesopotamia*, and from 1733–78 has been edited and published by Fr. Ambrosius of S. Teresa, O.C.D., under the title *Chronica Bassorensis Missionis* in 1934.

Letters extant:

O.C.D. 241 c. Basra.	1.10.1675	1.11.1680
	8.8.1676	6.5.1682
	19.3.1678	8.8.1682
	28.1.1679	3.3.1683
	4.2.1679	

¹ *Catal. Miss.* states 1642: the visitation report mentioned gives him as aged 43, i.e. born 1641.

² *Catal. Miss.*

³ and ⁶ *Chron. Basra*.

⁴ Cf. Fr. Polycarp. of Mary Joseph in *Annales de la Mission de Bassorah*, 1888, MSS. in O.C.D. 184 a., b.

⁵ Cf. registers kept in O.C.D., Rome.

AGNELLUS of the Immaculate Conception

A Lombard.

Family name: Carlo di Giorgi. Born at Milan, 1648. Prov. in Order: Lombardy.¹ Professed at Milan, 8.6.1664. Assigned to the mission on the Malabar coast he left Rome on 31.5.1674 (and Batavia for Surat on 28.12.1674, it would seem from the report of the Procurator General of the Order in 1676 “almost two years since they left”).² Yet it was from Aleppo in Syria that he wrote on 8.12.1675 that he was travelling with three other Fathers to the Malabar coast, and that they were about to start from Aleppo for Basra . . . he applied to the Sacr. Cong. for permission to stay in the Persian mission, because his health would suffer in the climate of S. India.³ On 27.12.1675—one of his three companions was the noted linguist and orientalist scholar (then advanced in years, indeed a septuagenarian) Fr. Celestine of S. Liduvina—they reached Basra, and thence with Fr. Celestine alone he took ship on 25.1.1676 for Bandar 'Abbas, and at that port, continues *Chron. Basra*, “finding no means of getting to ‘Surat, they proceeded towards Shiraz’”. On 29.5.1676 Fr. Agnellus wrote from Shiraz to the Sacr. Cong., renewing his request, and saying that he had been obliged to separate from his companions on account of an illness, which had been thought likely to prove fatal. On that request the Sacr. Cong. issued orders, 4.5.1677, that Fr. Agnellus should be recalled to Europe and sent back to his province.⁴ It must have been about December 1678, however, before he left Shiraz to travel to the coast, having presumably in the meantime remained at Shiraz. “In these past days Fr. Agnellus had arrived at Kung . . .”, wrote one Father;⁵ the letter of another confirms this with the comment “. . . with a permit from the Sacr. Cong. to return ‘to his province, but our Fr. Visitor’” (i.e. the Visitor General, John Baptist of S. Joseph) “stopped him at Kung under the pretext that he should act as nurse during the Visitor’s ‘illness, but I think really the object is to take him back to India’”—a supposition confirmed to some extent by Fr. Agnellus himself, when he wrote from Kung on 8.1.1679,⁷ thanking the Sacr. Cong. for the permission to return to Europe, and stated that he had already embarked from Kung for Basra with that intent, but that after three days’ voyage he had turned back towards India. It was the Feast of the Epiphany, and “in this way”, he wrote, he “was ‘making an offering’ of himself, when there was such a shortage of missionaries: the Visitor had been begging him to go to the mission there. His further letter from Gāmburūn (the former site of the port now called Bandar 'Abbas) informed the Procurator General of the Order that he had already reached Persia (so he may have gone on from Shiraz to Goa between May 1676 and the end of 1678) on his way back to his ‘beloved province’, where he knew that he would obtain greater contentment, the more so as he had always had bad health in Goa: and, so while thanking the Procurator General for the favour shown him in obtaining from the Sacr. Cong. permission to return to his province, he asked pardon for his former faint-heartedness and also for the trouble given, because he had decided not to avail himself of the sanction, but to go back to the mission field (23.1.1679).⁸

From India he had returned to Rome—possibly as Procurator of the Mission—in 1682, for in March 1683 in Rome⁹ he was asking for certain sums to be credited to the funds of the mission, and in a second petition¹⁰ representing to the Sacr. Cong. the need for two more missionaries in Malabar to replace Fr. Peter Paul of S. Francis and another, while on 3.7.1683 the Procurator General of the Order notified the Sacr. Congregation that Fr. Agnellus had been nominated Vicar Provincial of the Mission.¹¹ His letters from Bologna to the Procurator General mention that he had submitted to the Pope a memorial relative to the number of Masses owing by the Fathers in Persia to be reduced to a practicable figure, that His Holiness had passed on his petition to the Sacr. Cong. of the Council: and also desire a letter of recommendation from the Portuguese Resident in Rome to the Viceroy at Goa.

¹ See *Cat. Def. Lomb.*, and List of the Province of Lombardy.

² *Idem*, vol. 459, p. 275.

³ Fr. Fortunatus of Jesus Mary, Isfahan, 20.3.1679, in O.C.D. 237 k.

⁴ Fr. Agathangelus, Basra, 28.1.1679, in O.C.D. 241 c.

⁵ O.C.D. 242 a.

⁶ *S.R.*, vol. 486, p. 385 *et seq.*

⁷ *Idem*, vol. 487, p. 213.

⁸ *S.R.*, vol. 461, p. 104.

⁹ *Idem*, vol. 463, p. 190.

¹⁰ *S.R.*, vol. 477, p. 230.

¹¹ *Idem*, p. 237.

After making a visitation of the Houses of the Order in Syria he left Aleppo,¹ and reached Basra on 13.6.1684, whence, Vicar Provincial of the Mission and Visitor General as well, he set out for Shiraz 17.7.1684.² He then proceeded to Isfahan, but soon returned to Shiraz, where he was when he wrote on 26.10.1684 a report on his visitations; on 3.11.1684 he left Shiraz, arrived at Bandar 'Abbas 28.11.1684, and went on to India.³ There is no indication in any letters or records of the time examined how long he remained in the Indian posts of the Mission, whether he completed his three-year term as Vicar Provincial in them (evidently he did not return to Persia); but before 6.6.1687 he had reached Rome, for he was that day summoned to the Definitory General (see *Regesta*, vol. VI, p. 365); he died at Trent on 15.12.1697.⁴

Letters extant:

8.11.1675	Aleppo	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 459, p. 275
29. 5.1676	Shiraz	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 463, p. 190
8. 1.1679	Kung	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 477, p. 230
23. 1.1679	Gāmburun	<i>O.C.D.</i> 242 a.
13.10.1683	Bologna	<i>O.C.D.</i> 241 a.
6.11.1683	Bologna	<i>O.C.D.</i> 241 a.
21. 6.1684	Basra	<i>O.C.D.</i> 236 b.
29. 6.1684	Basra	<i>O.C.D.</i> 241 a.
2. 7.1684	Basra	<i>O.C.D.</i> 241 a.
8. 7.1684	Basra	<i>O.C.D.</i> 241 a.
26.10.1684	Shiraz	<i>O.C.D.</i> 238 k.
26.10.1684	Shiraz	<i>O.C.D.</i> 238 k.

ALEXANDER of S. Barbara

Sent to Persian missions, 1698. Prov. in Order: Paris (*Catal. Miss.*), but not found in List of the Professed of Paris. There is no other mention of such a member of the Order: and the name may be a misreading on the part of the decipherer of the damaged list in question.

ALEXANDER of S. Joseph

A Roman.

Family name: Gaudenzio Miconi. Born at Montecelio, diocese of Tivoli, 17.11.1713 (not 1715, as given in *Catalog. Miss.*). Prov. in Order: Roman. Professed 19.3.1733.⁵ Sent to Mt. Carmel in 1740, then to Syria.⁶ Arrived at Basra in September 1742: left for Bushire in 1744, but returned to Basra, after meeting Fr. Urban at Bushire, one month later.⁷ Signed register of baptisms at Basra 29.11.1745 and 20.8.1747.⁸ Died at Basra 25.9.1747 "after five years in the missions".⁹

ALEXANDER of S. Sigismund

A German.

Born about 1690.¹⁰ Prov. in Order: Cologne. Accompanying Fr. Faustin of S. Charles, left Rome for Persian mission 22.5.1716,¹¹ Genoa 27.6.1716, arrived Marseilles 7.7.1716¹² and at Tripoli 10.10.1716.¹³ He was at Aleppo on 20.10.1716,¹⁴ arrived Baghdad 12.12.1716, whence he went direct to Isfahan.¹⁵ On 18.11.1717 from Isfahan he addressed to the Sac. Cong. a

¹ 27.4.1684.

² His own letter of 26.10.1684; and Fr. Amadeus, from Shiraz, 31.5.1685, in *O.C.D.* 238 i.

³ *Series Professionum* of Roman Province, supplied by Fr. Marcellinus of S. Teresa.

⁴ and ⁹ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

¹¹ and ¹³ *S.R.*, vol. 608, p. 222.

¹⁴ Fr. Faustin, Aleppo, 20.10.1716, *S.R.*, vol. 208, p. 207.

² and ¹⁵ *Chron. Basra.*

⁴ *Cat. Def. Lomb.*

⁶ and ¹⁰ *Catalog. Miss.*

⁸ See register preserved in *O.C.D.* archives.

¹² Fr. Faustin, Marseilles, 31.7.1716, in *O.C.D.* 242 m.

request to be allowed to go to the Malabar station of the missions, as he knew Dutch.¹ Evidently he did go to Malabar for a time, because a letter of Fr. Faustin of S. Charles in 1719² stated:

"there arrived here" (i.e. at Isfahan) "on July 17th of this year Frs. — and Alexander "from Malabar, the second" (i.e. Fr. Alexander) "of the province of Cologne, who came "with me to Persia. Both left Malabar on account of continual sickness. The second I "shall keep here, as he is a missionary of Persia . . . who has no other letters patent than "those of a missionary for Persia. He is a good worker who has done much for souls in "Malabar and on board the Portuguese fleet, with which he came to the Persian Gulf "and thence, seriously ill, to Isfahan, where . . . I have appointed him Vicar."

He was at Isfahan in October 1719³ and at the Convent in the city when he wrote on 23.6.1720 to Rome, begging to be allowed to go to the Malabar mission again.

"He had travelled from Bandar 'Abbas with the English Agent, and, because the latter "had brought with him to Isfahan 5 or 6 French soldier prisoners, Catholics, whom he "used as slaves and would not allow outside the house, Fr. Alexander was frequently "celebrating Mass in the house of the English Agent"⁴ (i.e. in 1719-20—the letter refers to this having happened before 1722).

But he was already at Kung in 1721, when in a letter of 26.5.1721 Fr. Faustin recommended his recall to Europe: and from Kung he went to the Malabar mission again:⁵ according to *Chron. Basra*, by appointment from the Praepositus General of the Order he exchanged the Persian mission for that of Malabar, travelling from Isfahan to Shiraz with the Dutch commissioner to the Persian Court, M. Catteler, and thence to Bandar 'Abbas—but the year is not mentioned, though presumably 1721, not 1718. He died at Bombay "celebrated in medicine" in 1751.⁶

Letters extant:

	18.11.1717	Isfahan	<i>Atti</i> (Prop. Fide) 1718
(unsigned)	23. 6.1720	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 g.
	—(undated)	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 g. ?

ALEXANDER of S. Silvester (Lay Brother)⁷

A Sicilian.⁸

Family name: Francesco Montalbano. Born 1611, at Calatabillotta (Sicily). Prov. in Order: Sicily (Fr. Stephen's letter of 12.5.1652 in O.C.D. 238 c. calls him "the Sicilian", and Fr. Balthazar of S. Mary in a letter of 3.12.1653 (O.C.D. 236 k.) speaks of him as of Palermo, while *Catalog. Miss.* mentions a "Father" Alexander of S. Silvester, "of the province of Sicily"). Professed at Palermo, 21.3.1632 (see *Chron. List Prov. of Sicily*). Appointed to the Missions by the Definitory General, 2.12.1647 (see *Regesta*, vol. IV, p. 134).

He arrived in Persia at the same time as Fr. Barnabas of S. Charles, for he is mentioned by the latter in the account of his journey, written from Aleppo on 25.8.1648.⁹ In a letter addressed to Rome from Isfahan in March 1652¹⁰ the Visitor General and Vicar Provincial Substitute recommended his recall to his province.

On the departure of Fr. Dionysius of the Crown of Thorns to Europe, Lay Brother Alexander took up the latter's task of searching out dying Muslim infants and giving them baptism—a letter of February 1653 mentions him as engaged in this together with Fr. Stephen:¹¹

¹ Prop. Fide *Atti* for 1718.

² and ⁵ O.C.D. 242 b.

³ Fr. Philip Mary of S. Augustine, 20.6.1725, O.C.D. 238 u.

⁴ Bishop Barnabas Fedeli, O.P., Isfahan, letter of 2.5.1726 in *S.N.R.*, III, p. 537.

⁶ *Catalog. Miss.*

⁷ All the Fathers mentioning him refer to him as 'fratello': and there is other evidence in their letters that he was *not* (in Persia, at any rate) an ordained priest, despite the "*R. P. Alexandre*" of the published *Briève Relation*.

⁸ Despite the *Briève Relation* being in French—it may be a translation.

⁹ O.C.D. 241 f.?

¹⁰ Fr. Stephen, 22.3.1652, in O.C.D. 238 c.

¹¹ Fr. Felix, O.C.D. 241 k.

"an Alexander in his desire to conquer—souls," wrote Fr. Balthazar, who in a letter several months later speaks of: ". . . Brother Alexander in his zeal for baptizing dying infants, 'more than 2,000 . . . and many sick people have recovered, so that he has acquired a 'great name in the City and around, and they come seeking him.'"¹

Both Fr. Stephen² and Fr. Balthazar refer to him as "our very dear Brother".

It would appear from letters of 22.11.1654 and 16.1.1655³ that before the former date Lay Brother Alexander had gone to India (being accompanied as far as the seaport by Fr. Stephen) in order to recover the alms-money which had been obtained for the Missions in Persia in the island of Mozambique, and which had been left behind by Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas on his departure from Goa: after Brother Alexander's setting out, letters patent arrived at Isfahan from Rome for his transfer to Aleppo.⁴ From India he must have returned to Isfahan in or before February–March 1656, because, writing in April 1656 from Isfahan, Fr. Stephen alludes to the return of Brother Alexander bringing news from Diu of the refusal of the Portuguese authorities to allow Italian Religious in India;⁵ but he was away again on 9.7.1656: "today Lay Brother Alexander of S. Silvester departed for Aleppo."⁶ He may have returned from Syria to Basra: because on 29.3.1660 apparently it was he who signed the baptismal register at Basra, and in a letter of 20.12.1661,⁷ Fr. Barnabas—who had remained in Basra till the end of 1660—is stated to have sent Lay Brother Alexander to Rome.

In the Archives Nationales at Paris⁸ is a small monograph in French by him, entitled *Une Brève Relation des missions des RR. PP. Carmes en Syrie et en Perse faite en l'année 1656 par Alexandre de S. Silvestre, C.D.*, wherein he recounts the campaign of baptizing moribund Muslim children, in which he had taken part, saying that one thousand and more had been baptized in their church, Fr. Dionysius had baptized 'with his own hands' in the town and surroundings more than 2,000, the other Fathers about nine hundred. As to himself

"as they knew that I was somewhat versed in medicine, they did not only bring their sick children to me at the House, but they sent to fetch me from all quarters of the city, and even from the principal citizens, so that I might give them some bodily remedy and read in their presence the Holy Gospel . . . and in this manner I baptized with my own hands 2,916 children sick to death. When I went through the villages the inhabitants, seeing me coming from afar off, came out of their doors with their children in their arms, waiting for me to pass, and asking me to touch with my hands their children, and also let them kiss my habit. . . ."

Died at Rome, 2.6.1662 (see Chron. List Prov. Sicily), not at Aleppo as *Catal. Miss.* states.

Letters extant:

15. 8.1653	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 h ?
2.12.1653	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 h ?

ALOYSIUS MARY of the Heart of Jesus

A Tuscan.

Family name: Luigi Capannini. Born at Siena, 3.7.1741. Prov. in Order: Etruria. Professed at Florence, 4.7.1771. Sent out to the Residence at Bushire 'on the Persian Gulf in '1772'.⁹ Arrived at Basra from Aleppo 19.4.1774. Although in a letter of the Visitor (and Vicar Apostolic to the Grand Mogul), Fr. Charles of S. Conrad, Basra, on 13th June 1774:¹⁰

¹ 26.8.1653 and 3.12.1653 in O.C.D. 236 k.

² Fr. Stephen, Basra, 241 p., and Fr. Casimir, Isfahan, O.C.D. 236 l.

³ Fr. Casimir, Basra, 29.11.1655, in O.C.D. 241 h.

⁴ Fr. Dionysius, O.C.D. 237 e. ⁷ Fr. Felix, Basra, in O.C.D. 241 k.

² 4.4.1656 in O.C.D. 238 e.

⁵ O.C.D. 238 e., 4.4.1656.

⁸ Arch. Nat., Paris, L. 932, No. 6.

⁹ Vide footnote by Fr. Ambrosius a Sta Theresia in *Cont. Basra Chron.* ¹⁰ Prop. Fide, *Scrittura Riferite nei Congressi*, 34.

“in a few days Fr. Louis Mary will leave for Bushire, and thence by the first opportunity for “Shiraz,”

it is doubtful whether the prognostic was correct, for at the end of that year and in January 1775 he was still at Basra, learning Armenian from the teaching of Fr. de Bernardis, O.P., “Vicar General of the diocese of Isfahan” (who died at Basra 26.7.1775, during the siege of Basra by the Persians, having failed to get to Isfahan in March). Actually, on 28.7.1776 Fr. Aloysius went from Basra to “his Persian station”, and returned thither from Bushire in September 1777.¹

(The *Acta* of the Sacr. Cong. for 1778, p. 309, giving a summary of the reports of the Administrator of the diocese dated 20th April and 18th September 1777, refer to the Carmelites having a small house, without church, at Bushire, where Fr. Aloysius Mary was ministering to six or seven Catholics, the port having become more visited since the English had made a convention with Karim Khan.)

On 13th September of that year a letter had been addressed to him at ‘Abuelher’ (? Bushire, often miswritten and Arabicized ‘Abushir’) by the Sacr. Cong., who,

“having learnt of the death of Fr. de Bernardis, O.P., hitherto Vicar and Administrator of the diocese of Isfahan, thought proper to depute in his stead the person of Your Reverence, as will be seen from the Decree and faculties, which are being sent to you here enclosed, with the object that the said mission should not remain without a head and “director”:²

and, in confirmation, *Cont. Basra Chron.* records:

“In December 1777 he obtained letters patent from the Sacr. Cong. as Vicar General of the bishopric of Isfahan, and left in April 1778 for his destination.”³

Again his stay at Bushire must have been short, for he had written from Basra to the Sacr. Cong. on 20th February 1779, because in answer the Sacr. Cong. approved of his staying in Basra until Fr. Fulgentius had recovered from his illness, but expected that, ere September, he would have reached Julfa, and to Julfa addressed their communication for him.⁴ Although the compiler of the *Annales*⁵ called Fr. Aloysius “Administrator of Isfahan in 1780”, two further letters from the Sacr. Cong. were sent to him at Basra in July and December of that year and referred to a danger for the mission at Bushire owing to that port falling into the hands of rebels, but urged him to proceed to his destination all the same, for the sake of the spiritual good of Catholics.⁶ Still alive at Mt. Carmel 1803.

Letters:

Prop. Fide, vol. . . . Basra 20.2.1779

” ” ” . . . Basra 18.2.1780

AMADEUS of the Most Holy Trinity

From the Duchy of Savoy.

Family name: Carlo Antonio Banduch, of Turin. Born 1646, and baptized at church of S. Giacomo in Piazza, at Biella in Piedmont. Prov. in Order: Roman. Professed at S. Maria d. Scala, 6.6.1663.⁷

¹ and ³ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

⁴ *Idem*, vol. 234, anno 1779, p. 608, Rome, 18.9.1779.

⁵ *Annales de la Mission de Bassorah* by Fr. Polycarp, MSS. in O.C.D.

⁶ *Lettere della Sac. Cong.*, vol. 236, p. 493, etc., of 8.7.1780 and 9.12.1780.

⁷ Cf. *Series Professionum* at S. Maria d. Scala, supplied by Fr. Marcellinus a S. Teresia.

² *Lettere della Sac. Cong.*, vol. 230, anno 1777, p. 520.

When the Visitor General, Fr. Agnellus, left Aleppo on 27.4.1684 the Carmelite missionaries in that town had constrained him to take Fr. Amadeus with him. They arrived, after 48 days' journey, at Basra on 13.6.1684, and at Basra Fr. Agnellus had proposed to leave him, but suggested that letters patent should be issued him for one of the Residences in Persia:¹ and, when he wrote from Shiraz four months later, the Visitor General definitely proposed to establish him there.² At Shiraz on 31.5.1685—see his own letter mentioning the chapter held there³—he himself was elected Prior of Isfahan (Fr. Elias, re-elected 2.5.1685, had resigned after the death of Basil the Armenian priest, 20.9.1686),⁴ probably either in 1686 or early in 1687.⁵ Between 1687–8 he must have been in India (*vide* the reference by Fr. Elias of S. Albert to Fr. Amadeus' . . . "illness on his return from India" in the letter of 1689 quoted). He had been "re-elected Prior" in the spring of 1688 (see the same letter): and was at Isfahan in 1689, and Prior when he signed an act in Latin on 19.6.1689.⁶ He had been "dangerously" ill then and in July, and ever since his re-election in 1688 unable to attend choir, or refectory, or say Mass.⁷ The Definitory General in Rome had decided already after his first election, for reasons given through the Vicar General of the Order in a letter to the Vicar Provincial of 6.12.1687, that Fr. Amadeus was ineligible for the post of Prior. But, before being notified of this, and later, he had requested to be allowed to return to his province.⁸ This request was apparently not granted, for he had left Isfahan before September 1693 (being not mentioned among priests at the Convent and at Julfa in that year):⁹ he is named as at Shiraz in a list, presumably made early in August 1695:¹⁰ and he had died at Shiraz in June 1695.¹¹

Letters extant:

	31.5.1685	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 i.
(joint document)	19.6.1689	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 b.

ANGELUS (Lay Brother)

A Portuguese from Goa.

"On the same day as the dedication of the church at Basra, 14.4.1625, there left for Persia "a Brother, who came from Goa, named Fra. Angelo."¹²

This is presumably the same as that mentioned, in the account of the election of 1625, as sent from Goa by the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Leander, accompanying Fr. John Thaddeus, and who arrived at Isfahan 17.5.1625.¹³ Fr. John Thaddeus gives the additional information that he had been sent from Goa with money.¹⁴ In the same year Fr. Dimas referred to him as "a very good Lay Brother, from whom much help may be expected".¹⁵ At Shiraz in 1631¹⁶ and during the three years that the hospice remained without a Carmelite Father he may have been for some time in charge of the building; but later he had been transferred to Isfahan, for a letter of 3.12.1636 refers to him as having recently returned to Shiraz, suffering from fever.¹⁷ In January 1646 he got back to Masqat from Mozambique (where he had been sent to collect offerings for the Mission in Persia), was expected to cross the Gulf to Kung, so as to proceed to Isfahan with Fr. Felix.¹⁸ There is a letter from Lay Brother Angelo himself, dated 11.7.1646, when temporarily he was in charge of the hospice at Shiraz, and reported that the repairs urgently necessary to save the buildings from ruin by rain would cost 2,800

¹ Fr. Agnellus, Basra, 29.6.1684, in O.C.D. 241 a.

² Fr. Amadeus, O.C.D. 238 i.

^{4, 7 and 9}

³ *Vita Fr. Elia* by Lay Brother Francis Mary of S. Sirus, O.C.D. 320 c.

⁵ and ⁸ Fr. Elias, 26.7.1689, in O.C.D. 237 h.

⁶ Document joined signed with others, O.C.D. 236 b.

¹⁰ *S.N.R.*, II, p. 149 *et seq.*

¹¹ Letter of a Dominican Father in *S.N.R.*, II, p. 171, dated 5.10.1696.

¹² Fr. Basil of S. Francis, postscript to letter of 8.4.1625, Basra, in O.C.D. 241 a.

¹³ Fr. John Thaddeus, 27.5.1625, in O.C.D. 237 m.

¹⁴ Fr. John Antony, 1.8.1631, in O.C.D. 236 b.

¹⁵ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 7.3.1646, O.C.D. 237 f.

¹⁶ 12.10.1625, in O.C.D. 237 b.

¹⁷ Fr. Dimas, O.C.D. 237 b.

piastres:¹ and a letter from Isfahan of 12.7.1646 mentions him as arrived back from Mozambique, whence he had collected and brought 2,500 piastres.² Before June 1647, however, he would seem to have left Shiraz for Masqat, summoned by the Visitor General, then in Goa.³ Two letters of Fr. Stephen of Jesus in 1654 and 1655 seem to indicate that Brother Angelo made a later expedition to Mozambique to obtain funds and offerings for the necessitous Residences of the Order in Persia, the first alluding to money collected in Mozambique, which Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas on his departure from Goa had left in the hands of Brother Angelo to be sent to Persia, the second to these alms-offerings having finally reached destination, although there had been an intrigue in Goa to make over the money to the Viceroy for use of the State, and Brother Angelo had been even imprisoned over it.⁴

Letter extant:

11 7.1646 Shiraz O.C.D. 236 b.

ANGELUS FELIX of the Holy Spirit

A Lombard.

Family name: Gaspare Bevagna. Born Milan, 7.3.1724 (*Catalog. Miss.* has 1714, doubtless wrongly). Prov. in Order: Lombardy. Professed at Milan 4.6.1744.⁵ Arrived at Basra 2.12.1752,⁶ signed baptismal register there 20.5.1753 and 3.3.1754. Left for Bandar Rig 9.3.1754, thence for Kharg island, returning to Basra 21.5.1754. On arrival of letters patent from Rome 10.9.1754 he became Vicar of Basra.⁷ In 1755 he became dangerously ill there.⁸ He would appear to have ceased to be Vicar before he left on 10.8.1756 for Kharg island, whence he returned to Basra for a change of air on 20.4.1657. Restored to health he went back to Kharg 17.7.1757. During his time the residence of the Carmelites on Kharg island was completed at a cost of more than 2,000 rupees, in addition to materials generously supplied by the governor of the island on behalf of the Dutch Company, Baron von Kniphausen, who gave⁹ on 1.5.1757 (dating it from the "Moselstein fort in the island of Kharg") in the name of the Dutch East India Company a permit to Fr. Angelus Felix to build on the island a house, a garden, and church, and to celebrate the Divine Office according to the Roman Catholic rite for Christian inhabitants or foreigners on the island, on condition, however, that there resided a Religious of the Carmelite Order, but of no other. At the beginning of December 1758 he was back in Basra: he left for Baghdad 17.12.1758, got back to Basra in February 1759, and left for Kharg island in March 1759. (It is recorded that he was constantly ill in Basra, the climate of that place being detrimental to his health.) But on May 21st 1761 he arrived from Kharg in order to take charge of the mission at Basra, letters patent appointing him Vicar being received on 31.8.1762. On 28.3.1765 he went to Baghdad to be companion to Bishop Emmanuel Baillet, about to visit Europe; but he had returned to Basra 16.9.1765 and was confirmed as Vicar 21.10.1767. By permission of the Praepositus General of the Order he left for Bombay 4.4.1769, transferred to the mission in India.¹⁰ He died at Surat in 1788.¹¹ Several of the letters written by him to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda Fide treat of a translation of all the New Testament into the Turkish and Persian languages, but transcribed in European characters, on which he was engaged, because he held that missionaries would thus more quickly learn those languages; and, still more strange, a proposal to re-translate into Latin, as desired by the Sacred Congregation, the version in Persian of the Gospels made by order of Nadir Shah. He was the writer of the *Continuation of the Basra Chronicle* from 1733 (as he indicates in the words he used in it under the year 1752, that of his arrival in Basra)

¹ Shiraz, O.C.D. 236 b.

² Fr. Dominic, O.C.D. 237 f

³ Fr. Ignatius, Basra, 12.6.1647, in O.C.D. 241 m.

⁴ Fr. Stephen, Basra, 22.11.1654 and 22.6.1655, in O.C.D. 241 p.

⁵ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist of Order, footnote to *Cont. Basra Chron.*

⁶, ⁷, ⁹ and ¹⁰ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

⁸ Fr. Hyacinth of S. Teresa, O.C.D. 242 b., 23.6.1755.

¹¹ *Catalog. Miss.*, O.C.D.

till his departure for India in 1769—a manuscript book long lost, and brought to light and returned to the Carmelites in 1897.¹ His periods as Vicar of Basra are given by Fr. Ambrosius of S. Theresia, Archivist of the Order, as: November 1754 to Decr. 1756: June 1762 to Jan. 12, 1769.²

Letters extant:

17.1.1763	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 180
14.9.1764	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 270
25.7.1766	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 378
24.1.1768	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 480

ANGELUS MARY of S. Peter

A subject of the Duchy of Savoy.

Family name: Giuseppe Raineri. Born 17.1.1729 in village of Venasca (Saluzzo), Italy. Prov. in Order: Piedmont. Professed 30.6.1746. At seminary of San Pancrazio (Carmelite Missions), Rome, 1754.³ Arrived Basra 19.7.1757 "for the Persian missions",⁴ and greatly welcome to his compatriot, the then Vicar Provincial.⁵ To join the latter Fr. Angelus Mary left for Bushire 24.4.1758, and afterwards, still with Fr. Hyacinth of S. Teresa, he went to India, remaining in the mission at Surat,⁶ where he died 1763.⁷

ANGELUS of S. Joseph

A Frenchman.

Family name: Joseph Labrosse. Born Toulouse, 1636. Prov. in Order: Aquitaine. Professed 1653 (?). At the Seminary of San Pancrazio, Rome, for missions of the Order. Sent to the Persian mission 1663;⁸ though in his own letter of June 1672 he stated that it was "7 years past" since he had arrived in Persia, he reached Isfahan 4.11.1664, according to footnote (41), p. 21 of No. III, *Monumenta Missionaria Carmelitana* (1938) by Fr. Ambrosius a Sta Theresia. There is no mention of him previous to an entry in the baptismal register, Basra, on 17.2.1667. He was alone at Basra from the end of February till July 10th 1667, according to *Basra Chron.*: but he himself wrote:

"J'ai demeuré soeul icy depuis le ler de Mars jusques au 6 de ce mois que le P. Séverin, "qui fuit au temps de la première guerre de Baçora, est revenu icy après un an et demy "d'absence pour continuer son vicariat."⁹

There he remained till on 19.11.1667, when, owing to the ravaging of Basra by rival Pashas and Arab governors with their forces and to

"a strict order that all, without exception, should abandon the city and retire within three "days' time to Persia,"

the Carmelite residence being then burnt with most of Basra town, Fr. Angelus, together with the Vicar, Fr. Severin, had to escape, and they made their way to Bandar Rig (35 miles NW. of Bushire), where

¹ and ² Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, in introduction to edition of *Cont. Basra Chron.*, 1934.

³ Fr. Ambrosius of S. Theresia, footnote to *Cont. Basra Chron.*

⁴ Fr. Hyacinth of S. Teresa, 23.8.1757, in *S.R.*, vol. 773.

⁵ Procurator's list of 1671 in *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 224, and also *Catalog. Miss.*, except as to year of profession.

⁶ 13.7.1667, Basra, in O.C.D. 241 d.

⁴ and ⁶ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

⁷ *Catalog. Miss.*

"for one and a half months, begging their victuals from poor shepherds, they suffered very "great privations."

The forces of the Turkish Pasha from Baghdad having reoccupied Basra, the new Arab commandant set about restoring the town, getting back the inhabitants, and wrote to the Fathers to come and dwell in their house.¹

"On the 4th June 1668 I had gone to take possession of the house at Basra, with Fr. "Severin the Vicar,"²

related Fr. Angelus in one of his letters—possibly alluding to the date of his quitting Shiraz where they had doubtless repaired from Bandar Rig: another letter in July gives the information

"nous sommes rétablis depuis le 17 de ce mois":³

and with some financial aid from the Persian mission posts they put together the church in part. After several months, despite the goodwill of the commandant, Frs. Severin and Angelus were put into prison by the chief officer of the Turkish Janissaries for having rebuilt the church, and only released after some time, when merchants had paid 70 piastres as fines on their behalf.⁴

Fr. Angelus, "greatly needed back at Shiraz", left Basra at the end of November 1668, and was 45 days *en route*:

'one hundred times he thought himself lost in the snow, and in the rivers. In the end he 'was twelve days in Bihbihan, where he spent Christmas (1668) without money or credit, 'and then came on foot following a caravan for twelve days, for the reason that he had 'received too little travelling allowance from Fr. Severin.'⁵

From January 1669 he remained at Shiraz with Fr. Felix till the spring of 1670: in August 1669 he was noted by the Procurator passing through Shiraz as 'preaching well in Persian' to a congregation of more than 25 persons who frequented the church, even on ferial days;⁶ but he himself had been endeavouring to arrange for his own return to Europe, where he thought he could be more suitably placed than in this mission and had received on Christmas Day a letter from the provincial of his province assuring him that consent had been given to it.⁷ Fr. Felix, though elected Prior of the Convent of Isfahan in 1670, having abstained from going to reside in Isfahan, when the time came for a new election was still unwilling to go, and sent instead Fr. Angelus. In curious circumstances, for only two Fathers remained to complete the election, Fr. Angelus himself took office as Prior, but other Fathers held that without a due quorum and for other reasons it had been defective, or invalid,⁸ and Fr. Angelus was in the embarrassing position that to the end of his time in Persia that senior missionary, Fr. Felix, would recognize and address him only as 'Superior' at Isfahan, and not as 'Prior' of the Convent;⁹ even though Fr. Angelus had proceeded to Shiraz in May 1673 for the election of a new Prior to be held there.¹⁰ In substance he seems to have continued from 1673 again to exercise the office of Prior, which he was induced to renounce in 1675 (*vide* letter of Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary, Shiraz, 31.8.1675, O.C.D. 238 q).

He was still at Isfahan at the end of 1675, when he made certain proposals to the Praepositus General of the Order regarding the offices of Vicar Provincial and Prior in Persia¹¹—his letters

¹ S.R., vol. 429, p. 562, report by Procurator General, Rome: and also see *Chron. Basra*.

² 25.3.1669, Shiraz, in O.C.D. 1.

³ S.R., vol. 429, p. 562.

⁴ O.C.D. 241 d. on 30.7.1668, Basra.

⁵ Fr. Angelus, Shiraz, letter 25.3.1669, in O.C.D. 238 l.

⁶ Detailed report by Fr. Valerius, Procurator, in S.N.R., I, p. 252.

⁷ Fr. Angelus, Shiraz, 25.1.1670, in O.C.D. 238 l.

⁸ Fr. Felix, Shiraz, 1.8.1670, 4.8.1670, O.C.D. 238 p.; Fr. Athanasius, Shiraz, 5.8.1670, in O.C.D. 238 m.

⁹ Fr. Angelus, 28.2.1671, in O.C.D. 236 i.

¹⁰ Fr. Angelus, Isfahan, 15.6.1673, O.C.D. 236 i.

¹¹ *Idem*, 22.12.1675, O.C.D. 236 b.

in French and a vivid language are full of trenchant criticisms of the anomalies of the system till then ruling for elections: and there is evidence that he left Isfahan not before February 1676. He landed at Basra 16.7.1676,¹ and waited there (signing baptismal register 23.6.77) till after the arrival of the Visitor General, Fr. John Baptist, on 23.2.1678 at Basra when

“by commission from our superior authorities he gave letters patent to Fr. Angelus of “S. Joseph to return to his province of Aquitaine, and he set out after the feast of Easter.”²

His own account of his journey is summarized as follows in his letter of 16.9.1679³ from Venice:

“leaving Basra on 13.4.1678 I arrived in Baghdad after 27 days’ sailing on the Tigris” (i.e. about 9th May 1678): “after a stay of eight days in Baghdad I set off for Mausil “with a force of Janissaries, and reached there in fifteen days. With the same force, still “across the northern desert of Arabia, I arrived in Diarbakr in fifteen days” (i.e. about mid-June) “. . . after staying some twenty days in the house of the Capuchin Fathers I “took the road for Aleppo, where I arrived in fourteen days and whence, after stopping “for some 25 days, . . . I made Tripoli in another 13 days’ time. After staying in Tripoli “at least 15 days I made the passage to Cyprus in four days, and remained there at the “port of Larnaca for two months on end, awaiting an opportunity to take ship for Con- “stantinople . . . the occasion of a French ship going to Marseilles offering . . . I con- “tented myself with sending by that ship all my Latin and other writings . . . and a few “months later news arrived that that ship having fought for three days against the Barbary “pirates caught fire, and the men in it with my labours of the past twenty years—few “excepted—fell a prey to those disastrous elements”—

(and the good Father considered it a miraculous effect of his obedience in not going by that ship to his own France, but in turning off on his mission to Constantinople, that he had not perished with his writings).

“Finally I went on overland to the port of Paphos, where after eight days I found a “Greek galliot in which I embarked for Constantinople on the 14th October, arriving at “Constantinople on the 4th November 1678. . . . I left Constantinople by the vessel “*Prophet Moses* on the 21st March 1679, calling at Smyrna, and arriving after a most “prosperous voyage of five months at Venice on 27th August 1679.”

The Visitor General explained in a letter of 21.3.1678⁴ the double purpose of Fr. Angelus’ journey via Constantinople and Rome to France:

“Fr. Angelus is returning to his province, and will set out in 3 or 4 days via Baghdad, “i.e. Babylon, and thence to Constantinople, in order to see whether with the aid of the “Ambassador of France he would be able to extract from the Porte the permit for the “reconstruction of our church at Basra, which threatens every day to collapse, and no “repairs nor reconstruction may be undertaken without a permit: and he was also desirous “of betaking himself to Rome in order to have an interview with our Father General, and “see whether with the aid of the Sacr. Cong. there could be printed a very fine and good “dictionary of the Persian and Italian languages, compiled by him together with other “works (which he has ready for printing). Certainly it would be of much utility for our “missionaries in learning the language: and all tell me, Religious and lay-folk alike, that “there has never been anyone who has known it better: he knows Arabic well, too, and

¹ and ² *Chron. Basra*.

⁴ Fr. John Baptist of S. Joseph, Basra, in 242 a.

³ His report to the Praepositus General in O.C.D. 241 d.

"Turkish, but Persian in particular perfection, and we should see whether in Rome he
"will not make a good impression on the Sacr. Cong. . . ."

The negotiations conducted by Fr. Angelus with regard to the church at Basra are given by the *Basra Chronicle* as follows:¹

" . . . because, owing to old age, our church threatened to fall in ruins, the Fr. Visitor
"gave the said Fr. Angelus letters, signed by himself and by the Fathers of this residence,
"to the Marquis Charles François De Nointel, ambassador at Constantinople for the Most
"Christian King of France, that he might obtain permission from the Sultan for us to
"repair our church, and so the Fr. Visitor ordered Fr. Angelus to travel by way of Con-
"stantinople in order to attend to this business . . . the Muhammadans can only be
"persuaded with very great difficulty to allow Christian churches to be restored . . . but
"we saw from the letters of the Father that there was little hope of obtaining such a permit;
"indeed, Fr. Angelus found another difficulty, viz. that we could not obtain a permit for
"restoring the church without first having obtained one for founding it. . . . Accordingly,
"instead of an authentic permit for restoration, he sent us an authentic deed of foundation,
"I mean a special mandate from the Sultan for the foundation of this church of ours at
"Basra, or for the protection of the same church already founded, thinking it impossible
"for the present, as is clear from his letters, to obtain a mandate or permit for the restoration
"of the church. He also sent us another mandate from the Sultan, or general privilege
"for all Carmelites and Capuchins, living in the East under the rule of the Turks, or
"visitors from foreign parts. . . . Fr. Angelus of S. Joseph wrote to the Fathers at Basra
"on the 13th January 1679 from Constantinople in the middle of his letter, in the following
"terms—"I still hope to obtain the express mandate for our establishment in Basra, without
"which there can be no talk of restoration, nor a rebuilding of the church from the
"foundations: the Ambassador has already sent a dragoman to the Porte for that!" . . .
"The said Fr. Angelus also wrote from the port of Smyrna on 25th April 1679: 'I have
"further obtained an authentic copy of the mandate of establishment for our Fathers in
"all parts of Turkey: I hope to find at Venice the special mandate for Basra and for the
"establishment of the consular church, without which one could not speak of any request
"for restoring the church, which in the case of the present Vizir, a greedy tyrant, is a
"delicate matter; if, however, I had had 50 piastres, I should have remained to the end
"in order to get it. . . . ' Further, the most excellent . . . Ambassador of the King
"of France to the Sultan of the Turks wrote to the Fathers at Basra from Constantinople
"on 11th May 1679 in the following terms: 'Fr. Angelus departed on March 22nd, and
"I believe he is still at Tenedos, because he is on a Venetian vessel, which is waiting in
"that place for the escort of some warships of the Republic. I have, however, addressed
"to him a general mandate for your mission at Basra. . . . ' The above Fr. Angelus of
"S. Joseph also wrote from Smyrna on 4th June 1679 to the Father Vicar of Basra in
"these terms: 'I have decided not to bring with me from Venice the documents relating
"to our House at Basra . . . in order to avoid exposing them to the risks of the sea I am
"sending everything . . . to Isfahan. . . . I only have the new express mandate obtained
"from the Grand Signor for the establishment of our church and house at Basra.' . . ."

After executing this useful negotiation, Fr. Angelus is recorded—in the Sacr. Cong. of Prop. Fide—as having applied for a grant of money for his journey to Paris, and for the printing of his dictionary.³ In 1681 he was sent as Visitor to the Convent of the Order at Amsterdam, and apparently was rigorous, and found much of which he was critical, so that the missionaries

¹ and ² *Chron. Basra*, translation by Sir H. Gollancz: *Settlement of the Carmelites in Mesopotamia*, 1927.

³ *S.R.*, vol. 477.

in the Dutch capital made representations to the Praepositus General of the Order.¹ On his appointment to remain in the Carmelite Convent there—

“destined by the Father General for the missions in Amsterdam in place of Fr. Joseph of “the Assumption, with the approval of the Sacr. Cong. . . .”,²

protests made by the community at Amsterdam were considered by the Definitors as undeserving any attention: and on 17.2.1682 the Sacr. Cong. approved letters patent being issued for Fr. Angelus’ functions in Holland.³

According to the footnote (No. 41), p. 21, of *Monumenta Missionaria Carmelitana*, No. III (1938) by Fr. Ambrosius a Sta Theresia: “When the visitation in Holland was finished, he was sent “as a missionary to England—but, obliged to fly from London, remained some years in Ireland. “At length he was restored to his Province of Aquitaine and was successively Prior of the Convent “at Perpignan, Definitor Provincial, Vicar Provincial, Visitor Provincial, and while making “a visitation of the Convent at Perpignan died, 29.12.1697.”

His numerous and lengthy letters, many of them in French, make interesting reading with their acute observations on the customs of the time in Persia. As to his linguistic attainments, as early as 1667,⁴ he himself asserted:

“Durant mon temps j’ay appris la langue Arabe (sachant déjà la persienne comme la “française):”

and both then and in another letter of 24.5.1667 he asked to be allowed to return to his province, or be made Reader of Languages at the Seminary of San Pancrazio. Probably he was the greatest philologist in the history of the various Orders in Persia, *testé* his massive dictionary (one copy exists in the library of the Sacr. Congregation in Rome) of the Persian tongue ‘with a triple key, Italian, Latin, French’, published at Amsterdam in 1684. But it is equally clear that his temperament was too independent, he was too prodigal of criticism of others, for harmonious collaboration with him to be easy.

Letters extant:

1.8.1666	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 l.	20.3.1671	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 i.
24.5.1667	Basra	O.C.D. 241 d.	20.3.1671	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 i.
13.7.1667	Basra	O.C.D. 241 d.	27.4.1671	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 i.
14.9.1667	Basra	O.C.D. 241 d.	27.4.1671	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 i.
30.7.1668	Basra	O.C.D. 241 d.	28.4.1671	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 i.
30.7.1668	Basra	O.C.D. 241 d.	1.10.1672	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 i.
15.3.1669	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 l.	12.11.1672	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 i.
25.3.1669	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 l.	3.1.1673	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 i.
1.6.1669	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 l.	1.4.1673	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 i.
5.6.1669	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 l.	15.6.1673	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 i.
10.6.1669	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 l.	28.7.1673	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 i.
25.1.1670	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 l.	8.9.1675	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 b.
—6.1670	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 i.	22.12.1675	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 b.
3.7.1670	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 i.	7.8.1676	Basra	O.C.D. 241 d.
12.8.1670	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 i.	7.3.1678	Basra	O.C.D. 241 d.
2.9.1670	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 i.	13.1.1679	Constantinople	<i>Chron. Basra</i>
14.1.1671	Isfahan.	O.C.D. 236 i.	10.2.1679	Constantinople	O.C.D. 241 d.
14.1.1671	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 i.	25.4.1679	Smyrna	<i>Chron. Basra</i>
26.2.1671	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 i.	4.6.1679	Smyrna	<i>Chron. Basra</i>
28.2.1671	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 i.	16.9.1679	Venice	O.C.D. 241 d.

¹ S.R., vol. 485, p. 164.

² *Idem*, p. 158.

³ *Idem*, vol. 486, p. 418.

⁴ 13.7.1667 in O.C.D. 241 d.

ANSELM of the Annunciation

A Frenchman.

Family name: Vincent Bidal. Born at Paris, 14.4.1614.¹ Prov. in Order: Paris.² Professed 29.3.1644, Paris. Sent to the Mission in Syria, 1652. Had been in the summer of 1659 (and perhaps previously) in Persia;³ but was stationed at Basra, when in April 1660 he addressed a long report in French to headquarters of the Order in Rome, on the subject of the 'Sabacans', i.e. Mandacans and on political conditions at Basra. In 1671, when he had worked 18 [? sic] years in Syria, at Aleppo and Tripoli, the Procurator General of the Order made application for him to return to his province of Paris, and licence was granted.⁴ In 1677 he was proposed by the Vicar General of the Order as Lector in Arabic for the Seminary of San Pancrazio;⁵ and in September 1680 selected as Visitor General of the missions in Syria, and as Vicar of Aleppo he applied to the Sacr. Cong. for some copies of S. Thomas Aquinas.⁶ Died as Visitor General of the missions in Syria, and Vicar of Tripoli, at Tripoli, 5 7.1681 (see *Necrology*, Prov. of Paris, p. 73).

Letter extant: 5.4.1660. O.C.D. 241 a. Basra.

ANSELM of the Most Holy Sacraments

A Frenchman.

Family name: Louis de Maneville. Born 11.6.1600 at Bonestable, Le Mans.⁷ Prov. in Order: Paris. Professed 31.5.1620. "One of the two Fathers to be taken by the Bishop of Babylon for his consolation . . . his confessor."⁸ Accompanied Bishop Bernard (Duval) of S. Teresa on his journey to Persia, leaving Marseilles 10.7.1639, and reached Isfahan with him on 7.7.1640. In letters from Shiraz of 11.4.1641 and 14.4.1641 mentioned as being at Isfahan, 'companion and confessor of the Bishop', and at the Carmelite convent.⁹ Returned to Paris with dispatches from the Bishop in 1641.¹⁰ Died at Paris (?) 4.12.1671.

ANTONINUS of S. Dionysius

A Frenchman.

Family name: Joseph Denys Charlet. Born at Herlû, now in Belgium (see *Catal.* Prov. Gallo-Belg.) 26.1.1696. Prov. in Order: Franco-Belgian. Professed 26.4.1721. After 1729 sent from Mt. Carmel to the 'Persian missions'.¹¹ When Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, pro-Vicar Apostolic, was compelled to move from Baghdad in 1732 he left behind there Fr. Antoninus, who attempted to make his way from Baghdad to Isfahan, but when near Kirmanshah turned back from fear of the troops of Tahmasp Quli Khan (afterwards Nadir Shah) who was planning the siege of Baghdad. On 7.1.1733 he arrived at Basra from Baghdad, and was made a conventual there. Appointed Vicar of Basra 23.10.1733 by the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Placid.¹² Signed in baptismal register, Basra, 22.2.1734 and March 1734 as Vicar, also on 1.5.1735; but in July 1735 was succeeded as Vicar by Fr. Ambrose of S. Philibert. In September 1735 sent by the Vicar Provincial to Bandar 'Abbas, where he died of fever 6.4.1736.¹³

ANTONY FRANCIS of S. Joseph

A Lombard (subject of the Duchy of Milan).

Born 1676, at Cremona. Prov. in Order: Lombardy.¹⁴ Previously a missionary at Mt.

¹ S.R., 429, p. 503: the Procurator General on 31.8.1671 said he was aged then 58 years.

² and ⁴ S.R., vol. 429, p. 503.

³ O.C.D. 241 a., his report is dated 5.4.1660.

⁵ S.R., vol. 463, p. 381.

⁶ *Idem*, vol. 480, p. 433.

⁷ Leon Mirot, *Lettres Ecrites de Perse et de Syrie par le R. P. Bernard de S. Thérèse, évêque de Babylone*, Clamecy, 1933.

⁸ S.R., vol. 209, p. 131 (1639).

⁹ Fr. Dominic of Christ, O.C.D. 237 c.

¹⁰ Leon Mirot, *opus cit.*

¹¹ Fr. Ambrosius of S. Theresia, archivist of the Order, footnote to *Cont. Basra Chron.*

¹² *Chron. Basra.*

¹³ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

¹⁴ *Cat. Def. Lomb.*

Carmel,¹ he left Rome 22.5.1716, was at Aleppo on 20.10.1716, arrived at Basra 5.2.1717, and left Basra for Kung 26.12.1717.² Till 1721 he was at Shiraz, companion to Fr. Cyril,³ and still at Shiraz at the end of 1724,⁴ and in 1726.⁵

"Having been intrepid and constant in the midst of the frightful, bloody revolutions in the 'kingdom of Persia, in the month of December 1728, to his great glory and merit, he 'remained buried beneath the ruins of his Residence.'"

This entry in the register kept at Milan of Carmelites from that province 'who had passed 'to the other life' is preceded by the word "Isfahan"—usually in this register to indicate the place where the event took place: in this case entered in error, as the source of the news. There is no indication in manuscripts available of the structural collapse of the convent at Isfahan, or Residence at Julfa at this period: on the other hand, Bishop Barnabas Fedeli, O.P., who stayed at Shiraz for several months in 1730, speaks of the church, as well indeed as all the house, being in ruins, for there was only a heap of mud in dust, not a stone upon a stone, as the result of the coming of the Afghans, and more particularly the return of the Persians when the Afghans were driven out of Shiraz.⁶

ANTONY MARIAN of S. Joseph

A Lombard.

Family name: Carlo Francesco Mazzola. Born 17.9.1732 at Como. Prov.: Lombardy. Professed 20.6.1752.⁷ Arrived Baghdad from Aleppo 28.6.1763 (*S.N.R.*, VII, p. 178). Arrived at Basra from Europe, and "by letters patent declared a missionary of this province of Persia" 30.8.1763. Sent by Bishop Cornelius in March 1765 (see Mgr Cornelius' letter, 11.3.1766, *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 358), in company of an English official, to Shiraz, to negotiate with Karim Khan Zand the return of the Bishop to Julfa, and protection against Armenian malice. Karim Khan, however, refused to give audience to the official, and Fr. Antony Marian returned disappointed to Bushire (*vide* Mgr Cornelius' letter, 11.3.1766, *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 358). On 8.3.1767 left Basra for Bushire by instructions of the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Cyril:⁸ and mentioned as at Bushire in June that year with Bishop Cornelius of S. Joseph.⁹ When the British moved their 'Factory'¹⁰ from Bushire to Basra, he betook himself to Basra, 14.2.1769.¹¹ Died at Basra, 19.8.1769.

ANTONY MARY of the Ascension

A subject of the Venetian Republic.

Family name: Giovanni Battista Gomberti. Born 10.4.1665 at Padua. Prov. in Order: Venice. Professed 25.3.1684 at Vicenza. In company with Frs. Hermengild, Joseph Ignatius, and Lay Brother Francis Mary of S. Sirus he embarked at Leghorn on a French vessel on 12.10.1692: was at Malta 22nd December and had to wait there for two months for a ship. Left Malta 27.2.1693 on a French vessel, arrived Smyrna 16th March, left Smyrna 28th March on a Turkish boat (the party paying a sequin a head—the previous passages had been free) for Constantinople, where they arrived 14th April. Leaving 4th May on a Greek boat—again at 1 sequin each passenger—and changing into civilian dress so that they should not be prevented from continuing their journey by the Turks, as being missionaries, they reached

¹ Fr. Faustin, Isfahan, 26.5.1721, in O.C.D. 238 g.

² Fr. Faustin, letter cited.

³ Fr. Placid, Basra, 15.7.1726, in O.C.D. 242 b.

⁴ Fr. Ambrose of S. Theresia, footnote to *Cont. Basra Chron.*

⁵ Fr. Bernardin of S. Joseph, Basra, 14.6.1767, in O.C.D. 242 b.

⁶ The removal of the British headquarters to Basra in 1769 must have been temporary, and for a very short time: the 'Factory', or 'Residency' as it became known, was transferred to Bushire from Gāmburūn (Bandar 'Abbas) in 1763, and has existed continuously to this day.

⁷ *S.R.*, vol. 608, p. 222, and *Chron. Basra*.

⁸ Fr. Philip Mary, Isfahan, 21.9.1724, in O.C.D. 238 u.

⁹ *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 539, letter of 6.6.1730—Shiraz.

¹⁰ and ¹¹ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

Trebizond on 23rd May. Left 26th May, reached Erzerum 2nd June. They stayed in Erzerum till 7th July in a house the Jesuits had there—for horses they had had to pay 4½ scudos each—the party left for the Persian frontier. They had to pay 1 scudo to the Pasha's men, 2 scudos to the Customs officers both on arrival and leaving, and half a scudo each at a fort belonging to the Mufti fifteen miles out. At Kars, the last town in Turkey, one sequin was paid. At Erivan they lodged with the Jesuits who had a house 2 miles outside the town, and had to pay more than half a scudo each to the Customs. Leaving by caravan for Nakhchiwan, where the Persian Customs officers again took 3 sequins, they reached Tabriz on 6th August, staying with the French Capuchin Fathers and paying half a scudo each to the Customs, 2 sequins being asked from any European: and from Erzerum to Tabriz the hire for each horse had been 8 scudi. At Tabriz they bought horses, in order not to be forty days *en route* by caravan and, leaving on 24th August, arrived at Isfahan 11th September 1693, paying nothing at the (more than 15) customs, i.e. *rahdar* posts *en route* owing to their travelling with a party of Georgians, "as the Customs officials are afraid of the Georgians".¹

After the expulsion of the Carmelites from Julfa in July 1694 Fr. Antony Mary was sent to Basra,² where he arrived 14.12.1694. Sent to Kung to obtain offerings and alms for the mission at Basra 2.3.1697, he got back from Shiraz to Basra 12.7.1697; he had taken a local sailing-vessel at Bandar Rig, and it had been driven ashore by winds and broken up; though Fr. Antony Mary and the others on board had saved themselves by swimming, he had lost the 20 Tumans aid in funds for the mission at Basra that he obtained in his journey and his clothing, being given an Arab *abba* by compassionate folk on the coast to cover his nakedness. To add to his misery he found on arrival that his companion Religious had died during his absence, and the mental strain on him was such that, when another companion sent from Shiraz had had to leave sick, despite the fact that Ali Mardan Khan, then governor of Basra and friend in Isfahan of Bishop Elias of S. Albert, supplied him with a quantity of butter, corn and rice and urged him not to depart because of lack of funds, Fr. Antony Mary abandoned the mission, and taking the opportunity of a French vessel sailed for Kung in November 1698.³ (He had signed the baptismal register, Basra, 14.8.1697.) He left Isfahan 14.10.1699, accompanying Bishop Mouton (Elias of S. Albert) to Europe.⁴ Died at Padua 6.11.1728.⁵

ANTONY of S. Teresa (Lay Brother)

Portuguese (?)

Clothed and professed at Isfahan in 1613. On 19.9.1623 left Isfahan, sent to the new Residence at Shiraz with Fr. Dimas.⁶ Mentioned in various letters of 1625 as being at Shiraz.⁷ and there with Fr. Dominic of S. Mary in 1627.⁸ Alone at Shiraz in 1628,⁹ and there died, still alone, of fever and a flux of blood from the nose, on 7.11.1628, shortly before the return of Fr. Dominic of S. Mary from Basra.¹⁰ Fr. Dimas paid the following tribute to him:

"... Much beloved ... of much virtue and use to the mission: very humble, worked willingly, and had a very great charity. He had besides a very great zeal for the conversion of souls and preached to these Persians with much fervour. By his means many children brought by their fathers and mothers to our church for some prayers to be said for them were baptized even with the permission of their parents. ... As he was somewhat of an adept at painting, he did some pictures" (i.e. frescoes on the wall of the church) "of the Four Last Things. On the fourth day of his illness he wrote to me, thinking that

¹ MSS. unsigned, but evidently by Lay Brother Francis Mary of S. Sirus in O.C.D. 238 t.

² MSS. *Vita Fr. Elia a Sta. Alberto* by the Lay Brother named in O.C.D. 320 c.

³ *Chron. Basra*.

⁴ MSS. *Vita Fr. Elia*, cited.

⁵ *Catal. of Professed and Dead*, Prov. Venice.

⁶ Fr. Prosper, 23.9.1623, in O.C.D. 238 d.

⁷ Fr. John Thaddeus, Isfahan, 27.5.1625, O.C.D. 237 m.; Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 18.6.1625, Shiraz, O.C.D. 238 c.; Fr. Dimas, Isfahan, 12.10.1625, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁸ Undated list (of 1628–9?), O.C.D. 235 n.

⁹ Fr. Dimas, Isfahan, 2.5.1628, O.C.D. 237 b.

¹⁰ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, Isfahan, O.C.D. 5.3.1629.

"he was about to die, and in those brief lines . . . asked pardon of all, and after speech "failed him, viz. a little after he had written to me, they say that he continued with his "finger making the sign of the cross on the wall."¹

ATHANASIUS of S. Teresa

A Frenchman.

Born 1624.² Prov.: Aquitaine. Professed 1646 (cf. Fr. Agnellus, Shiraz, 26.10.1684). Although *Catalog. Miss.* and also the list given by the Procurator of the Mission at Rome in 1671³ give him as sent to the Persian mission in 1648 it would seem far more likely that 1655 was the real year, for a letter of 21.6.1655⁴ refers to him as "newly arrived" together with Fr. Casimir (who by his own account had first come to the mission in January 1655) while Fr. Athanasius himself wrote in 1666 that he had been "sent to the missions 12 years previously and not of his own choice".⁵ All doubt is settled, however, by the *Regesta* (vol. IV, p. 410), for the Definitory General, 30.4.1654, assigned from the income of the missions to Fr. Athanasius and Fr. Casimir Joseph, seminarists, who were being sent to Persia, 50 Venetian sequins and journey-money. Still at Isfahan on 5.5.1655⁶ he left in the first week of April 1656 to be Vicar at Shiraz;⁷ mentioned as 'Superior' there in the *Briève Relation des Missions en Perse, faite en l'année 1656*,⁸ as also in a letter of Fr. Felix.⁹ Still at Shiraz, but alone, in July 1657,¹⁰ and in the summer of 1661, when elected Prior of Isfahan;¹¹ but he had ceased to be Prior by June 1664. The French traveller Daulier Deslandes in his published description of his journey in Persia mentions Fr. Athanasius as 'Superior' at Shiraz in 1665. On 22.2.1666 from Shiraz he wrote to the Praepositus General of the Order, asking to be allowed to return to his province in Europe, and a further letter of 1.6.1668¹² voiced his discontent with life in the mission. From 1667, or early 1668 (but with absences of some months during the summer heat, and at Kung, whence as companion of the Vicar Provincial and Prior he wrote a letter, 15.4.1669) he was at Bandar 'Abbas¹³ by request of the French East India Company, and he continued acting as chaplain to that port till 1670:¹⁴ "for three years past he had been at Bandar 'Abbas," wrote Fr. Angelus. The same authority¹⁵ mentioned, 3.7.1670, having received a letter from Fr. Athanasius then at Bandar 'Abbas; a letter from Fr. Athanasius himself, 5.8.1670¹⁶ was, however, addressed from Shiraz, and back at Shiraz he was not long before January 1671.¹⁷ But he is cited in three other letters of the end of 1672 and early 1673 as back at Bandar 'Abbas.¹⁸

In 1675 he was again elected Prior of Isfahan in place of Fr. Angelus:¹⁹ "the previous Praepositus General had indicated that it was not intended to keep on the house at Bandar 'Abbas "to serve as a slaughter house for the Religious"; and Fr. Athanasius would seem not to have carried through a purchase of accommodation there, for he made over to the Vicar Provincial "the money for the purchase of the house at Bandar 'Abbas." In the spring of 1683 he was at Isfahan still at the time of the election for Prior, and, considering that the method adopted rendered it invalid (as did nearly all other Religious present), would not recognize Fr. Elias as Prior.²⁰ Aged sixty he left Isfahan 30.9.1684, and arrived at Shiraz 12.10.1684, once more appointed Vicar there.²¹ *Catalog. Miss.* states that he died "in Persia," but place and date are not given there, nor to be observed in any of the correspondence.

¹ Fr. Dimas, Isfahan, 15.10.1628, O.C.D. 237 b.

² S.R., vol. 428, p. 224.

⁴ Fr. Felix, O.C.D. 241 k.

² S.R., vol. 428, p. 224, and O.C.D. 235 n., list 1663.

⁶ See his signature to declaration in O.C.D. 237 c.

⁵ Fr. Dionysius of Crown of Thorns, 6.4.1656, 236 a.

⁸ By Fra Alexandre de S. Silvestre, Archives Nationales, Paris, L. 932, No. 6.

⁹ Fr. Felix, 20.3.1656, O.C.D. 237 i.

¹⁰ Fr. Dionysius of Crown of Thorns, 16.7.1657.

¹¹ Fr. Felix, 10.6.1661, O.C.D. 238 p.

¹² O.C.D. 237 b.

¹³ Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, 21.4.1668, O.C.D. 237 d.

¹⁴ 2.9.1670, O.C.D. 236 b.

¹⁵ Fr. Angelus, O.C.D. 236 i.

¹⁶ O.C.D. 238 m.

¹⁷ Fr. Angelus, 14.1.1671, O.C.D. 236 i.

¹⁸ *Idem*, 1.10.1672, 12.11.1672, 3.1.1675, O.C.D. 236 i.

¹⁹ Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary, Shiraz, 31.8.1675, O.C.D. 238 q.

²⁰ Fr. Elias, 14.7.1683, O.C.D. 237 h.

²¹ Fr. Agnellus, Shiraz, 26.10.1684, in O.C.D. 238 k.

Letters extant:

(jointly)	5.5.1655	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 c.
	22.2.1666	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 m.
	1.8.1666	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 m.
	—5.1668	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 m.
	1.6.1668	Shiraz	O.C.D. 236 b.
	12.4.1669	Gāmburūn	O.C.D. 236 b.
	15.4.1669	Gāmburūn	O.C.D. 236 b.
(jointly)	5.8.1670	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 m.
	26.10.1670	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 m.
	3.8.1675	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 b. (? 1679)

AUGUSTINE of the Purification¹ (Lay Brother)

Neapolitan (?).

Born (?). Prov. in Order: Naples. Previously a physician, in May 1732 with two Fathers he had arrived at Baghdad “sent for the Persian mission” and, having from Baghdad tried to make the journey to Isfahan but returned from near Kirmanshah out of fear of the force of Tahmasp Quli Khan (afterwards Nadir Shah) about to besiege Baghdad, on 23.9.1732 he came to Basra. With Fr. Placid, Vicar Provincial, on 26.10.1733 he left to establish a mission house at Bandar ‘Abbas,² “Having chosen to go by sea from India to Europe, he fell sick in “Masqat” and died there “30.7.1737, whose medicines, surgical instruments, books, etc., were “sold by public auction in Pondicherry, and the money handed over” (to the mission) “in “Basra next year by the master of the ship.”³

AUGUSTINE of S. Eleazar

Frenchman (?).

Born 1668. Prov. in Order: Avignon. Sent to Malabar mission 1694. Later, dispatched and on his way to Rome on behalf of the work among the “Christians of S. Thomas,”⁴ i.e. these of the Malabar-Antiochene rite, he died at Bandar ‘Abbas a few days after 14.4.1703.⁵

AUGUSTINE of S. Teresa

A Lombard (subject of the Duchy of Milan).

Family name: Francesco Capra. Born 1604 at Cremona. Prov. in Order: Lombardy. Professed at Cremona 1618⁶—15.4.1622 at Milan, as more correctly copied from the List in the State Archives at Milan. *Regesta* of the Definitory General recorded him, 9.6.1637, as being sent to missions in East (vol. III, p. 54). Brought out to the missions by the Visitor General, Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary, in 1639⁷ at the same time as Fr. Felix of S. Antony. ‘The Book in which elections of Superiors for the Missions are to be noted’⁸ gives him as appointed ‘Substitute Superior for Goa’ on 5.6.1638—perhaps before he sailed for the East. The same books mentions him as chosen to be Prior of Goa in a list dated 9.1.1642. A letter of Fr. Dominic of S. Mary⁹ states, however, that his own term as Prior of Goa ended on 23.4.1643, and that Fr. Augustine of S. Teresa was elected in his stead: presumably, therefore, the appointment in Rome took effect from that date only.

¹ *Annales de la Mission de Bassorah* calls him “of the Presentation”, a reading followed by Fr. Ambrosius a Sta Theresia in his edition of, and footnote to, *Cont. Basra Chron.*

² *Chron. Basra*, which three times gives his name as here quoted.

³ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

⁴ Information by Fr. Ambrosius a Sta Theresia, Archivist General, O.C.D.

⁵ *S.R.*, vol. 564, p. 392, in a letter of the Capuchin Fr. Felice de Montechio from Chandernagore, Bengal.

⁶ Cf. list undated, but presumably of 1641–2, O.C.D. . . .

⁷ *Vide Brief Narrative*, by Fr. Stephen in O.C.D. 236 a.

⁸ Preserved in O.C.D. 235 c.

⁹ 9.8.1644 in O.C.D. 237 f.

In the autumn of 1643 he was displaced from his office of Prior by the Apostolic Vicar sent from Portugal, and was delegated by the latter to go and found a mission in Cochin, but—apparently—did not proceed, and instead from Bangalore arrived at Masqat at the end of January 1644 with the intention of proceeding to Rome.¹ Leaving Masqat together with the Vicar Provincial and Fr. Barnabas at the end of February, the party arrived at Kung for Easter and departing thence in mid-April reached Isfahan at the end of May 1644. Late in June 1644 Fr. Augustine left Isfahan to carry to Rome the report of the Vicar Provincial on the events of the previous year in Goa, and for his own affairs.² He travelled via Echmiadzin, where the Armenian Patriarch entertained him and Fr. Barnabas.³ In mid-April, the position of affairs in Goa having changed somewhat, the Archbishop of Goa had written to the Vicar Provincial, then in Isfahan, desiring that both he and the Prior, Fr. Augustine, should proceed to Goa for settlement of the complicated situation; but Fr. Augustine was, by the time this letter reached Isfahan, already in Europe, although the Vicar Provincial had suggested to him to wait at Isfahan until affairs in Goa might permit his return.⁴ In November of 1644 Fr. Augustine was at Constantinople, when he wrote to the Praepositus General of the Order that he was carrying with him a full statement by the Vicar Provincial on the troubles in Goa, and that a certain Venetian was proceeding to Rome as proxy for the Carmelites in India.⁵ He had also passed through Vienna, and had audience with the Emperor.⁶

When Fr. Stephen of Jesus was appointed in Rome as Visitor General in 1646 (largely in connection with the resettlement of the mission at Goa) he was to have been accompanied by Fr. Augustine as Vicar Provincial of Persia and the Indies: in O.C.D. 284 g. are to be found the 'Instructions' given the latter in that capacity by the Definitory General, *inter alia* that, when he had finished his duties in Goa and India, his residence was to be in Persia, that he was to write frequently, forwarding duplicates and triplicates by other channels, and similarly was to cause Priors and Vicars to furnish reports, so that the Procurators dispatched to the Chapters General might bring back full accounts. (The "additional instructions given to "Fr. Augustine of S. Joseph, Visitor of our Missions in the East, 2.4.1642", may refer to a different Father, although also preserved in 284 g.).

On 6.5.1646 (*Regesta*, vol. IV, p. 71) the Definitory General "sent back to the Missions Fr. "Augustine, destined for the Residence at Aleppo till fresh orders be given"; while, 25.5.1646 (*Regesta*, vol. IV, p. 80):

"all authority of the Definitory General in relation to the business concerning our Houses
 "in Goa and elsewhere and all Religious and Superiors residing in them, when the two
 "Fathers mentioned agree together, is committed to the Fr. Visitor General of Persia and
 "the East, Fr. Stephen of Jesus, and to the Fr. Vicar Provincial of the same mission of
 "Persia and the East, Fr. Augustine of S. Teresa. . . ."

But on the voyage from Italy, doubtless early in 1646, Fr. Augustine was captured by corsairs in the Mediterranean. A report from Fr. Dominic of S. Mary,⁷ Isfahan, alludes to a portion of the funds dispatched from Rome for the missionaries having been lost through the captivity of Fr. Augustine of S. Teresa "who was coming out to be Vicar Provincial, and "of his companions": sympathy was expressed, 'as Fr. Augustine is getting old'. Another reference some years later (1649) is more explicit:

"Four and a half years back the Sacr. Cong. had sent off three Carmelites for Persia,
 "and they were made slaves by the Turks. The Order ransomed one for 500 scudi, but

¹ Fr. Ignatius in *S.R.*, vol. 62, p. 212, on 28.6.1644; and Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 9.8.1644, in O.C.D. 237 f.

² Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 9.8.1644 and 21.6.1644.

³ Fr. Dominic, 8.5.1645, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁴ Fr. Augustine, 14.6.1649, O.C.D. 270 m.

⁵ Fr. Barnabas, O.C.D. 242 a., 1.9.1650.

⁶ 17.11.1644, O.C.D. 270 l.

⁷ 21.6.1647 in O.C.D. 237 f.

"is poor: the other two remain slaves, and their letters, which they often write, rend the heart. Fr. Augustine of S. Teresa, who was to be Provincial, has had his teeth knocked out by blows, and the beatings he has received have made him the colour of his habit, and after 3½ years there is no means of succouring them."¹

He had been taken first to Algiers: and a Turkish prisoner of the knights in Malta had caused friends in Tunis to buy Fr. Augustine from his first captor or master for the sum of 400 pieces of eight (not all paid down, however) in order to obtain the exchange of the said Turk against the Carmelite Father: and the latter was then transferred by his purchasers to Tunis. He begged in letters that the Carmelite Prior in Malta might be instructed to make petition to the Grand Master of the Knights regarding the exchange: he had been threatened by the governor in Algiers and by the Dey in Tunis that his nose would be slit, that he would be burnt alive, if he did not take steps on his own behalf so that the Moorish prisoner in Malta (who had apparently lost his whole property in the ship when he was captured by the Knights, so was unable to purchase his own ransom and dependent on an exchange) might be restored to his people. Fr. Augustine's five letters written in his long captivity make harrowing reading as to the condition of Christian slaves—for two years already in June 1648 he had been without an answer from his Praepositus General: knowing the low financial circumstances of the Order at the time, he would not in the first years ask for any sum to be spent on his own release, but he cited a number of exalted personages, whose powerful good offices with the Knights he prayed might be solicited for the exchange, for instance, the Emperor. He brought to notice that three collections of alms for the captive Christians in hands of the infidels, in Valencia, Andalucia and Burgos, had been sufficient to free over 1,000 slaves. In his letter of the 14th June 1649 he asked for the Christians in Barbary to be granted facilities for obtaining the Indulgence for the Holy Year, and also for faculties for himself to exercise the functions of a missionary among the slaves: in that of 2.8.1649 he reports the scandal caused a few days previously in Tunis by the prince Don Philip of Austria who, feigning to go to Rome for the Holy Year in an English ship from Malaga, had a second time declared himself a Muslim and before the Dey, taking the name of Sidi Muhammad: the Prior of the Carmelites at Malaga, Fr. Antony of Jesus, travelling as the Prince's chaplain, had also been landed at Tunis and spoken to Fr. Augustine, who had further received news from the Prior of the Carmelites at Venice, holding out hopes for his speedy release, because with that object three Turkish slaves in Malta would be handed over to the Turkish Consul. By then, too, Fr. Augustine had begun negotiations on his own account, and got ransom-money fixed at 800 pieces of eight, 200 to be paid cash down raised by loan and the balance on a bond; but a hitch had arisen over the financial settlement between his first owner in Algiers and second in Tunis. For nearly two years then he had not received a loaf of bread from his master, but had been supported by the charity of other poor Christian slaves.

When he was ultimately released, and where he worked for the Order subsequently do not appear from manuscripts searched; but he survived till 1667.² Died at Concesa near Milan, 4.10.1667 (see List now in State Archives at Milan).

Letters extant:

	17.11.1644	Constantinople	O.C.D. 270 i.
(instructions to)	— .1646	Rome	O.C.D. 284 g.
	27.12.1647	Algiers	O.C.D. 270 m.
	11.6.1648	Tunis	O.C.D. 270 m.
	- .2.1649	Tunis	O.C.D. 270 m.
	14.6.1649	Tunis	O.C.D. 270 m.
	2.8.1649	Tunis	O.C.D. 270 m.

¹ An appeal to the Sac. Cong. by the Procurator of the Mission, Fr. Felix of S. Antony, Naples, 6.11.1649, in *S.R.*, vol. 135, p. 279.

² Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus in "La Orden de Sta Teresa", *Catálogo de Escritores*.

AURELIUS of S. Augustine

A German.

Family name: Johann Heinrich Göckman, born at Warendorf, Westphalia, 27.1.1638. Prov. in Order: Cologne. Professed 10.12.1662 at Cologne.¹ On 8.9.1675 he had recently arrived at Isfahan.² From about the beginning of June 1676³ he was Vicar at Shiraz until shortly before 23.2.1678, when he reached Basra, where the Visitor General, Fr. John Baptist of S. Joseph made him Vicar as from 1.3.1678.⁴ His letter of March 1678 from Basra mentions a wish to return to his "province of Germany", and also that the Visitor General had entrusted to him a *History of Basra*: in that of May 1678 we learn that he kept so strictly to the Observance of the Order, and the Rule, that during the whole of his twenty months at Shiraz he had not once visited the city, all the Christians being near the hospice. Then he was anxious to be transferred to the missions on the Malabar coast of India; and from the 15th October he ceased to be Vicar of Basra, letters dated 10.9.1678 from the Visitor General directing him to proceed to Goa: he sailed from Basra for India on 29.10.1678.⁵ Sent to the island of Sumatra to obtain details regarding the martyrdom of Fr. Dionysius and Brother Redempt he died at Achin in Sumatra before 1684, or early in that year.⁶

His relatives must have been people of some consideration, for his letter of May 1678 stated that he had learnt that his brother had been summoned to Vienna by the Emperor, and made a Councillor, i.e. Geheimer Hofrat.

Letters extant:

29.3.1678	Basra	O.C.D. 241 e.
11.5.1678	Basra	O.C.D. 241 e.
7.8.1678	Basra	O.C.D. 241 e.

BALTHAZAR of the Mother of God

Portuguese.

Born 1586. Prov. in Order: Persia. Clothed 1612—"early in 1612 Fr. Vincent of S. "Francis" also clothed a choir-novice by the name of "Balthazar, and . . . at the beginning "of April departed to Goa, taking with him the choir-novice."⁷ On 20.2.1613 he arrived back in "Hurmuz from Goa in company of Fr. Vincent and "made his profession the second "day of Easter, and desires much to serve God,"⁸ being then "26 or 27 years old, from Goa."⁹ Another letter of Fr. Vincent¹⁰ gives the further details:

"The other, who was our companion in India, made his profession the second day of "last Easter, and is called Fra Balthazar of the Mother of God: he is a good Religious, "and already ordained as Epistoler when the Bishop of Cyrene came here. The two "first are sons of Portuguese, born in India."

Given as still at Hurmuz, in a list, undated, but certainly compiled after April 1620 and before May 1621.¹¹ Fr. Prosper, in an undated fragment¹² clearly belonging to the end of 1622 or early 1623, wrote, "last October (1622 ?) I sent Fathers Bartholomew" (a clerical error for 'Balthazar') "and Elias with two Lay Brothers to the mission of Tatta" from Hurmuz,

¹ *Vide Catalogue of the Professed*, Cologne Province, 1627-1736.

² Fr. Angelus, 8.9.1675, Isfahan, in O.C.D. 236 b.

³ *Chron. Basra.*: his own letter 11.5.1678 in O.C.D. 241 e.; Fr. John Baptist, 15.8.1678, O.C.D. 238 k.

⁴ and ⁵ *Chron. Basra.*

⁷ Fr. Leander, 28.5.1613, in O.C.D. 239 e.

⁸ Fr. Vincent, 16.4.1613, Hurmuz, in O.C.D. 239 b.

⁹ Report, undated, but of 1615 from Fr. Leander, O.C.D. 239 e.

¹⁰ Fr. Vincent, 3.6.1613, 239 b.

¹¹ O.C.D. miscellanea, 35 n.

¹² O.C.D. 238 d.

after the evacuation of that island by the Portuguese. By that date, therefore, he was already a priest. He was Vicar of that mission in Sind in 1625,¹ still at Tatta in 1628–9,² and Vicar in 1630.³ He was at Diu in September 1643, when out of alarm over the proceedings of the Apostolic Visitor from Portugal, and the Portuguese nationalist party he “determined to “abandon the house and retire to Persia”.⁴ At Kung on 20.11.1643, and still there at Easter 1644, when owing to his inability to stand a cold climate he was authorized to remain in the Persian Gulf stations:⁵ at Kung, “unable to go to Basra, old and indisposed” in May 1645:⁶ but before November 1645 he was at Masqat, waiting to go to Diu.⁷ From Diu, however, he had made an attempt to join Fr. Ignatius at Basra at the end of 1645, but on account of his infirmities he had sailed back,⁸ and was again reported at Diu in 1647.⁹ He had died at Diu before 22.3.1652.¹⁰

BALTHAZAR of S. Mary

Portuguese.

Family name: Balthassar de Azevedo, son of Fabius de A. and Paula de Souza. Born Lisbon 1590. Prov. in Order: Roman. Entered novitiate at Rome 1608: professed at S. Maria d. Scala, 5.4.1609.¹¹ Sent in 1615 to Persia, in company with Fr. Dimas of the Cross, and doubtless at Baghdad with him 26.9.16.¹² Not long after his arrival he had been sent from Isfahan to the mission at Hurmuz, for Fr. Dimas’ letter, Isfahan, 31.12.1618,¹³ mentions: “Fr. Balthazar of S. Mary had arrived in good health and contentment”, while Fr. John Thaddeus a few days later¹⁴ gives the information that “owing to the constant indisposition of “Fr. Balthazar in Hurmuz I caused him to return here (Isfahan) and now here he is in good “health and beginning to learn Persian”. He signed with the others at the Convent, Isfahan, on 15.4.1619 a joint statement of needs of the mission, addressed to Frs. Redempt and Vincent in Rome.¹⁵ Another letter of Fr. John Thaddeus on 28.6.1619 refers however to the impending departure of Fr. Balthazar for Tatta in Sind, where he was to be companion to Fr. Louis Francis.¹⁶ Whether he actually went seems doubtful (perhaps it was Balthazar of the Mother of God) because his name appears as at Isfahan in a list—undated, but evidently compiled between April 1620 and May 1621. He was at the Convent and one of the signatories witnessing the resignation, and re-election of Fr. Prosper as Prior, 4.6.1622:¹⁷ at Isfahan, when Fr. Peter Thomas wrote from Shiraz 4.8.1623:¹⁸ and in 1624 when he was one who signed the address to the Pope when Fr. Prosper was sent to Europe to obtain assistance for the Mission.¹⁹ He was already teaching Persian to other Carmelites, and at Isfahan in 1625;²⁰ while on March 24th 1626 he was one of the five of the Order who were bound and beaten by a large band of soldiery, sent by the Wazir to the Convent, and were led through the streets to the Wazir’s presence expecting martyrdom only to find that a mistake had been made and rigorous measures were intended against the Portuguese Augustinians.²¹ Alone with Fr. Dimas at Isfahan in 1627, “usually ill, hardly able to say Mass, but still working at Persian”.²² In 1628 he was teaching the newly arrived Capuchin missionaries Persian, and sending Persian MSS. books to Europe,²³ in 1629 co-signatory with Fr. Dimas of a letter to Fr. John Thaddeus in Rome,²⁴ by 1630 “he had taken up an enterprise very difficult to execute successfully, i.e. the translation

¹ and ³ Fr. Basil, Basra, 22.7.1625, and 24.8.1630, O.C.D. 241 g.

² List, undated, of that time, O.C.D. 235 n.

⁴ and ⁵ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 9.8.1644, in O.C.D. 237 f.

⁶ Fr. Dominic, 8.5.1645, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁷ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, Isfahan, 7.3.1646, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁸ Fr. Ignatius, Basra, 20.1.1646, in O.C.D. 241 m.

⁹ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 21.6.1647, O.C.D. 237 f.

¹⁰ Fr. Stephen, Isfahan, 22.3.1652, O.C.D. 238 c.

¹¹ *Series Illustrata Professionum*, by Fr. Marcellinus, O.C.D., Rome, 1935.

¹² Fr. Dimas, O.C.D. 237 b., 27.10.1639.

¹⁴ *Idem*, 237 m., on 3.1.1619.

¹⁷ O.C.D. 238 d.

¹⁸ *Idem*, 238 i.

²⁰ Fr. Dimas, 26.5.1625 and 12.10.1625, O.C.D. 237 b.; Fr. John Thaddeus, 27.5.1625, O.C.D. 237 m.

²¹ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanctis in MSS. History, O.C.D. 285–6.

²² *Idem*, 15.10.1628, O.C.D. 237 b.

¹³ O.C.D. 237 b.

¹⁵ and ¹⁶ O.C.D. 237 m.

¹⁹ Fondo Barberini, 1789, Vatican.

²³ Fr. Dimas, 30.5.1627, O.C.D. 237 b.

²⁴ *Idem*, 18.9.1629, O.C.D. 237 b.

"into the Persian language of the Holy Gospels":¹ and in 1631 he had been made sub-Prior of the Convent.² He was again elected sub-Prior in 1634.³

There are preserved several of his letters written from Isfahan between 1630 and 1634; but then comes a gap till 1653-7, when a further eight letters are on record. Whether he was at Isfahan continuously in the interval, where else if not, is far from clear. He had been elected Prior in 1646,⁴ though he was "no longer leaving the house"⁵ and by 1649 one of three in the Convent described by the new Vicar Provincial as "decrepit and aged".⁶ That Fr. Stephen in 1650 wrote:

"I have deputed Fr. Balthazar of S. Mary, with the help of Fr. Peter of the Mother of God, to translate the Holy Gospels into Persian"

seems to indicate that Fr. Balthazar had not till then carried through, or continued the work mentioned in 1630.⁷ In 1652 he was re-elected Prior of Isfahan;⁸ he was at the Convent in 1656 and 1657.⁹ Fr. Felix, writing from Shiraz on 10.6.1661 and alluding to the death of Fr. Dionysius, and the grave illness of Fr. Dominic, added: "Only Fr. Balthazar, and he too 'very ill and about 80, remains'.¹⁰ It is difficult therefore to credit *Catalog. Miss.*, which has: "Fr. Balthazar . . . died at Amsterdam, 1662": perhaps 'Amsteldomi' was a misreading by the reconstructor of that damaged manuscript for 'Aspaan'. The *Catalogus*, or list of Carmelites at the various missions in Persia and India in 1663 (O.C.D. 235 n.) does not contain the name of Fr. Balthazar at Isfahan or elsewhere. For that reason there is room for querying the date 'November 1668', as given in *Series Illustrata Professionum at S. Maria d. Scala, Rome*, coupled with 'Isfahan' as the place: and 1662 or 1663 at Isfahan seems more probable.

Letters extant:

(jointly)	15.4.1619	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 m.
(jointly)	3.8.1626	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
(jointly)	18.9.1629	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	13.11.1629	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 k.
	27.5.1630	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 k.
	27.5.1630	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 k.
	8.8.1630	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 k.
	24.6.1631	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 k.
	20.11.1634	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 k.
(jointly)	13.7.1651		<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 222, p. 261
	9.8.1653	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 k.
	26.8.1653	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 k.
	3.12.1653	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 k.
	4.12.1653	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 k.
	22.4.1654	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 k.
(jointly)	15.2.1655	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 k.
	5.5.1655	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 c.
	2.1.1657	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 k.
	27.10.1657	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 k.

¹ Fr. Matthew of the Cross, 8.8.1630, O.C.D. 238 a.

² Fr. Dumas, 24.6.1631 and 31.7.1631, O.C.D. 237 b.

³ Fr. Dumas, 20.5.1634.

⁴ Fr. Dionysius of Crown of Thorns, report attached to letter Fr. Stephen, 18.11.1650, O.C.D. 235 d.

⁵ Fr. Dionysius, 2.3.1646, O.C.D. 237 c.

⁶ Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas, 17.1.1649, in O.C.D. 237 g.

⁷ Fr. Stephen, 18.11.1650, O.C.D. 235 d.

⁸ His own letters of 1657 in O.C.D. 236 k., and Fr. Dionysius, O.C.D. 237 c.

⁹ Fr. Stephen, O.C.D. 238 e.

¹⁰ O.C.D. 238 p.

BARNABAS of S. Charles

A Lombard (subject of the Duchy of Milan).

Family name: Francesco Bertarello. Born 1607 at Melegnano in the diocese of Milan.¹ Prov. in Order: Lombardy. Professed at Milan, 4.11.1626. Arrived out in mission 1642,² probably—as on 8.10.1641 the Definitory General assigned him 100 scudi for journey-money, and sent him to the Mission in the East (see *Regesta*, vol. III, p. 132)—after the Visitor General, Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary, had come (1639). On a rumour of an attack impending on the Pasha of Basra by the Portuguese fleet in 1643 Fr. Barnabas abandoned Basra, intending to go to Goa, for which mission he had a commission from the Visitor General;³ and he himself on 16.10.1643 wrote to the Prior of the Order in Malta from Kung, where he had recently arrived via Shiraz and Lar, suffering from fever, that he was proceeding to Goa, having been unable to stay at Basra owing to risks of a rising.⁴ On 20.11.1643 he was at Masqat on his way to Goa; but the Portuguese ‘Captain of the Straits’ would not allow him, an Italian, to go on to India, not even to the mission at Tatta in Sind: and at the end of February 1644 he returned to Kung, where he was for Easter. Then, in mid-April, leaving with the Vicar Provincial and Fr. Augustine for Isfahan, reached about 31.5.1644, he set off with the latter for Rome in June 1644,⁵ and *en route* they passed by Echmiadzin, where they were entertained by the Armenian Patriarch.⁶

There is a letter, dated from Aleppo 14.8.1648,⁷ from him on his return journey from Rome to Persia, in company with the Visitor General, and Fr. Justin, and Lay Brother Alexander: and he arrived at Isfahan in December 1648, being reported at work on Persian in January 1649.⁸ Perhaps it was in 1650 that he was transferred to Basra, for his letter of 1st September of that year shows how disagreeable the Mesopotamian port and climate were to him: he begged the Praepositus General to arrange for him to be sent elsewhere, or recalled to his own province. ‘What have I, who speak only Turkish and Persian, to do with Arabic? If there were a hell on earth, it would be in Basra or at Hurmuz.’ Besides he despaired of the conversion of Muslims: there were, on the other hand, such multitudes of schismatic Christians to whom no one was ministering, and with whom a missionary could be more profitably employed than in Basra—for instance, at Erivan in Georgia.⁹ However, he obtained a brief change of scene and air when the Visitor General summoned him to Isfahan some time before August 1652,¹⁰ and directed him to pass by Shiraz in order to confess Christians there. Many interesting details he gave in letters of this period regarding political events in the Gulf region and India. From Isfahan he was back again at Basra before mid-October 1652, and was made Vicar (‘from early in February 1654 till the end of 1660’, says *Chron. Basra*),

“as Fr. Matthew of S. Joseph could not come on account of the wars and perils at sea, and ‘Fr. Felix, Vicar Provincial, after living with him at Basra for a year and a half, had been ‘greatly satisfied by Fr. Barnabas’ prudence and zeal.’”¹¹

Fr. Barnabas wrote on 30.11.1655 of having received a letter from “the English captain ‘who commands in Persia and Arabia’”, with news of the Shah’s warlike preparations. As ‘Parish Priest’ he signed the baptismal registers, Basra, 20.9.1655: 18.11.1655: 24.1.1656: as ‘Vicar’ 20.3.1656: 18.9.1658: 11.2.1660: 19.3.1660.

¹ *Vide Cat. Def. Lomb.*; but list of 1663 in O.C.D. 235 n. makes him born in 1610.

² Cf. list of 1663 in O.C.D. 235 n., which stated him then to have been 22 years in the mission: also cf. *Brief Narrative*, by Fr. Stephen, O.C.D. 236 a.

³ Fr. Ignatius, Basra, 29.8.1643, O.C.D. 241 m.

⁴ O.C.D. 238 s.

⁵ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 9.8.1644, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁶ Fr. Barnabas, 1.9.1650, O.C.D. 242 a.

⁷ O.C.D. 241 f.

⁸ Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas, 17.1.1649, O.C.D. 237 g.

⁹ O.C.D. 242 a.

¹⁰ His own letter of 12.10.1652, O.C.D. 241 f.; Fr. Stephen, 12.5.1652, O.C.D. 238 e.; Fr. Ignatius, Basra, 18.8.1652, O.C.D. 241 m.

¹¹ Fr. Dionysius, 27.3.1654, O.C.D. 242 c.

There was a project of the Vicar Provincial to send him to Rome,¹ commissioned to ask that the missionaries should either remain under the immediate direction of their own Order, or else be permitted to return to Europe; that financial aid should be afforded them so that the missionaries might be able to exist as when receipts of the missions were managed by the Order: and also to procure fresh candidates for the missions. For, as he explained in his letter of 22.7.1657, with other missionaries he had much taken to heart the more direct control, financial and otherwise, of their mission by the Sacr. Cong. of Propaganda of which the heads of the Order had apparently warned the missionaries early in 1656. Writing on 12.5.1657 from Shiraz² Fr. Felix informed the Praepositus General that the missionaries had deputed Fr. Barnabas, Vicar of Basra, to give the Chapter General a full account of the missions, but it was desired that he would speedily be sent back: and Fr. Barnabas' own letter from Basra of 17.8.1657³ stated that he had received from the Vicar Provincial his 'letters patent' as Procurator of the Mission to go to Europe. The project was frustrated then—and there is no indication that it was ever fulfilled later—by the sudden death of Fr. Casimir,⁴ which made it difficult for Fr. Barnabas to be spared from Basra. It is worth note that in June 1658⁵ he was urging a Definitor General to send out to Basra a young priest speaking Flemish and, if possible, English—that points to changes in the flags of shipping visiting Basra at that period. In 1661, owing to difficulties in which he became involved with the Pasha of Basra, he was called on to pay a fine of 400 piastres and leave the town,⁶ and he had been seven months in Baghdad—trying to obtain a favourable attitude of the Turkish authorities towards his return to Basra—when in his letter of 23.11.1661 he wrote that he was about to proceed to Shiraz, summoned there by the Vicar Provincial.⁷ He welcomed the change to Persia, because

'the comparative calm from worries at Shiraz would enable him to finish—in six months 'he hoped—a dictionary of Turkish-Persian-Arabic-German-Latin-Italian-French equivalents, of which he had already the words in the three Oriental languages, as well as an 'account of our travels, some letters in the Oriental languages with translations, titles 'given to the various ranks, and a grammar, with the Christian Doctrine in Turkish and 'Persian.'

Catalog. Miss. states that he died at Shiraz in 1665, whereas *Cat. Def. Lomb.* gives the date as 10.3.1667 (this may, however, be the date of the news reaching Milan): "without assistance "of a priest,"⁸ i.e. he was alone at the time.

Whether on the subject of intercourse of the mission with the local governors, or on that of the Sabaeans, or on political information from Persia and Arabia to India and beyond, he was a discursive writer and one of the more interesting among the Carmelites who served in this region, obedient to the precept from Rome to write often and fully as to current events. Much can be learnt from him.

Letters extant:

(25.8.1648)	16.10.1643.	Kung	O.C.D. 238 s.
	14.8.1648.	Aleppo	O.C.D. 248 f (?)
	1.9.1650	Basra	O.C.D. 242 a.
	14.6.1651	Basra	O.C.D. 241 a.
	10.7.1651	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
	12.10.1652	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
	14.7.1652	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
	4.8.1653	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
	9.11.1653	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
	5.4.1654	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.

¹ Fr. Barnabas, 22.7.1657, O.C.D. 241 f.

² 22.7.1657, O.C.D. 241 f.

³ O.C.D. 242 e.

⁴ O.C.D. 238 p.

⁵ O.C.D. 241 f.

⁶ Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary, 17.2.1671, in O.C.D. 241 l.

⁷ *Idem*, 238 n.

⁸ Fr. Felix, 20.12.1661, O.C.D. 237 i.

27.5.1654	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
15.1.1655	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
24.6.1655	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
30.11.1655	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
2.2.1656	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
28.5.1656	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
20.7.1656	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
16.12.1656	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
16.12.1656	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
18.1.1657	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
24.1.1657	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
24.1.1657	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
12.5.1657	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
22.7.1657	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
17.8.1657	Basra	O.C.D. 238 n.
8.9.1657	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
25.2.1658	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
14.6.1658	Basra	O.C.D. 241 f.
29.8.1661	Baghdad	O.C.D. 242 c.
23.11.1661	Baghdad	O.C.D. 242 c.

BARTHOLOMEW MARY of S. Francis

A Neapolitan.

Family name: Giovanni Antonio del Ponte. Born Naples 1570. Prov. in Order: Roman. Professed at Convent of S. Anna, Genoa,¹ 30.8.1603 (?). Before his reception in the Order he had been a lawless young noble, terror of the streets of Naples (*vide Life of Fr. Juan de Jesus Maria, O.C.D.*, in archives of the Order, where his conversion is related). Sent to Persia 1611 and arrived at Isfahan 1612. It would appear that in May 1613 he accompanied Fr. Redempt to deliver a Brief from the Sovereign Pontiff to the Armenian Katholikos at Echmiadzin near Erivan,² and in Erivan he signed Fr. Redempt's report on the mission.³ He must have returned to Isfahan, for a document drawn up and signed by the Bishop of Cyrene there on 2.10.1613 has his counter-signature among others.⁴ But when the bishop reached Hurmuz on Christmas Day 1613 he brought "the news that Fr. Bartholomew had "gone off to Rome" already.⁵ The words in Fr. Leander of the Annunciation's letter from Hurmuz earlier in the year: 28.5.1613:⁶

"we are all grieved on account of the bad effect caused by the untimely return of Fr. Bartholomew, which, however, we were suspecting, judging that it was necessary"

may therefore refer to an intention that he should return to Europe later, or to his first departure to Erivan with Fr. Redempt. His health gave way, and he had to return to Italy in 1613.⁷ Died at Genoa in 1644, on the 25th November, in the Convent of S. Anne, after having been elected Procurator General of the Order in 1620 and having gone to the hermitage at Varazze in 1623.

Letter extant: (jointly) 2.10.1613. Isfahan O.C.D. 236 a.

¹ *Decor Carmeli*, part 3, p. 159.

² O.C.D. 236 a.

³ O.C.D. 261 p.

⁴ and ⁵ *Vide En Persia*, 1930, Pamplona, by Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus, O.C.D.

⁶ Undated report—but of 1615—by Fr. Leander, O.C.D. 239 c.

⁷ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanctis in MSS. *Hist. Miss.* in O.C.D. 285-6.

BASIL of S. Charles

A Frenchman.

Family name: Antoine Aubron. Born 4.4.1664, at Mussy l'Eveque (diocese of Langres). Prov.: Paris.¹ Professed 21.11.1685 at Paris. On 6.2.1695 the Definitory General recorded (*Regesta*, vol. VIII, p. 38) that the Vicar of Mt. Carmel had sent Fr. Basil of S. Charles, "a 'conventual there', i.e. at Mt. Carmel, to represent the wretched state of that mission. Arrived at Isfahan at the beginning of 1696 'with a great capacity for learning Oriental languages.' . . . (At the end of that year it was) 'decided to send Fr. Basil of St. Charles to Shiraz as companion 'to Fr. Ladislas, already very old, who had remained alone . . .'"² But he seems to have been back in Julfa, Superior of the Hospice and teaching in the school, by the autumn of 1697.³

By 14th June 1699 he was signing from Isfahan as 'Vicar Provincial Substitute'⁴ and Prior of Isfahan, and so also in letters sent by him to the Sacr. Congregation in January and February 1700 from Julfa (when he reported on better relations with the Armenians after the departure of Bishop Elias, on the results of the mission of the Archbishop of Ancyra, and position at the various missions).⁵ Though temporarily about November 1701 Fr. Peter of Alcantara was acting as 'Vicar Provincial Substitute', according to *Chron. Basra*, from June 1703 Fr. Basil was giving orders to the Vicar of Basra as the executive Vicar Provincial and perhaps received his letters patent already in 1702 or earlier. The series of his letters cited or reproduced in *Chron. Basra* show that between July and October 1703⁶ he had gone to Shiraz from Isfahan and there remained till February 1704 or later, being back in Isfahan by July 1704. Before the end of December 1704 he was in Shiraz again, but had returned to Isfahan by the 10th February 1705. It would appear that he was still performing the duties of Vicar Provincial on 15th July 1705 by his letters to Basra of that date mentioned in *Chron. Basra*, but that his successor Fr. Hugo of S. Dionysius had arrived at Isfahan and taken over the office soon after. In a letter of his addressed to the Cardinal Prefect⁷ from Julfa in 1707 he mentions that he had been

"six years Vicar Provincial of our missions, but was so no longer and only Vicar of the 'Residence (at Julfa) and Parish Priest'"⁸

—the 'six' years doubtless including those of 1699 and 1700 when, as seen above, he was acting as 'Substitute'. He was an exception to Bishop Elias and a number of his brethren in the Order in that he speaks critically of the Shariman family of Isfahan in more than one letter, saying that he put no trust in their promises and that they had done nothing for the Catholic cause at Julfa since the time of the bishop: indeed he refers to the 'apostasy' of some members under Muslim pressure: and he had written with such fieriness "parole aspre, quali 'che li fulmina le censure" to an Abbate Shariman in Italy over the Persian bath assigned as an endowment for the mission at Julfa by a member of the family years before, that the Abbate complained to the Sacr. Congregation.⁹ His ardent spirit led him to take up about the same time—in a long letter in Latin—the cause of the Georgian 'Patriarch' who wished to be acknowledged and received *in secret* as a Catholic Uniat;¹⁰ and the Sacr. Congregation seem to have considered Fr. Basil's attitude indiscreet and rebuked him for it. There is much correspondence on the subject, including a letter, beautifully engrossed in the Georgian script, and addressed to the Pope from 'Leon', who styled himself 'Supreme Judge of Persia' and King of Georgia, who having been taken to Persia hostage for his brother the king and feudatory of the Shah, had abjured his Christianity in public because of persecution, but now wanted

¹ *Catalog. Miss.*

² *S.N.R.*, II, p. 196, his own letter of 12.9.1697.

³ His letters, 15.1.1700 and 2.2.1700, in *S.R.*, vol. 538, pp. 405-7.

⁴ *Chron. Basra*; and see a 'bulletin' asking for funds dated 28.10.1703 attached to a letter of Lay Brother Francis Mary of S. Sirus, 13.5.1702, in *O.C.D.* 238 t.

⁵ *S.R.*, vol. 564, p. 459, Fr. Basil, Julfa, 20.10.1707 (?).

⁶ Fr. Basil seems to have resided always, or nearly always, in the hospice at Julfa, and not in the Convent in the town of Isfahan.

⁷ *S.R.*, vol. 563, pp. 404-7.

⁸ *Idem*, pp. 415-7, Julfa, 20.1.1708.

⁹ *Basra Chron.*

in secret to be acknowledged a Christian, and Catholic.¹ All that the Sacr. Congregation could do, and did do apparently, was to point out that such recognition was prohibited by the decrees in force. But at this particular period (perhaps partly because the Georgians formed the backbone of the Persian fighting forces) there seems to have been a close interest of the Carmelite mission in them, and a letter of the Vicar Provincial in July 1707 mentions the baptism of ten Georgians, after they had been instructed in our Faith from the beginning of Lent, on the day of S. Elias.² In May 1708 Fr. Basil was asking permission from Rome for one of the mission to be authorized to translate and hand to the Shah a refutation by some learned member of the Order of an attack on Christian doctrine recently produced at the Shah's Court by a renegade from Christianity.³ By January 1710 Fr. Basil was at Shiraz and his letter⁴ speaks "of that Prince" persevering in his intention (conversion), and asking for the Apostolic Benediction:

"if asked (about his faith) he is ready to confess it affirmatively, even if he must thereby "die. The Shah himself is aware that he is only feigning (to be a Muslim), but does not "force him, because he has need of him. Now that Prince, made Commander of the force "to recapture the province which the Baluchis, rebels of old against Persia, had subdued, "is marching towards Kandahar."

Fr. Basil had come to Shiraz, where the "prince" had received the Sacraments in his Residence and at the end had said good-bye to Fr. Basil, adding that, whenever Fr. Basil was free, he was to come to him wherever he, the prince, might be, for his trust was in Fr. Basil alone, and without Fr. Basil the Georgian did not wish to be. So that it is not surprising, and in keeping with the bold temperament of this Father that we next hear of him in 1711 "for long past accompanying the Prince of Georgia, commander-in-chief of the Persian force "which had retaken Kandahar".⁵ This was that same Khusru = 'Leon', who had been promoter of the overtures to the Holy See—chief judge at Isfahan, who, after his brother Georgios (Gurji) Khan, commander of a Georgian force sent to garrison Kandahar against an Indian invasion, had been destroyed with all his men by the local Afghans, was in 1711 put in command of a larger and mixed force sent to put down the rebellion of the Kandaharis. Owing to treachery Khusru Khan was attacked by the Afghans and with the greater part of his troops cut to pieces:⁶

"I now write of the death of the judge of Isfahan, who having been made general of "the force has been killed at the siege of the town of Kandahar, and killed together with "him was Fr. Basil of our Order, summoned by him for the sake of Religion."⁷

In the guise of a 'chaplain to the forces' this Carmelite met his death in battle in distant Afghanistan, an intrepid Gaul.

Letters extant:

12.9.1697	Julfa	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 196
15.1.1700	Julfa	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 538, p. 405
2.2.1700	Julfa	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 538, p. 407
15.8.1704	Isfahan	<i>Chron. Basra</i> , pp. 265–6
10.2.1705	Julfa	<i>Chron. Basra</i> , pp. 266–7
10.9.1707	Julfa	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 504
20.10.1707?	Julfa	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 564, p. 459

¹ *S.R.*, vol. 564, p. 390.

² Fr. Basil of S. Charles, Julfa, 20.5.1708, O.C.D. 238 u.

³ Letter of Mgr Galiczen, Bishop of Agathopolis, coadjutor of Baghdad, from Erivan, 21.9.1711, in *S.R.*, vol. 581.

⁴ *Secondo Viaggio*, by Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia; also *History of Persia*, by Sir John Malcolm.

⁵ Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, 28.2.1712, Isfahan, *S.R.*, vol. 587, p. 134.

⁶ *Idem*, vol. 561, p. 258, Fr. Hugo of S. Dionysius, Julfa.

⁷ *S.N.R.*, II, p. 369.

20.1.1708 Julfa *S.R.*, vol. 563, p. 415
 20.5.1708 Julfa *O.C.D.* 238 u.
 29.1.1710 Shiraz *S.N.R.*, II, p. 369

(in *Chron. Basra* are also references to other letters written by him to Basra).

BASIL of S. Francis

A Portuguese.

Family name: Francisco de Quintal, son of Antonio Diaz de Franca and Lucretia Nuñez. Born at Santarem, Portugal, 1596. Prov. in Order: Roman. Professed at Convent of S. Silvestro, Monte Compatri, 24.6.1618.¹

In company of Fr. Vincent, Visitor General, at the end of September 1620 he left Messina, travelling via Sidon, Tripoli, Aleppo, Baghdad, and reached Isfahan about 18.5.1621.² At the time of the martyrdom of the three Persian converts from Islam in March 1622 he was at the convent, and, when the Religious were arrested and confined, at first expecting to have themselves also to die, he is related by Fr. Prosper to have been fasting, and so chosen to consume the Sacrament reserved in the chapel.³ There is in the archives of the Order a letter of his, dated 22.9.1622, Isfahan, to his brother, Fr. Luke of S. Joseph, also a Carmelite.

On the 26th March 1623 he left Isfahan, travelling disguised as an Arab and carrying in a sack on his back nothing except an old habit, an altar stone, sacred vessels and a missal to say Mass, having been dispatched to open a mission at Basra: he was accompanied by a Christian Arab, and most of the journey was on foot, because funds were short. He left the seaport (presumably Bandar Rig) on 22nd April, and was at Basra on the 30th of that month: sleeping in the open, foodless for much of the time, without knowing anyone, he spent a hard week and was at his last coins when Portuguese ships arrived, and from them he was able to collect offerings and alms, so that by March 1624 in an old house given by the Pasha he was able to say Mass on Easter Sunday, and in November 1624, having bought land alongside the house, to set up a small church and residence of five rooms with office, their dedication taking place on Quasimodo Sunday, 1625.⁴ He became thus the founder and first Vicar of the church of Our Lady of Ransom ('de Remediis') and mission, which, except for short breaks of tenure owing to revolutions and persecution, local fighting or death of a sole Religious in charge, has endured to this day—the senior mission post of the Order in the East to survive. The graphic story of the early years, and the providential manner in which the mission grew from the very beginning are to be read in his letters, *O.C.D.* 241 g., 20.6.1623; 20.8.1623; 17.2.1624, and *O.C.D.* 241 a., 8.4.1625. One keynote of his life must have been generosity—whether in the welcome he gave to the Augustinian Fathers from Goa, who arrived in Basra after himself, yet challenged his right to be parish priest, or in remitting all money he could, and even borrowing it, in order to pay off the indebtedness on the Residence at Shiraz and so help his brethren in Persia. When he wrote his letter of 11.4.1625 his guest was the noted traveller and writer, Pietro della Valle, then about to return to Europe. One of his chief interests became the pseudo-Sabaeans (Mandaeans, properly termed) generally miscalled 'Christians of S. John Baptist'. His lengthy reports on their attitude towards the Faith, their rites, numbers, their wish to escape from Turkish domination, called forth instructions from the Sacr. Cong. in 1630:⁵

"the business of the Christians of S. John proposed by Your Reverence having seemed
 "very serious to the Sacr. Cong. of Propaganda Fide",

he was directed to report the

¹ *Vide Series Illustrata Professionum* at S. Maria d. Scala, by Fr. Marcellinus a S. Teresa, 1935

² Fr. Prosper, 27.9.1621, *O.C.D.* 238 d.

³ *Idem*, 10.3.1622, *O.C.D.* 238 d., and Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus in *En Persia*, vol. III, p. 126.

⁴ One account of this is dated 2.2.1636 in *O.C.D.* 241 g.

⁵ *S.R.*, 'Lettere di Levante', vol. 115 (VI), p. 412.

'numbers of the Mandaean, who desired to emigrate to the realms of the king of Spain, 'the province desired by them, and whether they would profess the Christian Faith and 'adopt the Latin rite, in view of their many errors'.

They then numbered thousands as compared with the restricted groups that survive today. In 1633 Fr. Basil was engaged in assisting emigration to India and Ceylon:¹ in a letter of November 1634 he informed the Sac. Cong. that some 700 were to go that year to Mascat, the Viceroy of Portuguese India having arranged for lands to be allotted to them at Duba on the Arabian coast 'in the straits of Hurmuz': however, when they arrived, they had found the land occupied by Arabs, and remained in Masqat.² From December 1632 till December 1633 he was alone in the house at Basra. Apart from the value which the local Turkish and Arab authorities and notables came to place in his personality (as seen from his reports) on account of the means he had of attracting Portuguese and other shipping and commerce to the river-port by his assurances and good offices—a commerce which grew very rapidly after his arrival, witness his letter of 20.4.1635:³

"this town has grown so much in riches, merchandise, and the resorting of people to it
"that it can be compared to Constantinople"—

Fr. Basil's influence was evidently recognized by other nations, for in one of the early trading voyages of the British East India Company to Basra the instructions of the President and Council to John Drake on 28.3.1636 included that they had

"written to Padree Frere Basilio, a Carmelite, who hath lived many years in that place,
"begging his assistance: at the delivery of this letter a present should be given him".⁴

Fr. Basil ceased to be Vicar from February 1636,⁵ and he proceeded to Rome, perhaps as Procurator of the Mission: his absence being "of much detriment to the mission":⁶ while his successor, Fr. Stephen of Jesus, wrote to the Sac. Cong. in 1637, hoping that Fr. Basil would be sent back, "for he is much needed in these parts".⁷ He departed from Rome on his return journey about the end of 1637: and "after many perils at sea" he was on 6.4.1638 at Alexandretta, whence he was leaving the next day for Aleppo: after having stayed 8 days on Mt. Carmel with the two Religious ("it has given me a great desire to return to that Solitude, "where the memories of those ancient saints inspire the same devotion") he reached Aleppo on the eve of Pentecost, according to his letter written there on 31.5.1638. At Aleppo he borrowed 150 pieces of eight.⁸ Travelling via Mausil and after 40 days' journey he reached Baghdad by or before December 1639⁹ (so that either at Aleppo or at Baghdad his stay must have extended over a year) and by the end of that year he was back in his Residence of Basra, to the great satisfaction of his brethren.¹⁰ From early August 1640 till the end of February 1641 he was a second time Vicar of Basra,¹¹ and signed the baptismal registers as 'Parish Priest' 28.1.1640: 8.3.1641. That spring he had been chosen 'Companion' of the Prior of Isfahan for the election of the Procurator, which that year was being held at Shiraz,¹² and presumably at this Congress was elected 'Substitute' to the Procurator, because Fr. Ignatius, writing from Shiraz on 21.5.1641, stated "shortly there will be leaving here for Italy Fr. Basil, the Substitute". After the Congress he must have gone on to Isfahan, for in the account given by Fr. Eusebius of All Saints¹³ of the consecration of the cathedral of Bishop Bernard of Babylon on

¹ *Vide* letter of Viceroy Conde de Linares to the Card. Prefect, 3.10.1633, in *S.R.*, vol. 135, p. 345.

² *S.R.*, vol. 135, p. 491, on 15.11.1634.

³ Sir W. Foster's edition of the *East India Factory Records*.

⁴ Fr. Stephen, Basra, 8.1.1636, in *O.C.D.* 241 p.

⁵ *Vide* Instructions to Fr. Augustine of S. Joseph, Visitor, 2.4.1642, in *O.C.D.* 284 g.

⁶ Fr. Basil's letter, 11.12.1639, *O.C.D.* 242 e.

⁷ Fr. Dominic of Christ, 11.4.1641, *O.C.D.* 237 e.

⁸ *S.R.*, vol. 135, p. 530.

⁹ and 11 *Chron. Basra*.

¹⁰ *S.R.*, vol. 106, p. 140, 3.2.1637.

¹¹ Fr. Stephen, 23.3.1640, *O.C.D.* 241 p.

¹² *Hist. Miss.* in *MSS.* in *O.C.D.* 285-6.

8.12.1641 at Isfahan, "Fr. Basil of S. Francis, Vicar of the Carmelite Convent, preached in "Arabic".

In any case, accompanying the Visitor General, Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary, he had set out for Italy some time in 1643:¹ on 3.5.1644 the Definitory General directed that 9 scudi 4½ Julii should be paid out of the income of the missions to him (he having already arrived). In Rome in 1644 he obtained permission to join Fr. Prosper at Mt. Carmel: on 21.5.1644 there were assigned him "returning to the East" 50 reals; and on 25.5.1644 15 Papal reals and another 80 pieces of eight from the income of the missions by the Definitory General, to purchase things necessary for the Residence in Syria (see *Regesta*, vol. IV, pp. 22-4): and there is extant a letter of his, written just after he had arrived there, having been first at Aleppo.² Fr. Stephen, passing through Baghdad as Visitor General in 1646 and urging that a mission post should be established there, noted that for it "all the Christians were desiring and calling for Fr. "Basil".³ In ill health Fr. Basil returned to Italy in 1648 and remained at Naples till 1653, when on the death of Fr. Prosper he was given letters patent as Vicar of Mt. Carmel⁴. Four months after his arrival, on 29th December 1654, he himself passed away and was buried in the sanctuary of the Virgin, close to the grotto of the Prophet Elijah.⁵

One of the great figures in the history of the Carmelite mission for Persia and the Indies: and possessed of a temperament which for its serenity, coupled with the desire to be always busy in the service of his Lord and the Order, must always impress the reader of his letters. These, whether in his native Portuguese, Italian or Spanish, make absorbing reading with their pleasing style and the fluency of the wording: and he was a voluminous writer, desirous to make known everything about the life of his mission and its district, with a neat script. It is worth note that a century before it was founded he advocated the establishment of a Residence in Baghdad, and of a hermitage on Mt. Carmel before ever Fr. Prosper founded it,⁶ as well as of a mission on Mt. Lebanon among the Maronites.

Letters extant:

(jointly)	26.9.1621	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 f.
	20.6.1623	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	13.7.1623	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	20.8.1623	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	17.2.1624	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	9.5.1624	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	25.3.1625	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	8.4.1625	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	11.4.1625	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	12.5.1625	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	22.7.1625	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	6.11.1626	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	29.4.1627	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	26.2.1628	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	26.2.1628	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	26.9.1628	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	27.9.1628	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	25.1.1630	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	20.2.1630	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	21.2.1630	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	22.2.1630	Basra	Prop. Fide. Lette di Levante, vol. 115, p 415
	26.2.1630	Basra	Prop. Fide. Lette di Levante, vol. 115, p. 420
	24.8.1630	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	9.12.1630	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.

¹ Fr. Ignatius, 11.10.1643, O.C.D. 241 m. ² *S.R.*, vol. 62, p. 98, 12.11.1644. ³ O.C.D. 238 e., 23.11.1646.

⁴ See *Regesta* for 30.4.1654, vol. IV, 40, assigning him 50 reals, as he was being sent there)

⁵ Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus in *La Orden de Sta Teresa*, Madrid, 1923.

⁶ Fr. Basil, 12.5.1625.

	2 12.1633	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g
	30.12.1633	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g.
	15.11.1634	Basra	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 135, p. 491
	20 11.1634	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g
	20 11.1634	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g
	20.4.1635	Basra	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 135, p. 530
(report)	2 2.1636	Basra	O.C.D. —?
	6.4.1638	Alexandretta	Prop. Fide. Lette di Spagna, vol. 107, p. 192
	31.5.1638	Aleppo	Prop. Fide. Lette di Spagna, vol. 107, p. 142
	11.12.1639	Baghdad	O.C.D. 242 e.
	21 4.1640	Basra	O.C.D. 241 g
	12.11.1644	Mt. Carmel	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 62, p. 98

BENIGNUS of S. Michael

A Roman

Family name: Orazio Romanini de Sanctis, son of Gerolamo R. and Septimia Bonarda. Born 1571 at Rome. Already a priest, when professed in the Order at Rome, 1.11.1607.¹ Prov. in Order: Roman. After being given private audience and directions as to their work by Pope Paul V, he was sent to the mission in Persia with Fr. Redempt of the Cross in November 1608. The joint account of their journey, which they compiled, is of interest,² and may be summarized as follows. They left Marseilles 16 12 1608 by the vessel *S. Victor*, which that spring had brought over from Alexandretta Fr. Paul Simon of Jesus Mary: their passages were gratis: disembarked at Alexandretta on the day after the Epiphany, 7th January 1609, staying with the Franciscan Fathers there. Leaving 12.1.1609, they arrived Thursday, 16.1.1609, at Aleppo, where they also stayed with the Franciscans. As no caravan was available they had to halt at Aleppo till 7th March, the Venetian consul then supplying mounts and a baggage camel and fodder. Via Bir, where they found Indian traders from Lahore and which they left on 19th March, they travelled by raft for 22 days (by the desert route and camel it would have been a 40 days' journey) to Baghdad. The observations in the Narrative (which bears the stamp of being Fr. Benignus' composition, though Fr. Redempt's signature is also attached)—on the foreign Consuls at Aleppo, on the condition of the countryside, Turkish taxation at Baghdad, Customs-house procedure, the 'foreign exchange' regulations of the time, courtesy of the Baghdadis, are all of interest. After 29 days in Baghdad, where they were unable to celebrate Mass because no wine made of grapes was to be obtained (though they erected an altar and sang the Office behind closed doors for the few Christians during Passion week), they left on 10.5.1609 with a large caravan, 15 arquebusiers, many more men with bows accompanying it. The Baghdad–Khanakin road was very disturbed by robbers: across the Persian border, however, robbers were usually hunted down and the road safer than in Turkish territory; but the Kurdish tribesmen along the route lived miserably. On Thursday in the Octave of Pentecost, 10th June, they entered Isfahan, as the city gates were opened at dawn. The report subsequently gives a long account of an audience with Shah 'Abbas shortly after their arrival, which was of importance for the Carmelite mission, and for the Shah's relations with the Princes of Christendom. In July 1609 Fr. Benignus was present with Fr. John Thaddeus at several other audiences with Shah 'Abbas.

There are several references in Fr. Vincent's letters, as also in Fr. Leander's narrative of 1615³ that show that Fr. Benignus was in Goa for a short time, presumably in 1611; for instance, Fr. Vincent in his letter, marked No. 1 from Hurmuz, speaks of Fr. Benignus having "brought from Goa from the late Archbishop a permit for making a hospice and oratory . . . having been last year to Goa to collect alms." On the return of Fr. Redempt from his discussions with the 'Katholikos' of the Armenians at Echmiadzin in the spring of 1613,

¹ *Series Illustrata Professionum* at S. Maria d. Scala, by Fr. Marcellinus a S. Teresa, Rome, 1635.

² Dated 10.8.1609, Isfahan, in O.C.D. 234 e.

³ Fr. Vincent, Hurmuz, O.C.D. 239 b., 9.5.1613 and 3 6.1613 (No. 4), and Fr. Leander, O.C.D. 239 e.

"the Fathers at Isfahan were resolved to send one to the Chapter General, to inform them
 "of Persian affairs . . . Fathers Redempt and Bartholomew made the choice of Fr.
 "Benignus of S. Michael who is the bearer of these letters, and in part can inform Your
 "Reverence of Indian affairs, although he remained but a short time in India . . ."¹

He left Isfahan on 4.8.1613, and carried also letters from Shah 'Abbas for the Emperor and for the king of Poland, as well as a bezoar stone for the Pope. By way of Aleppo he reached Marseilles in November 1613. After his arrival in Rome, and report to the Pope, he was sent to Spain on business of the Order,² but his health did not permit his return to Persia in the opinion of his Superiors, and he died, Procurator General of the Order, on 3.1.1620 at S. Maria d. Scala, Rome.³ His departure from Persia proved a loss for future knowledge of the times, for his writing shows marked gifts as an observant historian and descriptive writer.

Letter (jointly): 10.8.1609 Isfahan O.C.D. 234 e.

BERNARD of S. Teresa (Bishop of Baghdad-Babylon). Vicar Apostolic of diocese of Isfahan A Frenchman.

(Though he arrived in Persia already consecrated bishop of a diocese in territory which had shortly before ceased to be Persian, and did not form part of the mission proper of the Carmelites to Persia, he finds a place in these biographical notices because he belonged to the Order, because he resided in the convent of the Order at Isfahan for much of his stay, and because in Persia over the Carmelite as over other Orders he had the authority of a Vicar Apostolic.)

Family name: Jean Duval Baptized at Clamécý (department Yonne and Nièvre), France, 22.4.1597, son of Jean Duval, 'rector' of the schools at Clamécý and his wife Marie Bonnemain, afterwards resident at S. Florent (Yonne).⁴ Entered Carmelite convent in Rue Vaugirard, Paris, in 1611: professed there 25.2.1615.⁵ Became in demand as a preacher at Rouen 1624, Toulouse 1625, Bordeaux 1626, Marseilles 1631-2, Paris 1631 (cf. *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, Rome 1933),⁶ contributing to the foundation of convents of the Order in some of those cities, and by his Lenten and Advent sermons at Paris came to enjoy the esteem of Queen Anne (of Austria) and Cardinal de Richelieu. One of his penitents during his period of preaching at Paris, 1632-7, while he was Prior of Crégy, near Meaux, was the widow Elisabeth de Ricouart, née Le Peultre (who died between January and April 1640). She made an offer to the Holy See to endow with 6,000 Spanish doubloons a bishopric among the infidels on condition that Fr. Bernard were made the first bishop, and each successor of French nationality. The offer was accepted and on 27.12.1637 Pope Urban VIII had a summons sent to Fr. Bernard to repair to Rome, where he arrived early in 1638. The first holder of the title of Bishop of Babylon or Baghdad had been the coadjutor, with right of succession, to the first Bishop of Isfahan of the 1632 creation—Mgr Timothy Perez, of the Calced Carmelites; he had never proceeded to Persia or Baghdad, though he had succeeded to the dignity of Bishop of Isfahan in 1633. By the Bull of 4.6.1638 "Super Universas" the bishopric of Baghdad was reconstituted and renewed, and in the consistory of 28.7.1638 Fr. Bernard was

¹ Fr. Vincent, Hurmuz (? No 4), 3.6.1613, O.C.D. 239 b.

² Fr. Benignus was one of the two Fathers who took to Spain an artistic silver lamp to light the shrine where the body of S. Teresa of Jesus is preserved, and who brought back to Rome—requested by the Fr. Praepositus General Ferdinand of S. Mary from the General of the Spanish Congregation of the not then united Order—as a relic to be venerated in the church of S. Maria della Scala in Trastevere (Rome) one foot of the Reformer of the Carmelites, and also a piece of her flesh for the Pope (which was given by him in 1617 to the Borghese chapel in the Basilica of S. Mary Major). On the morrow, after the latter gift was presented, Paul V, the Borghese Pope such a good friend of the Order, insisted on proceeding in person, accompanied by 18 Cardinals and many prelates, the Feast of Corpus Christi, to the church of S. Maria della Scala, where he kissed the holy foot tenderly, and commented on its wonderful state of preservation (*Osservatore Romano*, 14.10.1935).

³ *Series Illustrata Professionum* at S. Maria d. Scala, by Fr. Marcellinus a S. Teresa, Rome, 1935.

⁴ See *Lettres écrites de Perse et de Syrie par le R. P. Bernard*, by M. Leon Mirot, conservateur aux Archives Nationales, Paris—Clamécý, 1933.

⁵ and ⁶ *Hist. Prov. Paris*, MSS. O.C.D.

approved by His Holiness as coadjutor to the absentee Bishop Perez of Isfahan, being created Bishop of Babylon (Baghdad) by brief of 18.8.1638 and consecrated by Card. Pallotta in the church of S. Silvestro in Capite 22.8.1638. On 25.9.1638 a decree was published making him Vicar Apostolic for the diocese of Isfahan, and he left Rome on 14.9.1638 for Paris, where he arrived on 11.10.1638,¹ receiving instructions from his patron Cardinal de Richelieu and letters for the Ottoman Sultan. He set off from Paris 19.4.1639, and sailed from Marseilles 10.7.1639. At Constantinople he learnt of the frustration of the primary object of his nomination and of the creation of the bishopric, for news had been received that the city of Baghdad no longer formed part of the Persian dominions nor was under one and the same sovereign as the seat of his other function as Vicar Apostolic, viz. Isfahan: it had been captured by the Turks in December 1638.

Accompanying the bishop were, among others, Frs. Louis of S. Teresa and Anselm of the Most Holy Sacrament,² his confessor—both of the Order from the province of Paris (Fr. Louis of S. Teresa afterwards published *Annales des Carmes Déchaussés de France*, 1608–65, Paris, 2nd edit, Laval, 1891)³—and “the Persian priest who served him as interpreter”, mentioned by Monsieur Leon Mirot, was undoubtedly Ferdinand Gioerida, son of the brother of the first wife of the noted traveller and writer Pietro della Valle who had been educated in the Urban College of Propaganda, Rome, for the letters of the Vicar Provincial Dominic of Christ, and of Fr. Felix of S. Antony state him to have served the Bishop on his journey, and in Isfahan as “chamberlain and steward”, and finally been dismissed and obliged to return to Rome.⁴ Indeed there is extant a memorial to the Sac. Congregation from “Ferdinando Gioerida, “priest, of the city of Isfahan” in 1649,⁵ in which he stated that he had been sent by the Sac. Congregation in company of the Bishop of Babylon to serve the Bishop both on the journey, and in founding the cathedral church, as interpreter of languages.

If residence in Baghdad was out of the question because of the attitude of the Turks, residence in his vicariate at Isfahan was open to him, because on 13.11.1638,⁶ by decree of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, Bishop Bernard had been granted the faculty, as Vicar Apostolic of the diocese of Isfahan,

“during the absence of Fr. Timothy, bishop of the said church, or should he depart this life, of residing in the said diocese of Isfahan, since there he may be able to effect more on account of the presence of the king and other reasons considered at the time of dispatch of Fr. John Thaddeus”;

and he was also granted the faculty of appointing in it one or more vicars. (The late Fr. L. Lemmens in his *Hierarchia Latina Orientis* quotes the above as dating from the Secret Consistory of 28.7.1638, and the Brief for it as being issued on 18.8.1638.) The faculty thus restricted had not satisfied Bishop Bernard, who had grandiose ideas widely different from the monastic simplicity of the life, which the Ordinary in Persia would lead as adumbrated in the discussions at the Sacred Congregation when the bishopric of Isfahan was devised in 1632, viz. that a bishop, being required mainly to consecrate the sacred oils and ordain priests, should need no revenue for his see, because if a member of one of the Religious Orders he might live in the convents of his Order, as done elsewhere;⁷ and widely different, too, from the monastic poverty and simplicity in which all subsequent bishops at Isfahan came to live. He had the design of having a fine cathedral for the bishops of Baghdad and, while enjoying the position of Bishop of Baghdad he wished to remain in unchallenged authority in the Persian diocese as well. It was the age when monarchs, the French in particular, liked to monopolize as much influence

¹ M. Leon Mirot, “Le séjour du Père Bernard de Ste Thérèse en Perse” in *Études Carmelitaines*, 18me, année 1933, vols I–II.

² See S.R., vol. 209, p. 131, application by the Bishop for faculties to take these two Carmelites with him.

³ Fr. Ambrosius of S. Theresia, in *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 1934.

⁴ Fr. Dominic of Christ, 11.4.1641 and 14.4.1641, O.C.D. 237 c., and Fr. Felix, 23.2.1641, O.C.D. 237 i.

⁵ S.R., vol. 135, p. 261.

⁶ *Idem*, vol. 210, p. 9.

⁷ *Idem*, vol. 209, p. 91.

as possible through the Church. So in the meeting of the Sacr. Congregation on 6 9 1639, there being brought up the

"request of the Bishop of Baghdad (or Babylon) for some *provision* lest the apostolic vicariate "in the bishopric of Isfahan conferred on him by His Holiness should cease, if Fr Timothy "the Bishop of Isfahan were to betake himself to that city, because he" (Fr. Bernard) "intends to found in that city a cathedral church of the Latin rite with the help and financial "support of several benefactors and is unwilling that another should profit by his labours, "the Sacred Cong. decided that either verbally or by letter Fr. Timothy should be notified "by the Nuncio in Spain that His Holiness, in view of his" (Fr. Timothy's) "declaration "very often made to the Nuncio in Spain and to the Sacr Congreg of Propaganda that "he was unable to leave" (for Persia) "for urgent reasons, wished to confer the said church "of Isfahan on a person who would reside there, and on that account assigned to him" (Fr Timothy) "the bishopric of Lystra "1

Having left Constantinople 9.2 1640, and travelling by Broussa, Amasia, Sivas, Bishop Bernard and his party reached Erzerum 4.4 1640, and then in succession via Erivan to Echmiadzin, where from the 19th April he passed a number of days in being entertained by, and in fruitless discussion through the interpreter with, the Katholikos of the Armenians, Philip, to whom a Brief from the Pope was presented, and to Nakhchivan, where on Ascension Day, 17th May 1640, the Bishop celebrated pontifical Mass in the cathedral of the Armenian Uniats.² On 22.5.1640 Bishop Bernard visited the Convent of the Capuchin missionaries (his compatriots, from the province of Tours) in Tabriz: on 7.7.1640 he entered Isfahan, a year after the sailing from Marseilles and nearly two years since his consecration. On 10.8.1640 he was received by Shah Safi³—Fr. Eusebius in his *MSS. Hist. Missionum*, however, tells the graphic story that it was the octave day of the Assumption, i.e. August 22nd and that the Bishop was about to vest for Mass when he received the summons to his first audience at which he presented to the Shah the portrait of Pope Urban VIII: invited to remain to the midday meal the Bishop made his apologies, because he had not yet said his Mass, and on his return to the convent had the bells rung (for the Feast) which the Persians ascribed to his delight at the honour of the audience.⁴ The discrepancy in date may be the thirteen days' difference of the old and new calendars. A letter of the Bishop in this connection reads:

"since my last letter of the 5th October, in which I informed Your Eminence of my "favourable reception by the king of Persia, a long time has passed without my having "known what reply he would give to the Brief from His Holiness. . . ."

The Bishop goes on to refer to a

"promise which His Holiness said that he had had in writing from the last king, Shah "Abbas, to build a church in Isfahan for the bishop that His Holiness should send him. "On this the king, contradicting the statement that his grandfather had ever given such "a promise, has denied it outright to me, so that all that I have been able to do till now "is to have his consent to my purchase of a house in this City of Isfahan at my own expense "(as I hope to do within a few days) for myself and my successors, notwithstanding my "poverty, and then I shall see about obtaining a permit for the church in any case. . . ."⁵

From his arrival in July 1640 till late in 1641 Mgr Duval and his chaplains and lay following were guests in the Carmelite convent: with their straitened funds at this period the additional

¹ The late Fr. L. Lemmens, *Hierarchia Latina Orientis*, No. 10, part II.

² Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct. in his *MSS. Hist. Miss.* in O.C.D. 285-6.

³ Date quoted in M. Leon Mirot's "Séjour du R. Père Bernard . . . en Perse".

⁴ See in O.C.D.

⁵ 26.3.1641 in *S.N.R.*, I, p. 67.

expense of entertaining and providing for the food of the party for so long proved too great a strain on the conventuals; so that on 2nd January 1641 the Vicar Provincial was obliged to request the Bishop to provide for his own *familia*.¹ None of the conventuals at that time were compatriots of Mgr Duval, and the letters of not one but three or four of the missionaries show how strained and difficult the situation became: the Vicar Provincial in his letter cited above

“begged that the Sac^r Congregation would have instructions sent to the bishop to change “his residence . . . the Prelate is saintly and good, but these regions require someone “more phlegmatic”:

and later on, with the Vicar Provincial absent, the Visitor General himself reported to Rome that, seeing the state of things in the convent owing to the presence of the Bishop of Babylon disturbing the Religious and mainly our Religious, as he is in our House, he (the Visitor General) had put off his own return to Europe.²

It was 12th October 1641 before the Bishop, for a cost of 5,500 French livres, purchased a house—the deed being drawn in the name of the king of France³—and after repairing, and embellishing the interior in the style of a cathedral, to provide for canons, etc., for the sum of 2,400 scudi (it is another significant fact that the arms of Cardinal de Richelieu were placed over the door to signify that he was protector of the church), Mgr Duval performed the consecration in the presence of the Dominican archbishop from Nakhchivan, then in the capital, and all Catholic Europeans on December 8th 1641. The secretary of the Bishop (perhaps Fr Louis of S Teresa) writing from Isfahan to Rome on 30.11.1641 says in this connection:⁴

“Monseigneur de Babylone to whom I read your letters has bidden me write to you “that . . . he has seen how Mgr Ingoli” (i.e. the Secretary to the Sac^r Congreg.) “has “told you that the Spanish bishop” (i.e. Mgr Timothy Perez) “had obeyed the Pope in “laying down the bishopric of Isfahan: and this news reached him at the hour when he “was taking possession of the fine house which he has bought in this city for the person “who will succeed him—which costs him in purchase money alone 5,500 lire, paid to the “owner in front of the Qazi, who is the civil lieutenant of this city, in fine golden sequins “by weight: and that he wished to buy this house to his own inconvenience (as he has “kept for himself only what is needed by him for his living up till the month of March “when he contemplates setting off on his journey) rather than receive one of the King’s “houses, although exceedingly fine and to his choice, which had been offered him . . . “because such gifts of houses are uncertain as they can be revoked at the caprice of a “favourite.”

There is a letter too in Latin from Bishop Bernard himself to the Pope, dated Isfahan 20.12.1641:⁵

“therefore, Holy Father, I acquaint Your Holiness that the first Cathedral church in this “city of Isfahan has been founded and erected under the auspices of the Virgin Mary, “Mother of God, the holy rites being celebrated in it on the day of her Immaculate “Conception. . . .”

The cathedral and episcopal residence was situated in the Shaikh Sh’aban quarter of the city.⁶ Both Fr. Eusebius (in his MSS. *History of the Missions*) and Monsieur Mirot in his

¹ Fr. Dominic of Christ, 14.4.1641, to Secr. of Sac^r Congreg., Rome, O.C.D. 237 c.

² Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary, Isfahan, 15.7.1641, O.C.D. 236 b.; see also Fr. Felix, 20.2.1641, O.C.D. 237 i.

³ So Fr. Eusebius in MSS. *Hist. Miss.*; M. Mirot says “in his personal name”.

⁴ *S.N.R.*, I, p. 69, O.D.C. 285–6.

⁵ *S.N.R.*, I, p. 69 *et seq.*

⁶ *S.R.*, vol. 135, p. 292—information given by the Prior of the Augustinians; see also Chardin’s *Travel*, ed. 1711, vol. 3, p. 27.

Séjour du P. Bernard . . . give details of the plan and measurements, and gardens; and the latter also of the paintings and ornaments of the chapel.

A man of wide education for that age, with some knowledge of Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, Greek and Hebrew, he is said to have attracted the notice of the Persian notables by his acquaintance with astronomy and by the philosophical discussions¹ which he—like others since—has rightly recommended as one useful approach for interesting Persians in Christian doctrine. But, short of funds, he disappointed those Christians, Armenians and others, who had looked for a Bishop to be their liberator from oppression, and relieve their financial needs; while from the Dutch, at that time powerful at the Court, he met with personal hostility and to their work is ascribed an attempt to poison him, and he was also attacked with a scimitar and badly beaten early in 1642, as the result of which he was for long ill; and then gravel, from which he suffered, began to give him pain. In a letter to his sister, printed by M. Mirot,² the Bishop complained that the Christians in Persia caused him more trouble and sorrow than the infidels, on account of their scandalous lives and detestable morals. It was hardly a matter for surprise, therefore, that (as he had hinted in his letters months previously) he should decide to return to France, nominally to seek for funds. On the 13th March 1642 he constituted the Prior of the Augustinians his Vicar General and handed over to the charge of their convent his episcopal church and residence with all the effects in them: an inventory was made and signed by two of the Portuguese friars: a copy is to be seen in the archives of Propaganda. Leaving Isfahan early in April 1642 the Bishop of Baghdad proceeded via Baghdad, where he had the satisfaction of saying Mass for the Christians and seeing some of his proper flock, and was at Aleppo in July 1642. He arrived in France to find his patron, Cardinal de Richelieu, dead, and any plans he may have had for enhancing the position of the bishopric, should he return to Isfahan, were thus rendered nugatory. Perhaps from the beginning he had in view—as was noted at the session of the Sacr. Congregation in August 1645, cited below—the scheme of forming in Paris a seminary for training priests for missionary work abroad—that Séminaire des Missions Étrangères in the rue du Bac, now so famous. By 1645 the Sacr. Congregation were pressing him to return to his post, and in the sitting of 13.3.1645³ directed that a letter should be written to the Nuncio at Paris to warn Bishop Duval to depart as soon as might be. In the session of 7.8.1645 the Bishop's representations were considered

“and at the same time certificates from two doctors of Paris regarding his frequent indispositions, to wit pains in the head and eyes and deafness, on account of which the doctors judged that the Bishop could not undertake so far a journey as that to Persia without manifest danger to his life, nor remain in that kingdom, both because he needs constantly being treated with medicines, and because in Persia there are neither doctors nor the medicines needed for his affections, so that the Sacr. Congregation considered that on account of his said maladies the said Bishop should be held and obliged either to resign his bishopric or take on himself a coadjutor or suffragan, so that the said diocese may not suffer by being without a shepherd: secondly, if in the view of the Nuncio to France the reasons alleged are proven, they would suffice to incline His Holiness to allow him the favour of remaining, with a quiet conscience, at Paris, and of devoting himself to the pious task of (forming) a college for sending workers to Persia, but still on condition of (providing) a coadjutor or suffragan.”

His health did not impede Mgr Duval from undertaking a service for the French Court, when he was dispatched by royal decree as a Councillor of State to Catalonia from 12.3.1647 to 12.5.1648 in order to assist in reorganizing certain dioceses.⁴ But he did not resign his see of Baghdad and from the revenue he derived from its endowment would not, so it would appear, offer more than 100 scudi annually for the stipend of a coadjutor. It is not surprising,

¹ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct. MSS. in O.C.D. 285-6

² M. Mirot, *Lettres du R. Père Bernard* . . . , Clamécy.

³ *S.R.*, vol. 210, p. 9 *et seq.*

⁴ Fr. Ambrosius a Sta Theresia in *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 1934.

therefore, that no one accepted the position (e.g. a Fr Michael of the Holy Spirit, O.C.D.), was nominated coadjutor on 2.6.1650,¹ until finally on 30.6.1659 the Holy See itself, on the pressing request of the Archbishop of Toulouse, appointed Mgr Placid Duchemin: and thereafter, for the Christians of Mesopotamia and Assyria unfortunately matters became worse, not only till the death of Mgr Duval in 1669 but to that of Mgr Duchemin in 1683, neither Bishop proceeding to the East, while the complications and disputes made a *cause célèbre* which fills more than a hundred pages in one volume of the archives of Propaganda. Bishop Duval had, in a document of 23.5.1652, renounced in favour of his coadjutor the premises and garden at Isfahan, except for a number of effects to be sent to him.² Then, about 1659 it was alleged that he had sold everything at Isfahan for the consideration of a pension of 2,000 scudi:³ and there is a letter in Latin from Bishop Duval of 14.10.1662 with a copy of his letter to the Augustinian Hermits at Isfahan,⁴ saying that he is obliged to sell all he possessed in his house at Isfahan to Monsieur Jean des Rousseaux, and authorized them to hand over everything to that person's procurators, who seem to have been Dutch merchants. This alienation of the premises, etc., at Isfahan was one of the several pretexts and complaints brought forward by the already sexagenarian coadjutor Mgr Duchemin for not setting out for Persia. The Sacr. Congregation lodged a strong protest through the Nuncio at Paris with the French king against the alienation, and demanded restitution by the Dutch agents for the buyer in Isfahan.⁵ Moreover this sale of the house and effects was not genuine but feigned—in a summary in *S.R.*, vol. 236, p. 278, the 'sale' is said to have been made to the agents of the Bishop of Heliopolis (presumably that Mgr Pallu, mentioned⁶ as one of the promoters of the Seminary for Foreign Missions at Paris). But the effects seem to have been handed over in 1664 to the "Dutch 'agent of the pretended purchaser'",⁷ and in 1666 the Sacr. Congregation ordered sequestration of the income of Bishop Duval from his see. So, when after the death of Mgr Duval a certain French banker and lawyer of Paris put forward a claim to payment of a legacy from his estate, the Secretary of the Sacr. Congregation noted:

"as to the payment, by order of Your Eminences the interest from the Funds (Luoghi di 'Monti) which belong to that diocese are under sequestration on account of the bishop 'having alienated various properties both movable and immovable in Isfahan which are 'thought to belong to that diocese.'"⁸

By a deed of 10.10.1663 the Bishop of Baghdad contracted to hand over to the procurators for the Seminary of Foreign Missions all those buildings which he had constructed in the previous years, and immovable property, his library and chapel and gardens, on the stipulations that he was to be allowed to reside in one of those houses and receive annually to the end of his life a pension of 3,000 livres: he thus had a part in providing initial capital for that institution which was to become so renowned. He died in the Seminary 10.4.1669, his body being buried in the church of the Carmelites at Paris, his heart deposited in the lower church of the Seminary for Foreign Missions.⁹ Monsieur Mirot points out that the well-known street in Paris—rue de Babylone—acquired its name from this Carmelite, 'Bishop of Babylon' as he was usually styled, for his gardens and residence were a landmark there.

As to his cathedral church at Isfahan and residence, the Prior of the Augustinians at Isfahan reported to the Sacr. Congregation in 1653 that till then they had always maintained a priest and catechist for the church, but could do so no longer owing to the loss of Masqat, from which the greater part of their funds had come:¹⁰ and in 1662 the Augustinians again wrote that the bishop's house, which was worth 1,550 pieces of eight, through damage by weather, being but made of mud bricks, little by little was like to fall, and through lack of funds they themselves were unable to make the necessary repairs: they enquired whether the Sacr. Congregation saw

¹ *S.R.*, vol. 135, p. 14.

² *Idem*, p. 123.

³ *S.R.*, vol. 420, p. 168.

⁴ *S.R.*, vol. 135, p. 292.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 20.

⁶ Fr. Ambrose of S. Theresia in *Hierarchia Carmelitana*.

⁷ See Fr. Ambrose of S. Theresia quoting Mirot, etc., in *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 1934.

⁸ *Idem*, vol. 236.

⁹ *Idem*, vol. 238, p. 69.

¹⁰ *S.N.R.*, I, p. 112.

fit to sell it, while there was still time.¹ On 27.7.1682 Bishop Picquet, successor of Mgr Duval, reported to the Sacr. Cong.:

"The house and church formerly purchased by the bishop was sold to Turks, ruined, and reconstructed: there is no hope of getting it back unless by dint of paying money, and then it would be dearer than any other. . . . The silverware was similarly sold and used, all by power of attorney and in conformity with the custom of the country and also of Christendom: nothing remains in the hands of the Capucins save some old ornaments . . .² 4 or 6 silver candlesticks, 2 or 3 fine silver chalices" etc.³

The above notes illustrate the life of this interesting personality from a somewhat different angle to that shown in the studies by Monsieur Leon Mirot: *Lettres écrites de Perse et de Syrie par le R. P. Bernard de Sainte Thérèse, Évêque de Babylone* (Clamécy, chez A. Fournier, 1933): and "Le Séjour du P. Bernard de Ste Thérèse en Perse" in *Études Carmelitaines*, 18me année 1933 (this author is understood to be preparing a fuller life of the bishop): and to the biographical notice by Fr. Ambrose of S. Theresia in *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 1934. The authorities at the Seminary for Foreign Missions state that no portrait of Bishop Duval has been traced by M. Mirot.

Letters extant:

13.11.1638	Rome	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 210, p. 9
26.3.1641	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , I, p. 67 (to Cardinal Prefect)
26.3.1641	Isfahan	Archives des Missions Étrangères, vol. CCLII, p. 3 (<i>vide</i> Mirot) (to Mère Marguérite de Jésus)
9.5.1641	Isfahan	Arch. des Miss. Etrang., Paris, CCCLII, p. 3 (Mirot)
19.9.1641	Isfahan	„(to his sister Anne) (cf. Mirot)
20.12.1641	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , I, p. 69 <i>et seq.</i> (Latin, to Pope)
— 1642	Sidon	Arch. des Miss. Etrang., Paris, CCCLII (cf. Mirot)
16.3.1652	Paris	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 135, p. —
23.5.1652	Paris	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 135, p. 20
19.6.1652	Paris	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 135, p. —
18.10.1652	Paris	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 135, p. —
2.11.1655	Paris	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 135, p. — (N.B.—The list of letters in vol. 135 is here incomplete)
14.10.1662	Paris	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 238, p. 69

BLAISE of S. Barbara⁴ (more correctly 'of the Most Holy Sacrament')

A Lombard⁵ (subject of the Duchy of Milan).

Family name: Carlo Francesco Maffo, son of Orazio M. and Caterina Valcarenza (see List of Dead of Province of Venice). Born at Casalmeran (Cremona),⁶ 25.5.1624.⁷ Prov. in Order: Venice.⁸ Professed at Milan, 31.4.1643 (according to footnote 35 by Fr. Ambrosius

¹ *S.R.*, vol. 236, p. 69 *et seq.*

² *Idem*, vol. 487, p. 502.

³ *Vide* Fr. John Baptist of S. Joseph, Basra, 21.3.1678, O.C.D. 242 a.

⁴ So he signed himself in the letter extant, and is called by the Procurator, Fr. Valerius, in the list given to the Sacr. Cong., 1671, see *S.R.*, vol. 429, p. 224; yet in his report in *S.N.R.*, I, p. 252, Fr. Valerius speaks of him at Basra in 1658 as "of S. Brigid", and *Catalog. Miss.*, the list of missionaries of 1663 in O.C.D. 235 n., and his own province of Venice in the *Cronistoria and Biografia, Relig. Def.*, printed Venice, 1925, all call him "of the Most Holy Sacrament".

⁵ Cf. Fr. Valerius in list in *S.R.*, vol. 429, p. 224.

⁶ Fr. Balthazar, 26.8.1653, O.C.D. k.

⁷ *Catalog. Miss.* says, 1624, also the *Cronistoria-Biografia* mentioned gives date of death as "1693, aged 69 years".

⁸ Thus *Catalog. Miss.* and the *Cronistoria-Biografia*, cited—he resided at Venice in his last years.

a Sta Theresia to No. III, *Monumenta Missionaria Carmelitana*, 1938), but 3.4.1644 according to the records at the Convent in Venice. Sent to Persia 1648.¹ 'As a temporary measure and in advance of permission to reopen that mission', Fr. Blaise was sent to Shiraz sometime before August 1653—"in place of Fr. Peter of the Mother of God, whose health it did not suit."² and he is mentioned as alone there, and Vicar, in a letter of 16.1.1654.³ Writing in February 1655 Fr. Felix also alludes to Fr. Blaise having been sent to Shiraz (as Superior, because he already knew the place and Persian well) in anticipation of sanction to restart that mission: another Religious states him to be there, and alone still, in June 1655.⁴ He was at Shiraz, January 1656, when the head of the Dutch Company at Bandar 'Abbas had desired him to go there and baptize a child,⁵ but in May 1657 deputed to Basra, in order to assist there during the absence of Fr. Barnabas, whom it was intended to send to Europe as Procurator.⁶ However, writing in June 1658 Fr. Barnabas himself was about to dispatch Fr. Blaise to Kung for consultation on matters of administration.⁷ Fr. Blaise signed the baptismal register, Basra, on 22.9.1658, 16.12.1658, 2.8.1659, 5.12.1660, 15.1.1662, 29.12.1663—on the last two occasions as 'Vicar', till 19.3.1660 Fr. Barnabas having signed as such. In 1661, however, presumably at the same time as Fr. Barnabas, he was temporarily expelled from Basra sometime before September; Fr. Blaise had lent 300 piastres to the Pasha; the money was called a 'loan', so that everything might not be lost.⁸ He was perhaps at Basra still until 1665 or early in 1666, because there is on record a report of Fr. Blaise, dated August 1664, from Basra, on the work of the mission and in particular on the Mandaeans: while Fr. Severin, after stating that for six months following his own arrival in Persia in 1663 he had been at Isfahan, then tells us that for a year he had been together with Fr. Blaise at Basra.⁹ Whether in 1665 or 1666 the latter left Persia for Poland, sent by the Fathers of Isfahan in order to obtain the favour of the king of Poland and that king's intervention with the Shah for a grant of confirmation of their right to occupy the Convent, which the Persian monarch had been wanting to sell as royal property.¹⁰ That, writing from Isfahan in July 1669,¹¹ Fr. Valerius referred to the governor of the city having received

"orders from the chief minister of the king to sell the convent premises, as the king was in need of money, so that the Religious judged it well to present the letter from the King of Poland, in order to deliver this house from any misadventure . . ."

seems to indicate that Fr. Blaise had obtained and sent out to Persia the letter in question.

After his return to Europe in 1670 he was 'Socius' at the Provincial Chapter and he was appointed confessor for all the Armenians at Venice;¹² the list of missionaries submitted to the Sacr. Cong. in 1671¹³ mentions him

"at Venice administering the Sacrament of penance to many, and in particular to some Persians as he knows Persian, Arabic and Turkish moderately well. It would be more to God's service to leave him there, than to send him back to Persia."

He had become indeed almost completely blind, and had to support other painful bodily ailments as well as this affliction for many years. He died at Venice 11.10.1693, aged 69, and "after many years his body was found uncorrupt, and flexible".¹⁴

Letter extant: 23.8.1664, Basra, S.R., vol. 238, p. 172.

¹ The list of 1663 gave him as then 15 years in the mission, i.e. he came out in 1648; the *Cronistoria* of his province gives him as 18 years in Persia, and, if he left in 1665, that would mean 1647 for his arrival.

² Fr. Dionysius, Basra, 27.3.1654, in O.C.D. 242 c.

³ Fr. Casimir, 21.6.1655, O.C.D. 236 l.

⁴ Fr. Dionysius, 16.7.1657, O.C.D. 237 c.

⁵ Fr. Felix, 8.9.1661, Shiraz, O.C.D. 238 p.

⁶ See list of 1671 in S.R., vol. 428, p. 224.

⁷ and ¹⁴ See *Cronistoria & Biografia Rel. Def.* of the province of Venice, printed Venice, 1925.

¹³ S.R., vol. 428, p. 224.

⁸ *Idem*, Baghdad, 16.1.1654, O.C.D. 242 c.

⁹ Fr. Cornelius, 10.1.1656, O.C.D. 237 a.

¹⁰ O.C.D. 241 f., 14.6.1658.

¹¹ Fr. Severin, 31.8.1669, in O.C.D. 242 a.

¹² 6.7.1669, in O.C.D. 236 b.

BONAVENTURA of the Most Holy Trinity

Subject of Papal States.

Family name: Carlo Nicola Rauco. Born at Leonessa, diocese of Rieti, 1680. Prov. in Order: Roman. Professed at Convent of S. M. d. Scala, 25.5.1702.¹ On 3.4.1713 the Procurator General of the Order in Rome made an application for him to be sent to Persia "in place of Fr. Urban of S. Elisaeus, whom it is not considered expedient at present to send to that mission".² On 3.4.1715 at Isfahan he testified to the correctness of a copy of a will;³ and two months earlier⁴ he had written to the Card. Prefect notifying his arrival in Isfahan—a letter the more interesting because it is the first instance, or one of the very first instances, in the mass of documents referring to the previous hundred years which have been examined in the archives of Propaganda for the present work and which mention the capital of Safawi Persia by name, of spelling it with an initial "I"—'Isfahan': Aspaan, Spahan, Aspahan, Aspan, Spahaun being the usual foreign rendering of the word till then, and in fact till much later, on the whole. But he had died at Isfahan on 15.7.1715—*vide* the letter of Fr. Paul Augustine, 9.5.1716, to the Cardinal Prefect in S.R., vol. 608, p. 207. (Fr. Jerome Francis of S. Joseph, Vicar Provincial, also, writing from Julfa on 26.1.1716, alludes to Fr. Bonaventura as already dead.⁵)

Letter extant: 5.2.1715 Isfahan S.N.R., III, p. 454.

BONIFACE of S. Martin

A Lombard (subject of Duchy of Milan).

Family name: Pietro Francesco Carccino. Born about 1637 at Milan, Prov. in Order: Lombardy. Professed 10.11.1658 (see *Catal. of Professed*, Prov. Lombardy). He arrived in Basra on the 20th November 1677, at Isfahan on 26th December 1677,⁶ having brought to Basra 160 'abbasi, subvention for the missions.⁷ He died at Goa on 11.6.1678.

BRUNO of the Blessed John of the Cross

A Lombard (subject of Duchy of Milan).

Family name: Cristoforo Galbiati. Born at Casugo (archdiocese of Milan), 1654. Prov. in Order: Lombardy.⁸ Professed at Milan, 19.5.1675. Arrived at Isfahan at the end of 1693.⁹ One of the co-signatories to the detailed account of the persecution of the Catholics in Julfa to be found in S.N.R., II, p. 293, which is dated by the death of Shah Sulaiman, i.e. end of July 1694: and he is also given as residing at the Convent in Isfahan city in the list submitted to the Sacr. Cong. on 26.8.1695 by Fr. Joseph Ignatius, then in Rome.¹⁰ But early in 1696 he was sent to Shiraz from Isfahan,¹¹ and died at Shiraz on 20.9.1696.¹² (The date in *Cat. Def. Lomb.*—1.5.1698—must be that of receipt of the news of the death in Milan.)

CAETANUS of S. Michael

A Lombard (subject of Duchy of Milan).

Family name: Giovanni Paolo Oliverio. Born about 1647 at Cremona. Prov. in Order: Venice.¹³ Professed at Milan, 27.9.1665 (see *Catal. of Professed*, Prov. Lombardy).

¹ *Series Professionum* at S. Maria d. Scala, supplied by Fr. Marcellinus a S. Teresa.

² S.R., vol. 587, p. 78.

³ *Idem.* vol. 602, p. 211.

⁴ S.N.R., III, p. 454.

⁵ O.C.D. 238 u.; "June 1716 at Julfa" is the date which the *Series Professionum* of S. Maria d. Scala incorrectly have.

⁶ Fr. John Baptist of S. Joseph, Basra, 21.3.1678, in O.C.D. 242 a.

⁷ Fr. Agathangelus, 28.1.1679, in O.C.D. 241 a.

⁸ See *Vita Fr. Elia a S. Alberto*, by Lay Brother Francis Mary of S. Sirius in O.C.D. 320 e.

⁹ *Catal. Def. Lomb.*

¹⁰ S.N.R., II, p. 149.

¹¹ See *Vita Fr. Elia*, cited above, in O.C.D. 320 e.

¹² S.N.R., II, p. 171.

¹³ *Chron. Basra.*

The Procurator General of the Order informed the Sacr. Cong., receiving its approval 15.12.1676, that Fr. Caetanús with others was being destined for Persia:¹ and, accompanying the Visitor General Fr. John Baptist, he arrived at Basra 23.5.1677, proceeding to Shiraz about the 20th June 1677.² Writing from Shiraz on 11.9.1678 Fr. John Baptist hoped to leave for India with Fr. Caetanús by the first ship.³ He must have been still away from Persia in 1684, for he is not mentioned in the names given in the visitation of Persia by Fr. Agnellus in October 1684. A letter of 1689 stated that Fr. Caetanús had repeatedly begged the Vicar Provincial to be relieved of the office of 'Companion' (to the Prior, either of Isfahan or Goa) at the election for Procurator of the Mission then due.⁴ Early in that year all Italian Religious were compelled to leave Goa and the Portuguese possessions, and betook themselves to the missions on the Malabar coast (Cochin, Verapoly). Fr. Caetanús must have gone there then from Goa, for the letter of Fr. Elias, Isfahan, 26.7.1689, mentioned:

"They write me from Malabar that immediately after arrival they lost Fr. Caetanús, 'who after a few days' illness died, as he had lived, a real, saintly Carmelite.'"⁵

CANDIDUS of S. Joseph

A Fleming (?)

Family name: Jerome Olimaertz. Born at Antwerp about 1654. Prov. in Order: Belg.-Fland. Professed 21.3.1677. From the Seminary of San Pancrazio on 24.5.1685 he was appointed by the Definitory General to the missions in the East (see *Regesta*, vol. VI, p. 292), and he arrived at Basra 2.1.1686, and went to Bandar 'Abbas 2.2.1686 as companion to Fr. Agathangelus to "rebuild and establish that mission". Returned to Basra 10.6.1686 and left again for Kung and Bandar 'Abbas 29.8.1686.⁶ Sent to India by the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Elias, in 1688 as Visitor Provincial:

"I have sent there in my stead Fr. Candidus, of whose great capacity I have already had 'proof in other commissions very happily executed. He left Congo (Kung) in the beginning 'of October 1688, and on the 16th October had arrived at Masqat, when he wrote that he 'was expecting to reach Goa in November.'"⁷

Fr. Candidus never reached Goa, for the next letter from the Vicar Provincial had the news:

"The rumour which was current that the Rev. Fr. Candidus had been drowned in a 'shipwreck between Masqat and Diu having been confirmed by no news at all coming 'from him for 8 months after he embarked, I have had Masses said for him.'"⁸

So the date of his death must be put in November–December 1688.

CASIMIR JOSEPH of S. Teresa

A Fleming (?)⁹

Family name: Jean Renaudin. Born about 1626. Prov. in Order: Belg.-Fland. Professed 11.3.1646. As a 'seminarist' sent by the Definitory General to Persia, 30.4.1654 (*Regesta*, vol. IV, p. 400). On his journey out to Persia, via Tripoli and Damascus, he was at Baghdad, 4.11.1654.¹⁰ He must have reached Isfahan first about 15.1.1655, for in a letter from Basra he mentions that "after 4 months stay in Isfahan" he was taken south by the Vicar

¹ S.R., vol. 461, p. 141.

² and ⁶ *Chron. Basra*.

³ O.C.D. 238 k.

⁴ Fr. Elias, O.C.D. 237 h.

⁵ *Idem*, 26.7.1689, O.C.D. 237 h.

⁷ *Idem*, 18.6.1689, O.C.D. 237 h.

⁸ This is a deduction from the fact that his letters are all in French, except for one or two in Flemish, and that on 1.1.1655 (O.C.D. 236 l.) he wrote, " . . . en Asphahan où j'ay trouvé encor 3 Religieux du Pais Bas".

¹⁰ His letter, in O.C.D. 242 c.

Provincial:¹ but he was still at Isfahan on 5.5.1655, when he signed a joint declaration by the conventuals.² Shortly after May 15, 1655, he left Isfahan and by 20.6.1655 had reached Bandar Rig, waiting a sailing-vessel to take him from that small port to Basra.³

He signed the register of baptisms, etc., Basra, 23.11.1655: 9.12.1655: 2.2.1656: 16.8.1656: 30.11.1656: and was still at Basra on 18.1.1657.⁴ Then the Vicar of Basra, Fr. Barnabas—as he wrote in his letter of 12.5.1657⁵—

“had sent Fr. Casimir to Gāmbūn to try and persuade the Vicar Provincial, who had been “there, to send one of the Religious to Rome to explain verbally to the Praepositus General “the unwillingness of the missionaries to serve under the financial administration of the “Sacr. Congregation in the changed arrangements that were adumbrated. And so, about “April, Fr. Casimir took ship from Basra to Gāmbūn; but, having missed there the Vicar “Provincial, Fr. Felix, he was waiting for a vessel to return to Basra, when he was taken ill “at Gāmbūn and after six days’ illness died in the house of the Agents of the Dutch”— on 3.6.1657⁶—“without the comfort of the Holy Sacraments, though in passing Kung “(which is only 3 days’ distance from Gāmbūn, and where he stopped some days) he had “had the opportunity of confession and saying Mass, as a Father Vicar of the Order of “S. Augustine assists there. The late Father was a Religious of worth and discretion, and “left a good reputation: he was of goodly parts and skill to serve the Order.”⁷

His letters are lively, informative reading, particularly on his journey across the desert from Damascus under the protection of the European Master-General of artillery of the Turkish forces at Baghdad, and regarding the Dutch-Portuguese struggle.

Letters extant:

(jointly)	4.11.1654	Baghdad	O.C.D. 242 e.
	16.1.1655	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 l.
	6.4.1655	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 l.
	5.5.1655	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 c.
	15.5.1655	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 l.
	21.6.1655	Bandar Rig	O.C.D. 236 l.
	16.10.1655	Basra	O.C.D. 241 h.
	29.11.1655	Basra	O.C.D. 241 h.
	16.12.1655	Basra	O.C.D. 241 h.
	31.1.1656	Basra	O.C.D. 241 h.
	16.12.1656	Basra	O.C.D. 241 h.
	17. 1.1657	Basra	O.C.D. 241 h.

CELESTINE of S. Ludivina

A Dutchman.

Family name: Pieter van Gool (“brother of Jacob Golius or van Gool, a renowned linguist”).⁸ Born 1602 at Leiden. Professed 12.7.1626. Prov. in Order: Fland.-Belg. With Fr. Prosper of the Holy Spirit in the early years of the mission at Aleppo: he had been sent there by the Definitory General, 5.10.1632 (see *Regesta*, vol. II, p. 95): and there is extant a letter of his in Latin dated from Aleppo, 1.10.1635, in which he refers to his brother the orientalist: “Nuper frater meus germanus qui linguarum orientalium et mathematicae professorem egit in Hollanda.”⁹

¹ His letter, 16.10.1655, in O.C.D. 241 h.

² O.C.D. 237 e.

³ His letter of that date, O.C.D. 236 l.

⁴ O.C.D. 241 f., letter of Fr. Barnabas of 24.1.1657.

⁵ O.C.D. 241 f.

⁶ Fr. Barnabas, 8.9.1657. O.C.D. 241 f.

⁷ Fr. Dionysius of Crown of Thorns, 16.7.1637, O.C.D. 237 c.

⁸ F. Florencio del Niño Jesus in *La Orden de Sta Teresa*, Madrid, 1923.

⁹ *S.R.*, vol. 135.

The Addition to the Instructions to Fr. Augustine of S. Joseph, "Visitor of our Mission in "the East", dated 2.4.1642,¹ include:

" . . . 4. . . . Fr. Celestine, who is at Aleppo, in a letter of his expresses to me his desire "to go to Persia, or to Mt. Libanan, where the Patriarch offers us a church and convent with "a small income. Your Reverence should see what will be the more to God's service—"to leave him at Aleppo still for some time, or to move him. . . . It would not be displeasing to our Father Definitors for the offer by the Patriarch of the Maronites to us of "Mt. Libanan to be accepted. . . ."

Doubtless in pursuit of those Instructions it was that, according to the author of *La Orden de Sta Teresa* . . . , Madrid, 1923, p. 105, on 19.3.1643, Fr. Celestine inaugurated a church and convent on Mt. Libanan, thus being the founder of that mission.

In 1652 he was at Venice (perhaps on his own return from Syria to Europe), able to communicate at a distance with Fr. Dionysius of the Crown of Thorns, who was in the lazaretto (quarantine), and had been there before the latter's arrival.² On 30.4.1654 the Definitory General assigned him 50 reals of eight to proceed to Mt. Libanan (see *Regesta*, vol. IV, p. 400) But by 27.10.1662 he was back in Rome, for the Definitory General appointed him 'First Counsellor' at the convent of San Pancrazio (*Regesta*, vol. V, p. 474): and on 16.1.1667 renewed the appointment (*Regesta*, vol. V, p. 286), and a third time made it on 1.5.1671 (vol. V, p. 414). In 1668, while Reader ('Lector') in Polemics at the Carmelite seminary of San Pancrazio, Rome, he made an application to the Sacr. Cong. for permission to visit his relatives "in "Holland and remain there a year in order to transact some urgent affairs, and to try to obtain "the conversion of his relatives, heretics":³ and the noted Fr. Philip of the Most Holy Trinity, then Praepositus General of the Order, wrote in this connection to the Sacr. Cong. also on 26.1.1669.⁴ In 1673, in a petition to the Sacr. Cong., he wrote that he had been then for many years past 'Reader of Arabic' at the Seminary of San Pancrazio, was contented and occupied in correcting translations into Arabic of the Bible, and of the *Imitatio Christi*.⁵ The author of *La Orden de Sta Teresa* . . . , Madrid, 1923, states that he aided greatly the Maronite archbishop Sergius Rissi in the edition of the Arabic Bible published in Rome in 1671 [*? sic*], and was president of the commission nominated by Propaganda Fide to correct it and give it the final touch before it was issued. Sent with three companions to the missions on the Malabar coast, he left Rome 31.5.1574, and was said to have embarked at Batavia for Surat on 28.12.1674, "their journey having taken almost two years since their departure".⁶ He arrived at Basra finally on 27.12.1675. Then with Fr. Agnellus alone he took ship from Basra, advanced in years—indeed a septuagenarian—on 25.1.1676 for Bandar 'Abbas, and at that port "finding no means of getting to Surat they proceeded towards Shiraz".⁷ Whether Fr. Celestine, who had died at Surat before October 1676,⁸ went as far as Shiraz appears doubtful—for Fr. Agnellus, writing on 29.5.1675 from Shiraz to the Sacr. Cong., said that he had been obliged to separate from his companions on account of illness. His actual stay in Persia must have been short in any case: however short, his reputation for learning makes this brief notice an opportunity to add to the lustre of the other biographies.

CELSUS of S. Mary

A Lombard (subject of the Duchy of Milan).

Family name: Giacomo Maria Solari. Born at Milan, 1638. Prov. in Order: Lombardy.⁹

¹ O.C.D. 284 g.

² S.R., vol. 418, p. 140.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 385.

⁶ Procurator General, O.C.D., Rome, to Sacr. Cong., S.R., vol. 461, p. 104.

⁸ Summary in S.R., vol. 473, p. 345, dated 12.8.1677 *et seq.*, re Fr. Angelus Francis.

⁹ *Cat. Def. Lomb.*, p. 15, and *Catalog. Miss.* agree as to date.

² Fr. Dionysius, 26.12.1652, from Venice, O.C.D. 237 c.

⁵ *Idem*, vol. 429, p. 186 *et seq.*

⁷ *Chron. Basra.*

Professed at Milan, 4.5.1659. He was already at Venice in June 1671 when Fr. Valerius, the Procurator, arrived there and with three other companions (one was Fr. Tussanus) they set out for Syria, travelling with the consul for the Venetian Republic at Aleppo.¹ Fr. Celsus reached Basra 27.5.1672, and till 7th June "and for some time yet" was halted there, awaiting the instructions of the Vicar Provincial as to his destination.² On some date between early October³ and mid-November 1672,⁴ still accompanying the Procurator, he had left Basra and proceeded to Kung, where he was present in November at conferences between the Procurator and the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Dionysius of Jesus Mary, when the abandonment of the mission at Tatta in Sind was proposed;⁵ and the Vicar Provincial sent him on to Goa as secretary to Fr. Valerius. Thence he was returned to Persia as 'Socius' at the Congress for election of the Procurator in 1674, and the Vicar Provincial kept him at Shiraz, and made him Vicar there.⁶

"at this time he was in very poor health from constant illnesses, for which reason I did not permit him to return to India, but I think he is probably not long for this life. Very modest and of a sweet disposition, but knowing nothing of the language of these parts".⁷

He was put into prison at Shiraz some time between September and December 1675, made to pay 2 Tumans: and, in order to escape being put into chains "and the rest", he had to expend a further 2 Tumans: released, he wrote to Isfahan, asking for a copy of the 'farmans' of the Carmelite privileges to be sent to Shiraz, and for protest to be made to the chief minister of the king, 'Itimad-ud-Dauleh: it was evidently a time of persecution for all local Christians, for he gives the names of others fined⁸ (and Fr. Angelus commented that Fr. Celsus had not the command of the language and Persian ways to deal with such a situation). In 1678-9 he was alone at Bandar 'Abbas, chaplain to the Royal French Company,⁹ and had remained there apparently till 1682, when at the election in Isfahan he was elected Prior a "Religious of great charity and prudence".¹⁰ But, having left Bandar 'Abbas "to take possession of his priorship he died on the 11th July 1682 on the road, two days' march before reaching Shiraz: "he had in his company a Capuchin Father, who buried him in a village named Messaferi"¹¹ (i.e. Muzaffari). (The date given in *Cat. Def. Lomb.*, 9.2.1683, must be that of the reception of the news in Milan.)

Letters extant:

1.9.1675	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 i.
15.12.1675	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 i.

CHARLES HYACINTH of S. Teresa

A Lombard (subject of the Duchy of Milan).

Family name: Giovanni Antonio Olivazza. Born 1654¹² at Milan. Prov. in Order: Lombardy. Professed 20.6.1669. Later at Seminary of San Pancrazio, Rome, for oriental languages, etc. Arrived at Basra 1.10.1681. Substitute for the Vicar during the latter's absence in Persia, 1683.¹³ Chosen Prior of Isfahan, July 1689,¹⁴ before he had left he died of plague at Basra, 19.4.1691.¹⁵

¹ Fr. Valerius, 6.6.1671, in *S.M.R.*, I, pp. 278-9, and Fr. Celsus, Shiraz, 1.9.1675, O.C.D. 238 i.

² Fr. Jerome, 7.6.1672, O.C.D. 241 i.

³ Fr. Jerome, 14.11.1672, O.C.D. 241 i. ⁴ and ⁵ Fr. Celsus, 1.9.1675, and Fr. Valerius, 25.11.1672, O.C.D. 238 s.

⁷ Fr. Jerome, Vicar Provincial, 31.8.1675, O.C.D. 238 q.

⁸ His letter of 15.12.1675, O.C.D. 238 i.

⁹ Fr. Fortunatus, 20.10.1678 and 20.3.1679, O.C.D. 237 k.

¹² Fr. Agnelli, Basra, 29.6.1684, O.C.D. 241 a., though *Catalog. Miss.* says 1658. ¹¹ Fr. Agathangelus, 8.8.1682, O.C.D. 241 c.

¹³ Fr. Louis of S. Teresa, 3.2.1683, in O.C.D. 242 a. ¹⁴ Fr. Elias, 26.7.1689, O.C.D. 237 h. ¹⁵ *Chron. Basra.*

CHARLES of Jesus Mary

Neapolitan.

Family name: de Querlet. Born at Monte Allegro, Sicily, 1597. Prov. in Order: Naples.¹ Professed 1612. The Instructions given to him as Visitor General of the missions in Persia and the Indies by the Definitory General, dated 1638, are preserved, see hereafter. He arrived at Basra 30.3.1639,² accompanied by Tavernier, the French traveller, who was on his first voyage and mentions him in his book:

"there was in the caravan a Fr. Charles, a Neapolitan Discalced Carmelite, who was going 'to make a visitation of the Houses of his Order at Basra, in Persia and India':"

M. Tavernier stayed at the Carmelite hospice in Basra. Fr. Charles had brought with him, or had sent after him, considerable additions in numbers to the missionaries. He was expected to leave Basra by the end of May or early June 1639³ for Goa where in 1640 he came to issue with the separatist and Portuguese party in the Convent, and as the result of the strife he withdrew from the Convent with the majority of Religious and went to that of the Dominicans;⁴ but with the arrival of the new Viceroy he was placed again in possession of the Convent. In 1640 he had sent off to Rome two Fathers to make a report. He ordered the 'Congress' for election of Procurator to be held at Shiraz in 1641, and had already reached Kung from India before Fr. Dominic of Christ wrote his letter of 11.4.1641.⁵ Fr. Charles had got to Isfahan by 15.7.1641, when he wrote that he had been

"about to start back for Europe, but seeing the affairs and state of our Convent at Isfahan
"through the presence of Mgr the Bishop of Babylon . . . (as the Vicar Provincial is
"away—gone to Basra) . . . now I am remaining in Isfahan chiefly to resist . . . the
"troubles that Mgr the Bishop is causing the poor Religious. . . ."⁶

The sudden death of Fr. Dominic of Christ, Vicar Provincial, in July 1641 still further delayed Fr. Charles' return to Europe, there being no senior authority in Persia to administer the Mission: so he was still at Isfahan 4.5.1642,⁷ and in November of that year also, having on the 14th August gone to Qazwin, about 10 days' distance north, where the new king, Shah 'Abbas II, was at the time, in order to seek confirmation of the royal privileges granted by his predecessors to the Carmelites.⁸ Before 11.10.1643,⁹ however, he had set off for Italy together with Fr. Basil, and a letter shows him to have been at Taranto in February 1644.¹⁰

Died at Rome, as Provincial of the Naples province, 15.4.1665 (*vide Series of Chapters General to 1655*, by Fr. Eusebius).

Letters extant:

Instructions to . . . 1638	Rome	O.C.D. 284 g.
15.7.1641	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 b.
4.5.1642	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 b.
21.12.1644	Taranto	O.C.D. 236 b.

CHARLES RAYMOND of S. Joseph

A Maltese, perhaps, or from the Marches of Ancona.¹¹

Family name: Nicola Grech, son of Giovanni Paolo G. and Anna Grimani. Born 1701.

¹ and ⁴ See *Brief Narrative* by Fr. Stephen, O.C.D. 236 a.

³ Fr. Stephen, Basra, 6.5.1639, in O.C.D. 241 p. ⁵ O.C.D. 237 c.

⁷ *Vide* his letter of that date.

⁹ Fr. Ignatius, O.C.D. 241 m.

¹¹ Grech is a Maltese name, yet he retired to the Convent at Ancona for the last 20 years of his life.

² *Chron. Basra.*

⁶ Fr. Charles, O.C.D. 236 b.

⁸ Fr. Dionysius of Crown of Thorns, 16.11.1642, O.C.D. 237 c.

¹⁰ Fr. Charles, O.C.D. 236 b.

Professed at S. Maria d. Scala 20.3.1718.¹ Prov.: Roman. The date of his arrival in Persia is uncertain. Bishop Emmanuel, writing early in 1736, speaks of him as from Persia: while the Continuation of the *Basra Chronicle*, under the year 1738, alludes to him as having been assigned as 'Companion' to Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, who had himself left Baghdad for Europe by the beginning of 1735. Hamadan had been evacuated at the end of 1731 by Fr. John Joseph of S. Antony, after its recapture by the Turks. Fr. Charles Raymond may then have been at Isfahan before 1731: it is unlikely that he was at Hamadan before the end of 1732, or early 1733; but he was already settled at Hamadan before 2.5.1734, when letters were received in Baghdad from him regarding the ruinous state of the episcopal residence of the bishops of Baghdad at Hamadan,² and at the end of 1734 he had come to Baghdad from Hamadan, where he had been to see about repairing that Residence.³ There is a voucher signed by him, dated Hamadan 28.12.1735,⁴ for his allowance, and cost of repairs to the house; but Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia arrived at Hamadan in his stead in January 1736.⁵ Presumably it was after this date that he was "transferred to Isfahan", as reported by *Cont. Basra Chron.* under 1738. He himself, in his letter of 1745, stated that he had dwelt "for some years" at Hamadan. Having reached Basra on 29.9.1738, on the 6th October following he was made 'President' of that mission by the Vicar Provincial: as such he signed the register of baptisms 13.7.1739. But on 12.9.1739⁶ he left Basra for Baghdad, where later in the year he became Vicar.⁷ Prior to 1745 he had returned to Italy, for in May of that year from Ancona he replied to questions from the Sacr. Cong. regarding the condition of the episcopal house at Hamadan.⁸ At Ancona he died, January 1760.⁹

Letters, etc., extant:

26.12.1734	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 423
28.12.1735	Hamadan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 376
23.5.1745	Ancona	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 177

CHERUBIN of S. Joseph

Frenchman.

Born 1638. Prov. in Order: Aquitaine. Sent to Persian missions 1668, and died at Isfahan.¹⁰

CHERUBIN of S. Teresa

Frenchman.

Born before 1655,¹¹ in the diocese of Lyons. Prov. in Order: Avignon. In 1688 as a missionary of the Third Order of S. Francis, destined for Baghdad diocese—one of those whom the new Bishop of Baghdad was calling to the East for his staff—he had made application to the Sacr. Cong. for books before departing to the East: and he was at Leghorn 21.3.1689.¹² With another Tertiary, Fr. Macarius, he had arrived at Aleppo 21.4.1689 and was there till June 17th: at Baghdad 15.9.1689, and Hamadan on 1st December (see his letters of those dates).¹³ At Hamadan, assisting the Bishop of Baghdad, for Mgr Pidou wrote from Hamadan, 30.6.1690: "the new Tertiaries already know Armenian in the vulgar tongue: Fr. Cherubin has preached in Armenian".¹⁴ Later in 1690, on the 16th August,¹⁵ he arrived in Isfahan in the company of Bishop Pidou, who was then waiting to be consecrated,¹⁶ and in his own letter of September 1691 Fr. Cherubin speaks of having of his own accord gone to aid Fr. Elias of S. Albert

¹ From *Series Professionum* at S. Maria d. Scala, information given by Fr. Marcellinus a S. Teresa.

² Fr. Emmanuel of S. Albert, *S.R.*, vol. 684, p. 42.

³ Cf. *Secondo Viaggio*, by Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia, Rome, 1757.

⁴ *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 376.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 375, vide letter of Bp Emmanuel, 8.3.1736.

⁶ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

⁷ Cf. *Secondo Viaggio*, by Fr. Leander, *ut supra*.

⁸ *S.N.R.*, V, p. 177.

⁹ *Series Professionum* at S. Maria d. Scala, communicated by Fr. Marcellinus a Sta Teresa.

¹⁰ *Catalog. Miss.*

¹¹ Bp. Fedeli, *S.R.*, vol. 603, p. 94—in 1715 "aged over 60 years".

¹² Minute in Sacr. Cong., *S.N.R.*, I, p. 507, on 16.11.1688.

¹³ *Idem*, II, p. 14, letter of 24.9.1691 from Isfahan.

¹⁴ Mgr Pidou, 16.11.1690, *S.N.R.*, I, p. 511 *et seq.*

¹⁵ and ¹⁶ *S.N.R.*, I p. 511 *et seq.*

“in the new mission at Julfa”. This is confirmed by Lay Brother Francis Mary of S. Sirus under the year 1692 in his MSS. *Vita Fr. Elia* . . . preserved in the archives of the Order (320 e.):

“Not having sufficient of his own Order Fr. Elias took a Father of the Third Order of S. Francis to help him—a Frenchman named Fr. Cherubin, and started a school for boys to be taught to read and write and the dogmas of the Faith, and that school so increased that in one year more than eighty sons of principal Armenians of Julfa were studying, to the great increase of the Faith. . . . He resided at the hospice in Julfa, growing bolder and challenging the Armenian bishops and priests. . . .”

It is confirmed also from a letter of Fr. Cherubin himself, dated 25.4.1693, Isfahan, in which—on account of some trouble with another French missionary of Bishop Pidou—he asked all the Religious Orders to certify, as they did certify, that he,

“Cherubin from the diocese of Lyons, priest of the Third Order of S. Francis and apostolic missionary, already nearly four years previously had come to the mission at Hamadan, and been brought by Mgr Pidou to Isfahan three years past, and that he was working in the Carmelite school by instructions of the Bishop”.¹

On 8.2.1692 the Definitory General gave sanction for the Conventual Chapter at Isfahan to receive into the habit, and in its proper time to profess, Fr. Cherubin Bamlogo, a Professed Religious of the Third Order of S. Francis (see *Regesta*, vol. VII, p. 219). After the expulsion of Fr. Elias and the Carmelites from the new premises at Julfa in July 1694 (Fr. Cherubin was one of the co-signatories to the “Detailed Account of the Persecution in Julfa”, to be found in *S.N.R.*, II, p. 293), he remained in the Carmelite Convent in Isfahan for a time, and then left Isfahan, 10.5.1695 (“Fr. Cherubin the Franciscan”), accompanying Fr. Elias to Hamadan, where the latter proposed to be consecrated: and with Fr. Macarius he then left “for Europe” (15.6.1695).² In a letter from Aleppo, 1.3.1696, Fr. Cherubin, but still calling himself “of the Third Order of S. Francis”, stated that he had worked with Mgr Elias

“for 4 years and 3 months at Julfa in the mission and school under the patronage of the Sharimans: that he had been expelled, and stayed some months in the Carmelite convent in Isfahan city, and then gone to Hamadan and Baghdad”.³

There is an allusion in a letter from Venice of 1698 that he had from Egypt written to the Sharimans that Bishop Elias desired him back in Persia: without orders from the Sacr. Cong., however, he could not comply: and in his letter of June 1699⁴ the Bishop himself represented to the Sacr. Cong. how useful Fr. Cherubin would be to him: almost all the former students of Fr. Cherubin had become catechists: and he mentioned that the Father had suffered for helping the Carmelite work, not only at the hands of the Armenian schismatics, but also from the seminarists from Paris of Mgr Pidou. It can only be surmised that, with the object of returning to the Carmelite mission under other auspices, Fr. Cherubin some time between 1700 and 1706 entered the Carmelite Order in Europe, in the province of Avignon: for there is evidence in a letter⁵ of his, undated, forwarded to the Cardinal Prefect by Count Peter Shariman from Venice on 14.10.1713, that he had before then been more than 2½ years back in the Mission in Persia, i.e. certainly by the end of 1710. *Catalog. Miss.* gives him Vicar of Julfa in 1712. Jointly with the Vicar Provincial he signed, as ‘Vicar of Julfa’, on 10.5.1714 a letter to the Sacr. Cong. Later that year, in reply to an enquiry from the Sacr. Cong., Fr. Barnabas Fedeli, O.P., then Vicar Apostolic at Isfahan, gave the information about Fr. Cherubin, “the Discalced Carmelite, *alias* a Franciscan”, that he showed great zeal teaching in the school

¹ *S.N.R.*, I, p. 50.

² *S.R.*, vol. 525, pp. 39–40.

³ *Vita Fr. Elia* . . . MSS. in O.C.D., cited.

⁴ *S.N.R.*, II, p. 264.

⁵ *Idem*, III, p. 427.

and catechizing: he had been expelled from Julfa in the past at the instance of the Armenian schismatics, who were now the more irritated against him.¹ But a few months afterwards the Vicar Apostolic gave the news to Rome:

“Fr. Cherubin, Discalced Carmelite . . . having died on 28.5.1715 at Isfahan, after “10 days’ high fever, more than 60 years old, indefatigable in teaching, visiting the poor, “confessing the sick. . . .”²

Letters extant:

23.4.1689	Aleppo	<i>S.N.R.</i> , I, p. 511
17.6.1689	Aleppo	<i>S.N.R.</i> , I, p. 511
15.9.1689	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , I, <i>post</i> p. 511
1.12.1689	Hamadan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , I, <i>post</i> p. 511
8.3.1690	Hamadan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , I, <i>post</i> p. 511
24.9.1691	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 14
25.4.1693	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 50
1.3.1696	Aleppo	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 525, p. 59
c. 1712	Julfa	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 427
(jointly) 10.5.1714	Isfahan	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 600, p. 39

CLEMENT of the Annunciation

Subject of the Republic of Venice.

Family name: Giovanni Giuseppe Crestani. Born 27.12.1726 at Vicenza. Prov. in Order: Venice.³ Professed 26.5.1744.⁴ In his letter of March 1658 to the Secretary of the Sacr. Cong. Fr. Clement wrote that he had left Rome in 1756 with orders from his Praepositus General, and proceeded to Basra in order to pass on to the Mission at Shiraz. But he found that altogether impracticable, for some years at least, not only on account of the warfare still proceeding, but also in addition to the house of the Carmelite Mission the town of Shiraz itself was demolished and destroyed and depopulated, and empty of Christians: so by permission of the Vicar Provincial he was staying at Basra, and petitioned for transfer to Bombay. In his other letter of 1758 he also calls himself ‘destined for the mission at Shiraz’. He arrived at Basra 19.1.1758: went to Baghdad 17.3.1758, and returned to Basra 4th July.⁵ By 1759 the English agent at Basra of the East India Company, a man named Shaw, had taken umbrage at Fr. Clement’s method of censuring publicly his morals, and pursued a vendetta against him, so that Fr. Clement thought it wise to go on board a ship and proceed to Kharg island, where he obtained from the Dutch governor a letter of recommendation to the Mutasallim of Basra: and he returned to Basra not long afterwards (1759).

‘Fr. Clement had been made by the Dutch on Kharg island their attorney and agent in ‘Basra for the forwarding of their letters. But the English consul and the French vice-agent ‘together objected to this Father being at Basra, complained to the governor of Basra and ‘had Fr. Clement arrested by Turkish soldiers and removed to Baghdad, in order that he ‘should be sent away to Aleppo. Bishop Baillet of Baghdad protested at the ecclesiastical ‘liberty being thus infringed’,

though he also censured strongly Fr. Clement and the other Religious indicated for their methods—the charges against them are in *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 629:

¹ *S.R.*, vol. 601, p. 125.

² *Idem*, vol. 603, p. 94, on 5.6.1715.

⁴ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist of Order, in footnote to *Cont. Basra Chron.*

³ and ⁵ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

‘and, as the Vicar Provincial for Persia, then residing in Baghdad, assigned Fr. Clement a ‘post at Kharg,¹ he was sent back to Basra and after 15 days went on to Kharg’.

(He arrived back at Basra 2.3.1761 and departed to the Dutch at Kharg on 12.3.1761.) This was a time when national rivalries and antipathies over the European wars were pronounced, even among Religious of different nationalities: and perhaps Fr. Clement was partly a victim to that: for in 1769 the Procurator General of the Order made a reference to Fr. Clement being then in Rome, and invoked his witness to the Sacr. Congregation against a French candidate for an appointment at Basra.² After the expulsion of the Dutch from Kharg by Mir Muhanna “on the 26th April 1766 Fr. Clement reached Basra from our Residence at Kharg. . . .”³ On 6.7.1766 he went to Bushire, and was later to proceed to the mission at Bombay.⁴ He died at Bombay 11.7.1784.⁵

Letters extant:

20.3.1758	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 382
19.4.1758	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 385

COLUMBAN of the Passion

A Burgundian (Frenchman).⁶

Born 1603, at Dôle. Prov. in Order: Paris. Professed 1626.⁷ Appointed to the Mission by the Definitory General, 1.4.1633 (see *Regesta*, vol. II, p. 107), on 18.7.1634, after 34 days’ continuous travelling from Aleppo, in company of Fr. Stephen of Jesus he had arrived at Erzerum, on their way to Isfahan.⁸ Reached Isfahan 9.10.1634.⁹ Died in the spring of 1635 of phthisis, which began to show itself on his journey out, “to the great edification of the “Fathers there for his patience and resignation. . . .”¹⁰

COLUMBAN of S. Monica

A Frenchman.

Born 1661. Prov. in Order: Paris. Sent to missions 1699¹¹ and, it would seem, arrived in Persia accompanying the Archbishop of Ancyra—by the latter said to have “abandoned” him at Shiraz before April 1700.¹² The Prior of the Augustinians, Vicar General of the diocese of Isfahan, mentioned in a letter of 5.4.1702 that the inventory of the then unoccupied Dominican convent at Julfa had been made at his direction by Fr. Columban.¹³ He “from the beginning of February” (i.e. 1704) “was at Mt. Carmel, and will embark for France to see what God “was doing for our affairs at Basra”.¹⁴ Died at Shiraz (!) 1713, says *Catalog. Miss.*

CONRAD of the Assumption

An Austrian.

Family name: Johann Petrus Dinhart. Born Vienna 15.10.1647. Prov. in Order: Cologne. Professed Munich, 10.8.1674.¹⁵ On 3.7.1683 the Procurator General of the Order informed the Sacr. Cong. that Fr. Conrad had been appointed to replace as missionary Fr. Peter Paul

¹ *S.N.R.*, I, p. 281, letter of Bp. Baillet, 19.6.1760.

² *Idem*, VII, p. 529.

³ Or, probably “at Bushire” (‘Buscerensi’, not ‘Bassorensi’, a pen-slip by the writer of the manuscript, as Fr. Ambrose of S. Theresia points out (see his footnote, p. 82, of *Cont. Basra Chron.*). The Dutch garrison of Kharg were all deported to Bushire on 1.1.1766 and perhaps Fr. Clement with them.

⁴ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

⁵, 7 and 11 *Catalog. Miss.*

⁶ See *Brief Narrative*, by Fr. Stephen, O.C.D. 236 a.

⁸ Letter of Fr. Stephen of that date, O.C.D. 238 c.

⁹ Fr. Dimas, 31.10.1634, in O.C.D. 237 b., and *S.R.*, vol. 135, p. 507, on 2.11.1634.

¹⁰ Fr. Stephen, Shiraz, 30.4.1635, O.C.D. 238 c.

¹² See letter of Archbishop, Surat, 1.1.1701, *S.R.*, vol. 541, pp. 22–3.

¹³ *S.N.R.*, II, p. 241.

¹⁴ See *Chron. Basra*, letter of Fr. Basil, 1.7.1704.

¹⁵ *Catal. of Professed*, Prov. Cologne, 1637–1736.

of S. Francis.¹ He arrived from Rome at Basra 13.6.1684, went on to Shiraz 17.7.1684,² and to Isfahan.³ From Isfahan in September 1688 he accompanied Fr. Elias of S. Albert, Vicar Provincial, to Shiraz.⁴ He may have stayed there, at any rate till after June 1689, for he was not among the Fathers at Isfahan signing an act in Latin, 19.6.1689.

About 1.9.1691, as 'Socius' (companion) of the Prior of Isfahan, Fr. Gaspar Joseph, he set off for the Congress to elect a Procurator in India.⁵ In 1693 he was at the Convent in Isfahan city, and on the trying day, 12th July 1694, when induced by the intrigues and bribery of the Armenian schismatics and their Vartapet Stephen the Diwan Baigi came with orders to pull down the new buildings of the Carmelites at Julfa and expel them from the suburb, refusing to consider the privileges of the Carmelites sufficient sanction, Fr. Conrad said to the Diwan Baigi, 'if the King's *raqams* are not executed, we may as well burn them. The Diwan Baigi 'got angry at this, and talked of cutting off the Father's head'.⁶ Later on in that year Fr. Conrad left for Italy as Procurator for the missions at the Chapter General in Rome, having been elected⁷ either then, or at the Congress in 1692, cited above: and the opportunity was taken by Fr. Elias, 10.8.1694, to report to the Sacr. Cong. on the untoward events at Julfa and ask for help ('one copy is being sent by Fr. Conrad of the Assumption, the Procurator').⁸ While in Rome Fr. Conrad was appointed Vicar Provincial of the Mission: he was in Warsaw in November 1695 on his way back;⁹ and, though delayed in Muscovy on his return journey, he reached Isfahan "at the end of February" (i.e. 1697¹⁰) bringing letters of appeal to the Shah for the protection of Mgr Elias and the mission against the intrigues of the Armenians from the Emperor, Venetian Republic, Grand Duke of Tuscany and Czar of Muscovy as well as fine presents. he was treated by the Persian court as an ambassador "but would not take the title, nor go "to live outside the Convent, nor take any subsistence allowance", though that was the usual custom.

'Fr. Conrad had obtained four small cannons, which were put on the terrace of the 'Convent together with much powder, and on the day of his audience of the Shah Sultan 'Husain the cannons were fired several times to the great joy of the Catholic Armenians: 'that was the 28th February 1697. As ambassador he obtained from the Shah the confirmation of the privileges granted by the Shah's predecessors, viz. the donation of a house 'and garden, together with water for the garden, in Isfahan as "guests" of the king: for the 'foundation and construction of a residence at Shiraz: and a general licence to erect houses 'and churches in Persia, where they liked, and to exercise all functions of Religious; but he 'obtained the more urgent need also of a special *raqam* for a Residence and church to be built 'at Julfa, for Armenians to be permitted to come to the church for Catholic worship without 'molestation by schismatics. After the departure of the writer of the *Vita Fr. Elia*—the 'latter was deputed to go to the Philippines and collect funds and to accompany the 'Portuguese ambassador to the coast—he received letters that the obtaining of this *raqam* 'had been celebrated by a new "triumph", Fr. Conrad as ambassador, the Bishop of Isfahan 'Mgr Elias, and two other Religious clothed in *khal'at*—the robes of honour bestowed by 'Shahs or their representatives—with all Europeans riding on horseback through Julfa, 'the Bishop with the king's *raqam* on his hat¹¹—an emblematic gesture in the East of authority 'from the Shah being higher than all else.'

In a letter to the Pope, dated 28.6.1697,¹² Bishop Elias wrote that he, the Bishop, was going to send the "original document of his consecration by Fr. Conrad, Vicar Provincial"; the Bishop was sending also the reply of Shah Sultan Husain to the Pope's protest and request

¹ S.R., vol. 487, p. 287.

² *Chron Basra*.

³ Fr. Agnellus, Shiraz, 26.10.1684, O.C.D. 238 k.

⁴ Fr. Elias, 18.6.1689, O.C.D. 237 h.

⁵ *Idem*, 24.9.1691, O.C.D. 238 t.

⁶ See MSS. *Vita Fr. Elia* by Lay Brother Francis Mary of S. Sirus in O.C.D.

⁷ *Vide Vita Fr. Elia*.

⁸ S.N.R., XI, pp. 110-1.

⁹ *Idem*, p. 171.

¹⁰ *Vita Fr. Elia*, but a Dominican Father, writing from Isfahan, 29.1.1697 (see S.N.R., II, p. 185), mentions "Fr. Conrad arrived 26.12.1696 to the joy of all"

¹¹ *Vita Fr. Elia* . . ., by Lay Brother Francis Mary, MSS. O.C.D. 320 e.

¹² S.N.R., II, p. 178.

over the question of Julfa—much had been contributed to the success gained by the envoy of the king of Portugal who had undertaken the presentation of the Papal brief, but *Fr. Conrad* had arrived later. *Fr. Conrad* left Isfahan actually in July 1697.¹ Presumably in 1698 he had started back from Rome for his post at Isfahan, and again by way of Russia, for there is a letter of the Nuncio at Vienna dated 16.5.1699² to the effect that, as soon as he had received the instructions from the Sac. Cong. of the 25th April, he, the Nuncio,

‘had sent for *Fr. Conrad*, and enquired why his superiors were delaying his return to Persia, ‘and directed him to continue his journey to Persia. *Fr. Conrad* had replied that, should ‘it so happen, he would notify the Nuncio, but the superiors in question were almost disposed ‘to allow him to resume his journey’.

Between May and September 1699 *Fr. Conrad* had in fact left Vienna for Isfahan, as can be read in another letter from the Nuncio;³ but by February 1700 presumably he had not yet arrived there, since *Fr. Basil* was signing letters to the Sac. Cong. as ‘Vicar Provincial Substitute’.

When actually *Fr. Conrad* was back, when he ceased to be Vicar Provincial, where he passed the rest of his life in Persia, does not appear in any of the records consulted: there is not a single letter of his preserved, though he was twenty years in the mission: only *Catalog. Miss.* states that he died in Persia in 1703.

CORNELIUS of S. Cyprian

A Fleming.

Family name: Martin Pierart. Born at Moriannes (Namur) 1620. Prov. in Order: Roman.⁴ Professed 23.9.1646, Rome. Sent to the missions 1652;⁵ and perhaps one of the missionaries who arrived at Basra 24.11.1652, mentioned in a letter of *Fr. Felix*.⁶ On Sunday in the octave of Corpus Christi 1653 together with *Fr. Stephen* he entered into residence in a small house in Julfa, in order to work among the Armenians, and is cited as working hard at the Armenian language.⁷ It was not long before this initial attempt to plant Catholic missions in this schismatic stronghold broke down.

“When the Carmelites were first admitted to Julfa, it was at a time when some small ‘present of a curiosity had been made to the head of the Armenian community, and when ‘the Armenians had need of recommendations in order to obtain the release of three ‘Armenians from the galleys in Venice.”⁸

But with the Capuchins already installed there, and the Jesuits following the Carmelites move to open a base in their stronghold, the Armenian clergy and the more bitter schismatics raised an outcry: there was a tumult on 4.12.1653;⁹ and the Vicar Provincial, *Fr. Felix*, on returning to Isfahan from Basra, withdrew *Frs. Stephen* and *Cornelius* to the Convent in Isfahan city before June 20, 1654.¹⁰

Still at the Convent, Isfahan, in 1655 and July 1656, and in poor health November 1656,¹¹ though bearing all the onus of its administration, as the others in residence at that time were more infirm than himself: and at Isfahan still in September 1657, when he wrote a letter extant. By 1661 he had gone as Vicar of Tatta in Sind,¹² and in the list of 1663 (O.C.D. 235 n.)

¹ *S.N.R.*, II, p. 198, letter of Bp. Elias, 15.9.1697.

² *S.N.R.*, II, p. 259.

³ *Idem*, p. 285, letter of 12.9.1699.

⁴ *Ser. Professionum* at S. Maria d. Scala, communicated by *Fr. Marcellinus* a S. Teresa.

⁵ *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 224.

⁶ Basra, O.C.D. 241 k., on 6.2.1653.

⁷ *Fr. Balthazar* of S. Mary, Isfahan, 9.8.1653, O.C.D. 236 k.

⁸ *Fr. Felix*, Isfahan, 20.12.1655, O.C.D. 237 i.

⁹ and ¹⁰ *Fr. Felix*, 20.6.1654, O.C.D. 237 i.

¹¹ *Vide* joint recommendation by all Religious, 5.5.1655 in 237 c.; *Fr. Dionysius*, 9.7.1656, 237 c.; *idem* on 20.11.1656, and *Fr. Felix*, 18.11.1656, O.C.D. 237 i.

¹² *Fr. Felix*, Shiraz, O.C.D. 238 p., 10.6.1661.

he is so given. For a short time in 1668 he had been sent to the Malabar mission, but had returned on the arrival of Fr. Matthew, specially delegated by the Sacr. Cong.:¹ and from Goa in January 1669 he wrote to Mgr Joseph of S. Mary, O.C.D., then Commissary in India—he had returned to Goa on 27.12.1668.² The list given by the Procurator, Fr. Valerius, in Rome to the Sacr. Cong., 1671, mentions Fr. Cornelius as ‘novice-master’ at Goa.³

On 1.4.1675 the Praepositus General of the Order in Rome stated in a representation to the Sacr. Cong. that Fr. Cornelius had been already elected Procurator of the Mission to attend the Chapter General in Rome,⁴ and the election took place in Goa.⁵

So in August 1675 Fr. Cornelius was at Shiraz on his way to Europe;⁶ but, already indisposed or ailing on arrival at Basra 18.9.1675, he died there on 24.9.1675.⁷ An account of his last hours is given in a letter of Fr. Agathangelus.⁸ Buried first in the cemetery ‘Isa wa Mariam’, his bones were translated to the church of Our Lady of Ransom 6.5.1680 and deposited in the chapel of the Holy Sacrament near the altar on the Gospel side.⁹ He knew Armenian and Persian well.

Letters extant:

15.2.1655	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 k.
5.5.1655	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 c.
10.1.1656	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 a.
15.11.1656	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 a.
24.2.1657	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 a.
20.1.1669	Goa	S.R., vol. 428, p. 186.

CORNELIUS of S. Joseph (later Bishop of Isfahan)

A Lombard.

Family name: Guiseppe Reina, son of Giuseppe and Maddalena R. Born 7.11.1710 at Milan. Prov. in Order: Lombardy. Took the habit 15.5.1729. Professed Milan, 16.5.1730. Studied at Bologna, and later at Carmelite missionary Seminary of San Pancrazio.¹⁰ Sent to Persian mission, 1738, and reached Basra 24.3.1739 (signed baptismal register there 2.8.1740). At the end of September 1742 “called into Persia” by the Vicar Provincial. Returned to Basra 1746 (signed baptismal register there 17.11.1746; also in 1747, 1748 and 1749). He is mentioned as being Vicar Provincial in 1750. On 29.3.1750 he went to Bushire and remained till May. (Signed register at Basra 19.6.1752.) Left for Baghdad 1.12.1752, and returned to Basra 9.7.1753¹¹ (signing register 15.10.1754). His letter of 29th October¹² mentioned that he was about to leave for Kharg, and he was on the island till after Easter 1755.¹³

On 10.9.1754, however, letters patent had been received from Rome for him to be transferred to Syria as Vicar Provincial of the Missions in Syria: he left Basra for Aleppo 18.9.1755, arrived Aleppo 30.11.1755 (see *S.R.*, vol. 773, p. 279), and in Syria he remained till 1759.

In 1757 the Procurator General of the Order in Rome, in the name of his superiors, asked the Sacr. Cong. to make a fresh appointment to the see of Isfahan from the Order of Discalced Carmelites,¹⁴ and put forward in the first place the name of Fr. Cornelius (it was minuted in the Congregation that he had already been suggested at the time of his predecessor’s election in 1750): on 8.8.1757 the decision was taken to consult the Pope. This was done on 15.8.1757, and Fr. Cornelius’ promotion announced in the Consistory of 2.10.1758.¹⁵ That is the date docketed on the Brief for his elevation.¹⁶ He was allotted the sum of 60 scudi for his expenses to

¹ *S.N.R.*, I, p. 252.

² *S.R.*, vol. 429, p. 224.

⁴ *Idem*, vol. 464, p. 188.

⁵ His letter, 20.1.1669, in *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 186.

⁶ *Idem*, 31.8.1675, O.C.D. 238 q., and Fr. Celsus, 1.9.1675, O.C.D. 238 i.

⁷ and ⁸ *Chron. Basra*.

⁸ 1.10.1675 in O.C.D. 241 c.

¹⁰ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist of the Order, in *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 1934.

¹¹ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

¹² O.C.D. 242 b.

¹³ *Cont. Basra Chron.*, but actually he did not leave Basra for Kharg till “the beginning of” 1755.

¹⁴ *Acta of the Sacr. Cong.*, 1757.

¹⁵ Fr. Lemmens, in *Hierarchia Latina Orientis*, No. 10, p. 11.

¹⁶ *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 426.

go to Basra or elsewhere to be consecrated.¹ In the spring of 1759 he left Aleppo with the intention of being consecrated in Malta

("the reasons which I had for not being consecrated in Basra must be known to both the Card. Prefect and to Card. Antonelli, who, aware of what my predecessor had suffered on a like occasion, permitted me to be consecrated by any bishop whatsoever and in any place. . . . And so, being in Syria . . .").²

When he wrote from Alessandretta on 26.5.1759 there was an Imperial ship due to call at Malta. That ship was captured by a Prussian privateer near the straits of Bonifacio and ultimately with the bishop-elect on board was taken into Cagliari in Sardinia where, released, he was kindly received by the Archbishop, who consecrated him at the end of 1759.³ Before 9.1.1760 he was in Rome, and staying at the Convent of La Scala, whence he wrote asking for a carriage to be sent so that he might pay calls: other communications of his while in Rome deal with his vain attempt to obtain more financial aid for journey expenses, the original allotment being final according to the procedure of the Congregation. He set off for Bologna, where he was on the 10th June, and reached his native Milan a few days later. There he was summoned to take the oath of residence in his diocese, or retirement to a cloister of his Order—a rule in the case of Religious made bishops, originally decreed owing to the default of a Bishop of Baghdad a century previously, and to which Mgr Cornelius had hitherto omitted to conform. He commented on this to the Sacr. Cong.:

"as to the obligation of residing in the diocese, or retiring to the cloister, for me a poor cell has been and would always be preferable to even any important diocese, let alone that derelict one of Isfahan":

and Cardinal Pozzobonelli, Archbishop of Milan, in forwarding to Rome the oath and declaration, added that Bishop Cornelius was in straits for funds for his journey to Persia.⁴ While in Rome he petitioned for powers to exercise at Basra pontifical functions in the absence of the diocesan bishop (then Mgr Emmanuel of S. Albert): and he referred to the authority given by the Sacr. Cong. to the establishing of a new residence on Kharg island, occupied recently by the Dutch Company, begging that the Sacr. Cong. would declare that island to belong to the diocese of Isfahan, as having been always part of the Persian dominions:⁵ and in the General Congregation of 17.3.1760

"the Cardinals present considered that the Bishop of Isfahan might be allowed the faculty of residing at Basra and using pontificals there for the term of 3 years, should this receive the consent of the Bishop of Baghdad, and they also decided that the island of Kharg should be assigned to the Bishop of Isfahan".⁶

Bishop Cornelius also petitioned for a grant of money to finish building a church on Kharg, and providing it with the necessary articles, remarking that, when he was Vicar Provincial, permission had been obtained from the Dutch commandant for the building of three small rooms, for a church and suitable residence for the Bishop of Isfahan, but that owing to the death of his predecessor and of Fr. Urban, and to his own departure for Syria, the building remained unfinished, and schismatic Armenians were using it to lodge their priests.⁷ He further mentioned that on instructions from the Sacr. Cong. he had brought two Armenian boys, by origin from Julfa, for education at the Urban College: one of them, whom he had taken with him from Basra to Aleppo and there kept a year before sending him on to Rome, was that John son

¹ *Acta* for 1760. ² His letter of 2.8.1760 in *S.R.*, vol. 787. ³ *S.R.*, vol. 785, p. 270, and his letter of 10.10.1759.

⁴ *S.N.R.*, VI, pp. 606-9.

⁵ Memorial of Bp. Cornelius *S.R.*, vol. 785, p. 273.

⁶ *S.R.*, vol. 784, p. 143; 14.1.1760, from the Convent della Vittoria, Rome, and summary.

⁷ His memorial in *S.R.*, vol. 785, p. 273, considered in Cong., 2.6.1760.

of Aratun ("Giovanni d'Aruthiun" as spelt elsewhere incorrectly) who in due course became the Armenian priest deputed by the Sacr. Cong. as Administrator of the diocese of Isfahan by decree of 8.6.1776, and who in 1790 led the remnants of his Catholic flock from Julfa to Baghdad in order to escape the tyranny of the Persian government of the time.¹

It was in February 1761,² or later, before the Bishop left Leghorn for the East; he was delayed three months in Tripoli on account of plague in Aleppo, six months in Aleppo because there were no caravans, four months in Baghdad as a result of the revolt following the death of Sulaiman Pasha. He reached Basra 13.8.1762.³ He found that the episcopal ornaments brought by his predecessor from Isfahan had been taken, after the latter's death, by Fr. Hyacinth to Surat and put at the disposal of the Vicar Apostolic to the Mogul: so he asked the Sacr. Cong. to order their return.

Writing from Isfahan in December 1760⁴ to the Cardinal Prefect the sole remaining Dominican at Isfahan desired greatly the speedy arrival of the new bishop, the call for whose presence both for spiritual and temporal needs was urgent: the country and roads then were safe, he asserted. Bishop Cornelius, however, had decided to make the small mission on Kharg island his headquarters until the situation at Isfahan seemed more favourable in his opinion, and on 11.2.1763 he transferred himself from Basra thither. But by 28.6.1763 he had abandoned that hope, and returned to Basra:⁵ his own letter from Basra of the 5th July related that he had stayed on Kharg 3 months and ten days, consecrated the Holy Oils, conferred Confirmation, but had been obliged to leave, because the Dutch governor, while his Company would allow a missionary Religious on the island, would not extend that courtesy to the permanent residence of a bishop.

Since the Dutch, with their garrison, were attacked and by force of numbers expelled from the island in 1766 by the ruthless Mir Muhanna from Bandar Rig on the mainland opposite, it would seem improbable that European Catholic missionaries would have been tolerated by him after his seizure of the island, nor indeed would there have been any Catholics left on it to need their ministrations. But, in the somewhat diffuse style of the then compiler of *Cont. Basra Chron.*, the exact causes for the abandonment by the Bishop of the residence, for which he had specially asked the sanction and financial aid of the Sacr. Cong., are described as:

"The Prelate . . . deeming that his episcopal seat was insufficiently stable, had asked "Amsterdam for letters of recommendation, so that it" (his residence on the island) "might "be consolidated by an express approval and assent of the directors of the Dutch Company. "Instead, he obtained a result just the contrary. For they, who till then had preferred to "know nothing about the matter, complained bitterly to Batavia" (where the control and direction of the Dutch Company's agents in the Persian Gulf and East was centred) "and "ordered that strict watch should be kept on the Catholics, their numbers and the churches "illegitimately built.⁶ And the Prelate also provided a handle for action being taken by "his inordinate use of the ornaments of his rank during the time of his residence on the "island. . . . The complaints having been forwarded from Batavia, the governor" (of Kharg) "Mynheer Buschman, who till then had been second in command on the island " . . . was only too glad to respond to the tenor of the letters. . . ."⁷

In July 1763 the Bishop of Baghdad was writing to the Sacr. Cong. that he thought Bishop Cornelius might give the example to the Religious Orders possessing residences in Julfa of going back to the Persian capital, citing the return of tranquillity and of numerous schismatic Armenians.⁸ By way of a step thither on 9.12.1674 Bishop Cornelius went to Bushire, where

¹ His memorial in *SR*, vol. 785, p. 273, considered in Cong., 2.6.1760, and see sessions of Congregation, 7 9.1778 and 21.3.1791, quoted by Fr. L. Lemmens in *Hierarchia Latina Orientis*, No. 10, p. 11.

² Bp. Cornelius' letter, 8.2.1761, in *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 33, and also of 10.9.1762, *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 173.

³ *Chron. Basra*, and his letter of 10.9.1762.

⁴ *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 637, letter of Fr. Raimondo Berselli.

⁵ N.B.—The previous governor, Baron von Kniphausen, had shown great esteem for the late Fr. Urban, and authorized in writing the Carmelites to have a church and house on Kharg.

⁶ and ⁷ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

⁸ *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 178.

twenty years previously Fr. Urban had acquired a house:¹ at Bushire together with a companion Carmelite (doubtless Fr. Antony Marian) he was met by the traveller and writer Niebuhr in February 1765:² and from Bushire he wrote in 1765, 1766 and 1767³ interesting dispatches on the political situation as it affected the prospects of the Catholic missions and bishop: showing how the Kharg mission had been ruined and abandoned with the expulsion of the Dutch: how Bushire was blockaded in May 1767 by Karim Khan Zand, so that in anxiety he had sent off to Basra all church furniture as a precaution. In Julfa there were no more than 25 Catholics remaining or returned: Karim Khan had given the civil government of it to the Armenian schismatic bishop, the enemy of the missionaries: moreover, the schismatics and Persian officials were holding, and would hold the Bishop personally liable for meeting the debts left by former missionaries, by poor Catholics, and by those Armenians who had emigrated to Venice and elsewhere in Europe⁴—at least he feared and argued this likelihood, perhaps from past experience. With the Sacr. Cong. urging him to proceed inland to his post at Julfa and on the other hand his own care that the episcopal dignity should not be compromised, and innate prudence in his character, Bishop Cornelius bethought himself to obtain first from Karim Khan Zand, the then regent of Persia, an assurance that he would be protected from the malice of the schismatics of Julfa and, thinking the opportunity favourable, dispatched Fr. Antony Marian in March 1765⁵ in company of an English official, who was being sent to transact business with the regent in Shiraz. The plan was frustrated because Karim Khan, at that time disgusted with the failure of the East India Company to assist him in subduing Mir Muhanna, absolutely declined to give audience to the English official, who returned to Bushire empty-handed, Fr. Antony Marian with him. A more formal embassy of the English left to see Karim Khan in April 1767, and the Bishop had the promise of the envoy to ask the regent too for the re-establishment of the missions in Julfa: this move also miscarried, for the envoy met with no better reception: and it would seem that Bishop Cornelius came to the conclusion that it would serve no useful purpose for him to remain in Persia, that the two Dominican Fathers at Julfa sufficed for the spiritual needs of the few Catholics there; for he had retired to Basra before May 1770⁶—there is no indication in *Cont. Basra Chron.* whether in 1768, 1769 or 1770. In 1769 Bishop Cornelius had asked to be allowed to retire to a convent in Europe: and the Sacr. Cong. had directed that for the present he should continue in his pastoral office. But the *Acta* of 1770 record that on the 2nd April the Pope had handed to the Cardinals of the Congregation a written application from the Bishop, who maintained that, as long as the then existing conditions endured, a resident prelate was superfluous: and the Cong. decided that, as the English Company (the East India Company) had retired to Basra from Bushire, it was fitting that the Bishop should also go there for the sake of the remnant of his flock: the Sacr. Cong. now authorized his return, and directed that the Bishop of Baghdad should look after the diocese of Isfahan. Bishop Cornelius was at Baghdad, on his way to retirement—delayed there by the plague ravaging other places *en route*—when the Nestorian patriarch, Elias, by deputy made his submission to the Holy See in November 1771, and he was called as a witness:⁷ the Bishop of Baghdad entrusted Bishop Cornelius with the documents, when he left for Aleppo 17.12.1771.⁸ He was at Naples in April, Malta in July, October in Leghorn and in December 1772 at Rome: and in the last-named month had presented to the Sacr. Cong. a detailed memorandum on conditions in Persia, and gave his recommendations for the missions to be maintained in certain towns.⁹

“Frequent in his attendance at public ecclesiastical functions”¹⁰ he survived at Milan till May 1797, almost a nonagenarian.

(No portrait of him has been traced at Milan.)

¹ Fr. Sebastian of S. Margaret, 29.5.1745, in *S.R.*, vol. 729.

² *Vide Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien, etc.*, Kopenhagen, 1774–8.

³ *S.N.R.*, VII, pp. 308, 347, 466.

⁴ See his letter from Basra of that month.

⁵ *Idem.*, 18.1.1772, *S.N.R.*, VIII, p. 18.

⁶ *Idem.*, 18.1.1772, *S.N.R.*, VIII, p. 18.

⁷ Bp. Emmanuel of S. Albert, 1.12.1771, *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 669.

⁸ *Idem.*, 18.1.1772, *S.N.R.*, VIII, p. 18.

⁹ *Idem.*, 18.1.1772, *S.N.R.*, VIII, p. 18.

¹⁰ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, in *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 1934, where there is a biographical notice about him.

Letters extant:

23.4.1754	Basra	O.C.D. 242 b.
29.10.1754	Basra	O.C.D. 242 b.
20.12.1755	Aleppo	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 234.
26.5.1759	Alexandretta	Prop. Fide, <i>Acta</i> , 1759.
10.10.1759	Cagliari	Prop. Fide, <i>Acta</i> , 1759.
9.1.1760	Rome	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 547.
14.1.1760	Rome	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 784, p. 143.
17.3.1760	Rome	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 785, p. 273, and <i>Acta</i> , 1760.
2.6.1760	Rome	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 785, p. 270, and <i>Acta</i> , 1760.
10.6.1760	Bologna	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 604.
25.6.1760	Milan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 606.
25.6.1760	Milan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 612.
2.8.1760	Milan	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 787
8.2.1761	Leghorn	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 33.
10.9.1762	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 173.
5.7.1763	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 219.
2.8.1764	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 266.
20.9.1764	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 272.
10.11.1764	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 286.
2.5.1765	Bushire	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 308.
2.5.1765	Bushire	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 347.
11.3.1766	Bushire	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 358.
15.10.1767	Bushire	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 466.
20.5.1770	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 580.
30.6.1771	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 631.
16.2.1772	Aleppo	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VIII, p. 24.
25.4.1772	Naples	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VIII, p. 26.
16.7.1772	Malta	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VIII, p. 93.
2.10.1772	Leghorn	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VIII, p. 71.
—12.1772	Rome	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VIII, p. 6.

His handwriting was clear and shapely, and his letters are full of interest and passing historical information: to mention one small point, from Naples he warned the Sacr. Cong. that letters coming by sea from countries suspected of contagion by the plague (raging in the Middle East at that period) had to pass by the 'lazzaretto' (quarantine station), and were unsealed and fumigated as a precaution.

CYRIL of the Visitation

Subject of Savoy.

Family name: Carlo Torazza. Born 8.2.1680 at Turin. Prov. in Order: Piedmont. Professed 17.7.1697¹. Left Rome for Persia, accompanying the Vicar Provincial, Faustin of S. Charles, 30.7.1715;² arrived Basra 2.6.1716: went to Shiraz, but returned to Basra with the Vicar, Provincial 5.2.1717. Went back to Shiraz in March, 1717.³ Mentioned as Vicar of Shiraz in letter of Fr. Faustin, Isfahan, 26.5.1721:

"has done much good at that mission, and manages it well, and now in particular that "there is a French Consul there":

¹ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist of Order, in footnote to *Cont. Basra Chron.*

² *S.R.*, vol. 608, p. 222, list supplied by Procurator General to Sacr. Cong.

³ *Chron. Basra.*

so that he recommended Fr. Cyril as his successor in the post of Vicar Provincial, being "wise, experienced and prudent". This was at a time when funds had not reached the mission from Europe and finances were at a low ebb:

"the Vicar at Shiraz has made a quantity of wine, which the consul of France and Portuguese Agent have bought, and with the profit made¹ the Vicar has kept himself and his companion, and has repaired the house, which was about to fall in ruins."

He is also mentioned as Vicar at Shiraz in letters of 1724 and in 1725 (as having gone to Bandar 'Abbas to collect money owing to the mission). At that juncture, owing to the sudden death of the Vicar Provincial in 1723, there was an argument among some of the missionaries whether Fr. Cyril, as the most senior left, should not by the rules of the Order assume the administration at Julfa.² Sometime between October 1730 and January 1731, he had been sick at Shiraz simultaneously with his guest, Bishop Barnabas Fedeli of Isfahan, and thus unable to nurse the latter in his ultimately fatal illness.³ At Shiraz still in 1733, when Fr. Urban, then about to lay down office as Vicar Provincial, speaks thus highly of him:

"If God and our superiors should elect the good Fr. Cyril as vicar provincial for the next 3 years, all would be content . . . and really he is a good and worthy Religious, and in the acerbity of the past times and trials suffered in the wars in this kingdom bore himself a hero of patience, longanimity and constancy."⁴

Having left Bandar Abbas "sick of a malignant fever" for Shiraz, shortly after 10.4.1736,⁵ he died on the journey at a place difficult to identify by the spelling in the register of deaths of Religious kept at Basra—it may have been Fasa, or Jahrum. There can have hardly been any other instance in the history of the Persian mission of a Religious being Vicar of one post for 20 continuous years.

Letter: O.C.D. 238 i. Shiraz 8.5.1725.

DANIEL of S. Joseph

A subject of the Republic of Venice.

Family name: Francisco Guiseppe Belloni. Born 7.5.1717 at Gandoccio. Prov.: Venice. Professed 18.4.1738.⁶ Arrived Basra 20.4.1754, and left 24.4.1754 to go to the Malabar mission, but died at Bandar 'Abbas, while he was waiting the opportunity of a ship (as also did his companion, Paul of the Kings).⁷

DIDACUS (Diego) of the Cross (Lay Brother)

Spaniard (?)

Born presumably before 1590, having been clothed at Isfahan in 1609⁸. Prov.: Sicily—

"when Fr. Eugenius of St. Benedict became Praepositus General of the Order, as a mark of esteem, he assigned brother Diego to that province."⁹

An undated report, certainly of 1615, by Fr. Leander of the Annunciation stated that Fr. Redempt, when he set off to consult Fr. Vincent in Hurmuz early in 1614 "left Lay Brother

¹ Fr. Faustin, as above.

² Fr. Philip Mary, 21.9.1724 and 17.11.1725; and Fr. Jerome Francis, 1725, O.C.D. 238 u.

³ S.R., vol. 672, p. 347.

⁵ *Cont. Basra Chron.* and Basra register of deaths.

⁷ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

⁹ *Idem*, 16.7.1657, O.C.D. 237 c.

⁴ Fr. Urban of S. Elisaeus, 13.6.1733, O.C.D. 242 h.

⁶ Fr. Ambrose of S. Theresia, O.C.D., in footnote to *Cont. Basra Chron.*

⁸ Fr. Dionysius of Crown of Thorns, 16.11.1642, O.C.D. 237 c.

"Diego to guard the house,"¹ at Isfahan. His name is also mentioned as at Isfahan in a list (undated, but certainly made between 1621 and 1622²). He was one signatory of the letter to the Pope dated 24.8.1624, written by the Religious at Isfahan, when sending Fr. Prosper to report to His Holiness.³ He was also one of the Religious suddenly arrested on 24.3.1626, when Shah 'Abbas was away with his army, by a force of soldiers sent to the Convent, bound and led through the streets to the Wazir: they expected martyrdom, but it was found that they had been seized in mistake for the Portuguese Augustinians.⁴ He is named as being at the Convent, Isfahan, in several letters—of 1625, 1638, 1642.⁵ By then, however, he was feeble: a number of letters, e.g. one of 6.4.1656,⁶ speak of him "being then so infirm that he could only "get about in the house with the aid of a stick". He died of apoplexy at Isfahan, while serving Mass on 26.6.1657:⁷

"he had served 48 years at Isfahan when he died, with admirable innocence, humility, "simplicity and perseverance, though long crippled with infirmities."

DIMAS of the Cross

Subject of Papal States.

Family name: Giacomo Tonelli. Born 13.11.1577 at Monteleone, near Spoleto. Prov: Rome. Professed 21.3.1610.⁸ Sent to Persia 1615. Was at Baghdad on the way in September 1616 (*vide* the baptismal certificate he gave Ferdinand Gioerida in O.C.D. 237 b., and also a letter of Fr. Dominic of Christ dated 26.2.1640⁹). Appointed sub-Prior of the Convent at Isfahan by the Definitory General, Rome, 7.5.1618 (see *Regesta*). From 1618 he was one of those missionaries, who urged at Rome that sanction for saying Mass in oriental languages should be given¹⁰—sanction which in the case of Arabic was accorded by the decree of the Sac. Cong. 17.4.1624 and in that of Armenian on 30.1.1627¹¹—Fr. Dimas being especially interested in cultivating relations with the Armenians of the district of Isfahan. On 26.8.1619 he left Isfahan for Hurmuz, accompanying the Spanish Ambassador, Don Garcia de Silva.¹² Mentioned as being at the Convent, Isfahan, when in March 1622 the Fathers were placed under arrest there at the time of the martyrdom of three converts from Islam. Later in that year (from October 6th) he went on an evangelical mission to Armenian villages round Isfahan,¹³ which had shortly before apostatized under threats from the Shah: and he also moved the Armenian patriarch, Moses, to send to Pope Urban VIII a profession of faith and adherence. Sub-Prior on 14.9.1623 he left Isfahan and was at the new mission of Shiraz from 29.9.1623 till April, 1625.¹⁴ He was appointed vicar of Isfahan by Fr. Prosper, the Prior, when the latter left for Europe at the end of 1624,¹⁵ and at a 'Chapter' on 10.5.1625 he was proclaimed Prior of Isfahan. The election was, however, declared null later by the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Leander, who reappointed Fr. Dimas vicar of Isfahan.¹⁶ In 1627 he was alone at Isfahan with Fr. Balthazar of St. Mary:¹⁷ in that and the following year he had been interesting himself in the nephews of the first wife of Pietro della Valle.¹⁸ (In *S.R.*, vol., 104 (V) there is an extract from a letter of Fr. Dimas, 29.7.1633, to P. della Valle, giving news from Georgia.)

¹ O.C.D. 261 p.

² *Idem*, 235 n° (?)

³ *Vide Arch. Vat.*, Fondo Barberini, 7817.

⁴ *Vide Breve Relatio della breve prigionia de' Padri Carm. patita l'anno 1626*, Isfahan, O.C.D. . . .

⁵ Fr. John Thaddeus, 27.5.1625, O.C.D. 237 m.; Fr. Dimas, 1.1.1638, O.C.D. 237 b.; Fr. Dionysius of Crown of Thorns, 16.11.1642, O.C.D. 237 c.

⁶ Fr. Dionysius, O.C.D. 236 a.

⁷ *Idem*, 16.7.1657, O.C.D. 237 c.

⁸ Fr. Ambrose of S. Theresia in *Hier. Carmelitana*, quoting *Book of Professions*, Convent of La Scala, Rome, part 2, 1935 (No. 47).

⁹ O.C.D. 237 c.

¹⁰ *Vide* his own letter, 31.12.1618, O.C.D. 237 b.

¹¹ Cf. Fr. Ambrose of S. Theresia, O.C.D., footnote to *Hier. Carmelitana*.

¹² *Vide P. della Valle*, vol. II, letter of 21.10.1619—perhaps it was then he became 'Vicar' of Hurmuz, as Fr. Philip of the Trin. states in *Decor Carmeli*, quoted by Fr. Ambrose, O.C.D., in *Hier. Carmelitana*.

¹³ Fr. Prosper, 4.7.1623, O.C.D. 238 d.

¹⁴ Fr. Prosper, 8.1.1624, O.C.D.; Fr. Dimas, 19.5.1625, O.C.D. 237 b.

¹⁵ *Vide* account of election, O.C.D. 235 c.

¹⁶ Fr. Dimas, 30.7.1627, O.C.D. 237 b.

¹⁷ *Idem*, 30.5.1627, O.C.D. 237 b.

¹⁸ See his letter, 30.6.1628.

From some date prior to 18.9.1629¹ he had become Vicar Provincial and signed as such a paper on 22.9.1629.² He had been for a short visit to Shiraz, it would seem, between February–June 1631. Elected Prior³ in 1631 he was re-elected at the chapter of 1634 and once more elected Prior in 1637 (*vide* his letters of 20.5.1634 and 7.6.1637, O.C.D. 237 b.).

On 8.11.1634 he was still Vicar Provincial,⁴ when he went to Shiraz (reached on 21.11.1634) to re-start that Residence,⁵ and continued his journey to India and Goa, where he arrived 17.2.1635. The primary object of his journey, with Fr. Eustace as Companion, was in his capacity as Prior of Isfahan to take part in a Congress there for the election of the Procurator of the Mission to go to Rome, as had been directed (for the first time as regards the Persian 'province') by the previous Chapter General in Rome.⁶ The Fathers met for the election in Goa 19.3.1636. While at Goa, where he suffered from fever for 8 months, he received notice that Pope Urban VIII had named him Bishop of Baghdad (in Congregation of 30.1.1634, the Brief issued on 4.3.1634—*vide Hierarchia Latina Orientis*, No. 10, p. 11—and it was laid down that the Archbishop of Nakhchiwan with two priors of Isfahan might consecrate him). The Brief for consecration also exempted the bishops of Isfahan and Baghdad from personally making visits *ad limina*.⁷ But Fr. Dimas steadfastly declined to accept prelacy, as being contrary to his profession as a Carmelite; and the heads of the Order looked with dislike on such appointments at that time. References may be found in Fr. Dimas' own letters, e.g.:

"... Our Lord has done me a particular favour in sending me back to the missions in 'Persia, where I hope to die' ... (16.5.1636) ... and 'I am very satisfied with the state in 'which Our Lord has put me—'quod ad me attinet' vivere e morirvi—and to change it for 'another would seem to me to be treating my Order with infidelity and ingratitude. ...' (13.8.1636).

Before May 1636⁸ he had returned to Isfahan, and acted as substitute for Fr. James of St. Teresa, Vicar Provincial, while the latter was absent in India, etc.⁹

He died at Isfahan 23.12.1639 "like a Saint".¹⁰

It is evident from his letters that Fr. Dimas was of great humility and charity of heart: full of information about the missionaries, the state of the country, and the schismatic Christians, there is not a harsh word in them, nor of criticisms except in the matter of discord in the convent at Goa, which began in his time and which he was unable to check—beyond his power perhaps, owing to Portuguese official fanning of it. It is related that, when a young man on his way to study in Rome, crossing the mountains near Viterbo alone, he was attacked by robbers, who stripped and tied him to a tree, whence he was released by the providential passing of some woodman: and that for this reason, on entering Religion, he wished to have the name of 'Dimas'—the Good Thief. It was Fr. Dimas who first seems to have turned the efforts and objective of the missionaries at Isfahan from the Persians proper to the Armenians and other schismatics. But his methods of dealing with them were quite different from those later adopted, e.g. after 1678, and were apparently more likely to achieve the end, because relations between the Catholic missionaries and the Armenian clergy were so cordial: here it will suffice to quote from his letter of 24.6.1631 (O.C.D. 237 b.):

"both their monks, as also their patriarch and bishops, are very well disposed towards us, "even giving us considerable alms from time to time, and there is not a month that they

¹ When in letter he refers to Fr. Leander, his predecessor, as "Prior of Isfahan".

² In French a recommendation for Lady (Teresa) Sherley.

³ Cf. his letter, 24.6.1631.

⁴ *Vide* his letter, 26.4.1634, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁵ Fr. Ignatius, 19.12.1634, Shiraz, O.C.D. 238 r.

⁶ *Idem*, and Fr. Ignatius, 30.11.1634, O.C.D. 238 r. He must have reached India in February 1635 (*not* 1636 as elsewhere seen stated), because Fr. Stephen from Shiraz, 30.4.1635, O.C.D. 238 c., had news of his arrival at Goa; and Fr. Epiphanius, 28.5.1635, O.C.D. 242 c., who was at Basra end of February, had passed him at sea near Cape Mussandim. And the fact that he had been ill 8 months at Goa, *vide* his letter 16.5.1636, Isfahan, O.C.D. 237 b., proves that it was 1635 when he reached India.

⁷ *S.R.*, vol. 104, p. 41.

⁸ Fr. Dimas, 7.6.1637, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁹ See his letter, 16.5.1636, O.C.D. 237 b.

¹⁰ Fr. Dominic of Christ, 26.2.1640, O.C.D. 236 a.

"have not sent a load of flour, and on every occasion and in serious business they help us a great deal. . . ."

His letter of 16.4.1637 in *S.R.*, vol. 106 (VI) p. 286, mentions that he had visited the schismatic Patriarch, Philip, and would sound him regarding reunion. Merely from reading the wording and sentiments of his letters to the young Chaldaean, Ferdinand Gioerida,¹ nephew by marriage of P. della Valle, the sympathy and friendly feeling of Fr. Dimas for the local Christians can be perceived.

He was a prolific letter-writer.

Letters extant:

	31.12.1618	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
(jointly)	15.4.1619	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 m.
	27.6.1619	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	31.7.1621	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
(jointly)	23.9.1621	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 d.
(jointly)	4.2.1624	Shiraz	O.C.D. 237 b.
(jointly)	19.5.1625	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	26.5.1625	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	12.10.1625	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	30.7.1626	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
(jointly)	3.8.1626	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	3.8.1626	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	30.5.1627	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	2.5.1628	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	30.6.1628	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	20.7.1628	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	15.10.1628	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
(jointly)	18.9.1629	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	18.9.1629	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	18.9.1629	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	20.9.1629	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
(jointly)	22.9.1629	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	22.9.1629	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	25.11.1629	Isfahan	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 731, p. 239
	18.2.1630	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	24.5.1630	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
(8.8.1630)	12.8.1630	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	30.10.1630	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	14.2.1631	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	24.10.1631	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	7.3.1632	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	29.7.1633	Isfahan	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 104
	20.5.1634	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
(1.8.1634)	22.9.1634	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	31.10.1634	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	2.11.1634	Isfahan	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 135, p. 507
	26.11.1634	Shiraz	O.C.D. 237 b.
	16.5.1636	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	13.8.1636	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	13.8.1636	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
	2.12.1636	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.

¹ 28.3.1639 and 27.10.1639 in O.C.D. 237 b.

3.12.1636	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
12.1.1637	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
23.1.1637	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
16.4.1637	Isfahan	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 106, p. 286
6.6.1637	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
7.6.1637	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
1.1.1638	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
12.5.1638	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
28.3.1639	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.
27.10.1639	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.

DIONYSIUS of the Crown of Thorns

A Belgian.

Family name: Denys Grignard. Born 1605¹ at Ath in the province of Hainault, Belgium. Prov. in Order: Franco-Belg. Professed at Louvain, 27.4.1625. In one letter² he appears to sign himself "former missionary of Mount Carmel", and so may have been stationed at Mt. Carmel before accompanying the Visitor General, Fr. James of S. Teresa (who was at Aleppo by October 1634 and at Basra in May 1635): and the *Brief Narrative* of Fr. Stephen³ mentions that Fr. Dionysius came out to the mission in 1634. He was at Shiraz for 15 months from the spring of 1636 onwards.⁴

Soon after his arrival in Persia he had been allowed to cultivate the Zoroastrian 'Gabrs', and now from Shiraz he expressed his desire to go and live among the Circassian villagers in Kamfiruz district and others transplanted to Asupas from the Caucasus and prevented by Shah 'Abbas I from building churches, though their women-folk still kept Lent and disliked having to become Muslim. The same letter (16.2.1640) relates that many times he had read the Quran translated into Persian and a commentary on it: and this ardent proselytizer begged the Sacr. Cong. that he might be authorized to go to the Shah and prove to him, one day as he issued from his palace, the falsities of the Quran—even if martyrdom followed. *The Book of Elections in which are to be noted elections of Superiors in Persia*, preserved in O.C.D. 235 c., records that on 9.1.1642 he had been elected Substitute to the Prior of Isfahan. From Isfahan in 1643 he proposed to the Sacr. Cong. an establishment at Julfa, as a number of leading Armenians were urging it and asked for it, and also that, to avoid opposition or uproar by the schismatics, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, King of France and Venetian Republic should be asked to nominate an agent to reside in Julfa as a set-off to the numerous Armenian traders in Leghorn, Marseilles, Venice, by means of which agent—an ecclesiastic to be preferred—the missionaries could secure a footing in Julfa.⁵ When his period as Prior had ended (1643–6),⁶ he began the remarkable work which made him of outstanding note, viz. searching out, in the quarters of Isfahan and villages for a wide circle round, in Muslim houses infants sick and likely to die, praying over them with the willing consent of the parents and expeditiously, unostentatiously, quietly baptizing them. This task he set himself to do in all weathers, tramping the countryside winter and summer, in time becoming well known and usually well received: only the obligation imposed on him by the Prior of returning to the convent by night stayed him from making more extensive rounds. Beginning at the end of 1646,⁷—*teste* his own report on the work—he enumerated 896 moribund children so baptized by him alone in the 3 years 1647–9 and part of 1650, and altogether in his time he was estimated to have so 'added to the Kingdom of Heaven between one and two thousand children'. This work had been interrupted in June 1649, when he accompanied the new Vicar Provincial, Dominic

¹ *Vide* his letter, 8.1.1658, in O.C.D. 237 c.

² *S.R.*, vol. 292, p. 535.

³ *Vide* O.C.D. 236 a.

⁴ His letter from Shiraz, 16.2.1640, *S.R.*, vol. 209, p. 68, and his letter, 8.5.1645, O.C.D. 237 c.

⁵ *Vide* *S.R.*, vol. 62, p. 214, and also his letter, 20.6.1644, *S.R.*, vol. 62, p. 204.

⁶ His letter, 2.3.1646, O.C.D. 237 c.

⁷ *Vide* letter of Fr. Stephen, Visitor General to Praepositus General, Rome, 18.11.1650, in O.C.D. 235 d. (which has his report appended to it).

of S. Nicolas, by the Sarhad route as far as Mayin in the plain of Ramjird, where he made a search in the villages of that neighbourhood for Christian survivors of the Circassians transplanted there by Abbas I. On 10.7.1649 he returned to Isfahan, and on 3.8.1649 wrote to the Sacr. Cong.,¹ greatly disturbed by the news that had come from Rome that the Sacr. Cong. had had it under discussion to create him Bishop of Agra. (At the session of the Sacr. Cong. on 18.7.1648 the Cardinals considered that a bishop should be sent to reside in Agra (India), and that Fr. Dionysius, partly on account of his knowledge of Persian—which was used at the Court of the Mogul—should be appointed bishop.) With all humility he begged that such an idea should be discarded, mainly because it would interfere with his task of saving some souls every day by going round baptizing dying children: he lamented indeed the obligation put on him of returning to the convent at night because the villagers at a distance were of more simple nature; he said that he had no experience of India nor its languages, and even in Persia he wished to be nothing but a simple missionary. In 1650 he went to the district of Ganduman hoping to convert the schismatic Armenian families. Early in that year at the Congress in Goa he was elected Procurator to go to the Chapter General in Rome,² and, on May 22nd 1652³ set off from Isfahan to discover, on his way to Rome, the disposition for union with the Holy Roman Church of the patriarch Mar Shimun X of the Chaldaeans at Khusruabad, near lake Urmieh in the extreme NW. Persia (of today's frontiers). From the quarantine 'lazaretto' of Venice he wrote a letter on the 20th December 1652.⁴ He was in Rome only 4 months⁵ and, while there, became so very ill that he received the last Sacraments; but on 6.3.1653 ("S. Cyril's day" old style) he addressed the Pope a long report on his visit to the Chaldaeans.⁶ The *Regesta* record (vol. IV, p. 356) that on 21.5.1653 the Definitory General heard his verbal representations and decided to promote the welfare of the Mission in Persia and the Indies, while on 4.6.1653 they assigned him and two companions 50 Venetian sequins each for their journey. Leaving Rome at the end of May, he was at Naples in June and August;⁷ at Messina at the end of September, and from Aleppo on 4.11.1653⁸ wrote that he was leaving by caravan for Mausil to ascertain the dispositions towards the Holy See of the Assyrian (Chaldaean) 'Patriarch of Babylon', the successor of Mar Elias, who in the time of Pope Paul V had become united to Holy Church: he thought that the Sacr. Cong. would be glad that he should have conversations with this branch of the Chaldaeans. He was so enthusiastic that he lamented his strength might fail him as a result of his severe illness. His letter of 2.1.1654 from Baghdad in O.C.D. 242 c. describes the visit paid in the village of Tal Kaif, 3 leagues from Mausil, whither the patriarch had seven months earlier retired from Alkush owing to persecution by the Kurds, and the situation in that branch of the Chaldaeans. He had arrived at Baghdad 30.12.1653, and at Basra 2.2.1654,⁹ and signed the baptismal register there 26.3.1654: he left there, accompanying Fr. Felix, Vicar Provincial, shortly after 16.3.1654,¹⁰ and reached Isfahan on the eve of Corpus Christi.¹¹ The Sacr. Cong. attached importance to the prospect of successful work with the Chaldaeans in NW. Persia, and had dispatched at the end of 1653 a nephew of Pietro della Valle's first wife—the priest Ferdinand Gioerida—from Rome with letters from the Pope to the patriarch Mar Shimun by way of Erzerum and the Caucasus.¹² To join him in discussions with the patriarch the indefatigable Fr. Dionysius set off again from Isfahan on 24.7.1654, and arrived in Tabriz 26.8.1654.¹³

The drowning on the way in the swift current of the Araxes of Fr. Ferdinand Gioerida, whose mother tongue was Chaldaean, spoiled the prospects of success, and though Fr. Dionysius spent from the 10th to the end of October with Mar Shimun¹⁴ and his chief ecclesiastics, he could only converse through interpreters in Persian and Turkish. However, he prevailed on

¹ *S.R.*, vol. 135, p. 217.

² "After May 12th", see letter of Fr. Stephen of that date, O.C.D. 238 c.

³ See his letter, 13.7.1654, O.C.D. 237 c.

⁴ *Vide* his letters of 17th June and 8th August, *S.R.*, vol. 292, p. 516.

⁵ *S.R.*, vol. 292, p. 527—his letter of 7th November.

⁶ See his letter, 27.3.1654, in *S.R.*, vol. 292, p. 528.

⁷ See Fr. Felix, 20.6.1654, O.C.D. 237 i.

⁸ See letters: Fr. Dionysius, Isfahan, 13.7.1654; Tabriz, 28.8.1654; and letter of Fr. Felix, Isfahan, 16.8.1654, O.C.D. 237 i.

⁹ Fr. Felix, 4.6.1650, in O.C.D. 241 k.

¹⁰ O.C.D. 237 c.

¹¹ *S.R.*, vol. 292, pp. 535-42.

¹² Fr. Felix's letter of that date in O.C.D. 241 k.

¹³ *S.R.*, vol. 135, pp. 203, 242.

¹⁴ *S.R.*, vol. 236, p. 215.

the Chaldaeans to write a letter to the Pope, and he himself wrote from Tabriz a report, dated 8.12.1654,¹ which was taken to Rome by Fr. Maximin. There is on record an eighteen-page report, dated 11.2.1655, addressed to the Definitory General of the Order and, preceding it, a letter of the Chaldaean patriarch to the Holy See.² After a wide round to Salmas, Urmieh (which was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the other 'patriarch' Elias) to Zangawar, Sulduz, Maragha, he was back again at Tabriz in mid-December 1654. In Isfahan again before 10.1.1655,³ he was elected Prior for a second term not long previous to 5.5.1655⁴ much to his regret, for the duties kept him to the Convent and prevented the full resumption of his work of baptizing moribund infants, although after 1658 he seems to have continued. He is mentioned as Prior in a letter of 1656.⁵ He died at Isfahan 25.5.1661.

"having lived about 27 years in the missions . . . and always given examples of rare "virtue."⁶

Enough will be seen from the above short sketch to show that here was a man of tremendous energy for apostolic work in the wilds, his soul burning to reunite whole communities to Holy Church, and gain for Heaven the little ones, if he was unable to persuade grown Muslims: for, curiously enough, he is said to have been full of scruples and apprehensions in dealing with grown persons in Julfa and Isfahan, lest he should hear what was blasphemy to him.⁷

Letters extant:

(18.4.1640)	16.2.1640	Shiraz	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 209, p. 68
	16.11.1642	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	7.11.1643	Isfahan	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 62, p. 214
	20.6.1644	Isfahan	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 62, p. 204
	8.5.1645	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	22.6.1645	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	13.7.1645	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	30.7.1645	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	2.3.1646	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	3.8.1649	Isfahan	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 135, p. 217
(report)	1650	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 235 d.
	20.12.1652	Venicc, Lazaretto	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	6.5.1653	Rome	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 292, p. 535-42
	17.6.1653	Naples	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	20.8.1653	Naples	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	20.8.1653	Naples	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 292, p. 516
	29.9.1653	Messina	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	8.10.1653	Malta	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 292, p. 526
	7.11.1653	Aleppo	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 292, p. 527
	2.1.1654	Baghdad	<i>O.C.D.</i> 242 c.
	16.1.1654	Baghdad	<i>O.C.D.</i> 242 c.
	27.3.1654	Basra	<i>O.C.D.</i> 242 c.
	30.3.1654	Basra	<i>O.C.D.</i> 242 a., and <i>S.R.</i> , vol. 292, p. 528
	3.4.1654	Basra	<i>O.C.D.</i> 242 a.
	13.7.1654	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	28.8.1654	Tabriz	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	8.12.1654	Tabriz	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	10.1.1655	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	15.1.1655	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.

¹ *O.C.D.* 237 c.

² *S.R.*, vol. 236, p. 215.

³ See his letter of that date.

⁴ His signature to a declaration of that date, and his own letter of 15.5.1655.

⁵ and ⁷ Fr. Felix, 20.3.1656, in *O.C.D.* 237 i.

⁶ *Idem*, 25.5.1661, *O.C.D.* 238 p.

	11.2.1655	Isfahan	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 236, p. 215
(jointly)	15.2.1655	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
(jointly)	5.5.1655	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	15.5.1655	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	23.7.1655	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	8.11.1655	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	28.11.1655	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	4.4.1656	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	6.4.1656	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c. and 236 a.
	8.4.1656	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	9.7.1656	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	15.11.1656	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	20.11.1656	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	3.1.1657	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	3.1.1657	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	15.2.1657	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	22.2.1657	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	16.7.1657	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	24.9.1657	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	22.10.1657	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.
	8.1.1658	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 c.

DIONYSIUS of Jesus

A Pole.

Family name: Ladislas Milinski. Born 1611.¹ Prov. in Order: Poland. Professed: . . . Despite the fact that both the list of 1663, and that of 1671 presented by the Procurator to the Sacr. Cong.,² give him as sent out to the Mission in 1649, the real year of his arrival was 1646. On 17.5.1646 the Definitory General (see *Regesta*, vol. IV, p. 77) assigned him—"a Seminarist"—for work in Persia. He had reached Baghdad on the journey out from Europe 1.11.1646,³ left there on 16th November, and was at Basra in company of the Visitor General by 2.12.1646—"not to go to Persia, as had been originally intended".⁴ For a letter of Fr. Ignatius, dated Basra, 19.12.1646,⁵ stated:

"on the 2nd inst there arrived in this house our Father Visitor General" (i.e. Fr. Stephen of Jesus) "and on the 12th he left for Surat in a Dutch ship with Fr. Dionysius the Pole, "and Fr. Peter of the Mother of God, my companion . . .":

and Fr. Stephen himself in his *Brief Narrative*⁶ definitely said that he brought out Fr. Dionysius, a Pole, and Fr. Antony Clement of Jesus, a Lombard, as his companions, while adding in a letter of 7.12.1646⁷ ". . . Fr. Dionysius, who was destined for Persia".

From Basra the ship landed them at Kung:

"Fr. Stephen of Jesus, coming as Visitor General from Baghdad . . . had left Kung on "6.1.1647 for India, and brought with him Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, a new missionary, "assigned to Persia. . . ."⁸

According to another letter Fr. Dionysius was still at Gāmburūn in June 1647, waiting to embark:⁹ perhaps, then, he continued with the Visitor General to India. But he had clearly

¹ and ² *Vide* list of 1663 in *O.C.D.* 235 n., and of 1671 in *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 224.

³ Fr. Stephen, Baghdad, 3.11.1646, *O.C.D.* 238 c.

⁵ and ⁶ *O.C.D.* 236 a.

⁸ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, Isfahan, 21.6.1647, *O.C.D.* 237 f.

⁴ Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, 9.12.1646, *O.C.D.* 242 a.

⁷ *Idem*, 241 p.

⁹ Fr. Ignatius, 12.6.1647, Basra, *O.C.D.* 241 m.

been at Isfahan for some years before 1654, for the Vicar Provincial, writing at the end of that year, stated that he was making Fr. Dionysius Vicar of Tatta.¹ In a letter of 6.4.1654, written from the Dominican convent at Bassaim in India, Fr. Dionysius himself related that he had been posted as companion to Fr. Michael of S. Simon at Tatta—"considered a place "of exile by the missionaries"—and had sailed from Goa harbour 6.1.1654.² He had got as far as Kung by May 1655 (*vide* his letter—undated—in O.C.D. 237 d.: "mense Maio appuli "ad Portum Congonsem"; 'but the wars between the Portuguese and the Dutch and Arabs, etc., 'had prevented him for 22 months from reaching his destination'. A letter of Fr. Barnabas from Basra on 24.6.1655 alluded to Fr. Dionysius being then at Kung, awaiting orders from the Vicar Provincial.³ It was the 29th October 1655, when Fr. Dionysius again wrote from Kung;⁴ and he hoped to 'leave in fifteen days, as he had asked, and obtained, a passport from 'the Dutch'. According to a letter of Fr. Casimir from Basra, Fr. Dionysius was still at Kung at the end of November 1655.⁵ A letter of the Vicar Provincial of December 1655⁶ confirms that Fr. Dionysius had been sent as Vicar of Tatta in Sind: and he is mentioned as being there at the end of 1657.⁷ Presumably he went to Rome as Procurator of the Mission in 1661 or 1662, because he had been appointed Vicar Provincial, when the Procurator General of the Order in Rome on 27.11.1662⁸ asked for faculties for three missionaries whom he, Fr. Dionysius, Vicar Provincial, was accompanying to Persia. He would presumably have been back in Persia some time in 1663 (when he is mentioned as 'Vicar Provincial' in the list in O.C.D. 235 n., and at Isfahan). As Vicar Provincial he reached Basra early in 1666,⁹ and he signed in the register of baptisms there on 19.8.1666. The brief account given in *Chron. Basra* of his tribulations in that period is as follows:

"On the 7th February 1666, on account of some traders and in particular a certain "Indian Christian, who had undertaken the part of liberator against (from) the soldiery "of Hasan Pasha, the governor of Basra, our house at Basra was plundered by the "soldiers of that governor, who had been dispatched by the governor from the fort at "Qurna to invest and punish the rebels: all the furniture of the church and House were "carried off, some money taken and one of us (he in fact who wrote these words, Fr. "Dionysius) was twice beaten with a cudgel and with difficulty escaped being wounded "by a spear as threatened . . . hit in the stomach, for which reason he . . . suffered from "pains in the stomach till . . . his death."

But there exists a more detailed relation,¹⁰ from which there may be quoted the following extract:

"In the year 1665 the Prince" (Shaikh (?)) doubtless Hasan Pasha) "of the town, an Arab "by race, joining the Persian (monarch) rose against the Turks, refusing to recognize the "Grand Signor as his sovereign. So the Pasha of Baghdad having armed a powerful "army set out by the two rivers, Euphrates and Tigris, for Basra to fight and conquer him. "The siege lasted 10 days, after which seeing himself numerically inferior the Prince" (Arab Shaikh) "drew off into the desert, leaving the town exposed to sacking by the Turks, on "which occasion the said Religious suffered great tribulations, because, accused of being "friends of the fugitive Prince" (Arab chief) "and that they might have powder hidden in "their house deposited by the Europeans, they were put into prison, loaded with irons, "and after some days condemned to have their heads cut off. Moved by compassion for "them the Shahbandar, or Head of the Customs, made the Turks aware of their innocence; "and so the sentence was revoked and the order given that they should pay 1,000 piastres.

¹ Fr. Felix, 15.12.1654, O.C.D. 237 i.

² Fr. Dionysius, O.C.D. 242 a.

³ O.C.D. 241 f.

⁴ *Idem*, 238 s.

⁵ *Idem*, 241 h.

⁶ Fr. Felix, 20.12.1655, O.C.D. 237 i.

⁷ Fr. Dionysius of Crown of Thorns, 15.2.1657, O.C.D. 237 c.

⁸ S.R., vol. 238, p. 41.

⁹ *Chron. Basra*.

¹⁰ On 23.6.1671 the Procurator General of the Order in Rome forwarded to Card. Sforza an account of the misfortunes that had befallen the Basra residence in these wars, 1665–8, and asked for money to repair. On 31.8.1671 "report having "been made to the Pope", 700 scudi were granted. See narrative, S.R., vol. 428, p. 562.

"As they did not have the money to pay this, they continued in the prisons till, the Shahbandar mentioned having made fresh representations, the fine was reduced to 120 piastres; "but, as the Fathers asserted that they did not possess so much, they were set at liberty "without any other impost than 20 scudi, which their rescuer himself paid to the gaoler, "who many times had inflicted beatings on them in order to obtain the said money.

"Part of the soldiery of the Turks having retired towards Baghdad, the Prince (Shaikh), "having collected many Arabs together, with a force of 15,000 men laid siege once more "to the town, which he took by surprise, killing the greater number of the Turks and "causing great slaughter among the citizens. This fighting lasted for the space of three "days, in which the town for a great part was left in ruins, and the House of the said Religious "remained with bare walls alone, even the doors and windows being looted, so that the "poor Fathers found themselves obliged to beg their food from the infidels there for some "months, being abandoned without any human succour.

"Seeing them suffer such privations, and learning that the Turks were arming a new "force to surprise the town, the Shahbandar advised them to retire to Persia. With those "few things out of the sacristy which they had formerly hidden, the Fathers went on board "ship; but it being denounced to the Prince (Shaikh) at the time they were leaving that "they were fleeing with much money, which they had received on deposit from the Janis-saries,¹ they were once more arrested, till at the instance of the Shahbandar mentioned "their effects and persons were searched and nothing found on them except the books, "vessels and vestments for the sacred functions, and then they were set at liberty. But the "Prince" (Arab Pasha) "did not want them to leave, fearing that in their absence the ships "of the Christians would not come from India and so he would lose the advantage received "annually from their merchandise and gathering in Basra."

Fr. Dionysius left Basra on March 1st 1667,² and so did not have to experience the further disasters and trials which befell his Religious brethren in 1668. He had arrived at Isfahan some months before 23.10.1667 (when he signed, as Vicar Provincial, orders for the date and place of the next Congress, and on the 31st October orders regarding alms and methods of distribution of stipends from Masses): was there up till April and May 1668,³ but between June and October⁴ left Isfahan for Bandar 'Abbas, where he had arrived on 18.11.1668. He had been joined at Bandar 'Abbas on December 8th⁵ by the Visitor General, Fr. Francis of Jesus, together with Fr. Athanasius and they held the Congress for election of Procurator (Fr. Dionysius holding at the time the office of Prior of Isfahan, as well as that of Vicar Provincial).⁶ On 28.1.1669 the Visitor General and Fr. Dionysius, as Vicar Provincial, jointly signed a document:⁷ and after the departure of the Visitor General Fr. Dionysius wrote on 28th February 1669 that 'at Bandar 'Abbas he was under the protection of and totally supported by the 'director of the French Company'—"at the house of Monsieur Mariage," wrote Fr. Angelus⁸ from Shiraz. However, it was in Kung that the election of the Procurator was finished—*vide* Fr. Dionysius' letter of 13.4.1669: "today Fr. Valerius has been elected". Then he went to Tatta⁹ and was writing from there on 22.11.1669,¹⁰ on an inspection of the missions in India, being still Vicar Provincial.¹¹ He was yet at Tatta in September, and on 8.12.1670. Although Vicar Provincial still, shortly before 1.4.1671 he is described as acting as 'assistant' to the Vicar of that mission,¹² which some years previously he had caustically cited as: "haec "domus in temporalibus est pauper, in spiritualibus pauperior, in exercitio missionis pauper-"rima."¹³ But not long before June 1672¹⁴ he had once more come to Kung from India and was awaiting the arrival of Fr. Valerius on the latter's return from Rome:¹⁵ he had then been

¹ Picked bodyguard of the Ottoman Sultans.

² *Vide* his letters dated from Isfahan.

³ His letter, 22.12.1668.

⁷ and ¹⁰ O.C.D. 237 d.

¹¹ See Fr. Felix, 1.8.1670, O.C.D. 238 p., and list in *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 224.

¹² *Vide* lists in *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 224, and *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 135.

¹³ Letter of 15.2.1657, Fr. Dionysius of Crown of Thorns, O.C.D. 237 c.

¹⁴ Fr. Jerome, 7.6.1672, O.C.D. 241 l.

² Fr. Angelus, 24.5.1667, in O.C.D. 241 d.

⁴ Fr. Dionysius' letter from Bandar 'Abbas, 15.2.1669.

⁸ Fr. Angelus, 10.6.1669, O.C.D. 238 l., and Fr. Valerius, 16.4.1669, O.C.D. 238 s.

⁹ Fr. Valerius, 6.7.1669, O.C.D. 236 b.

¹⁰ Fr. Valerius, 6.7.1669, O.C.D. 236 b.

¹⁵ Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, 2.11.1672, O.C.D. 238 s.

ill for more than two months.¹ By January 1673 he had died at Kung²—on 25.11.1672 Fr. Valerius had been with him there.³ He knew Persian and Portuguese.

Letters extant:

	9.12.1646	Basra	O.C.D. 242 a.
	6.4.1654	Bassaim (India)	O.C.D. 242 a.
after	May 1655	Kung	O.C.D. 237 d.
	29.10.1655	Kung	O.C.D. 238 s.
	23.10.1667	Isfahan	O.C.D. 241 a.
	31.10.1667	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 d.
	5.4.1668	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 d.
	21.4.1668	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 d.
	—5.1668	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 d.
	31.5.1668	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 d.
	15.10.1668	Kung	O.C.D. 237 d.
	27.10.1668	Kung	O.C.D. 237 d.
	22.12.1668	Bandar 'Abbas	O.C.D. 237 d.
	28.1.1669	Bandar 'Abbas	O.C.D. 237 d.
	15.2.1669	Bandar 'Abbas	O.C.D. 237 d.
	28.2.1669	Bandar 'Abbas	O.C.D. 237 d.
	13.4.1669	Kung	O.C.D. 238 s.
	5.5.1669	Kung	O.C.D. 238 s.
	22.11.1669	Tatta	S.R., vol. 429, p. 129
	8.12.1670	Tatta	O.C.D. 237 d.
	2.11.1672	Kung	O.C.D. 238 s.

DOMINIC of Christ

A Neapolitan.

Family name: Matteo de' Rossi. Born 1594 at Naples, baptized 22.9.1594 in church of S. Joseph the Greater, his family belonging to San Apollinare near Capua. Prov. in Order: Naples. Received tonsure from Abbot of Monte Cassino, 17.10.1610. Entered noviciate at Convent of San Silvestro, 21.6.1618. After being sub-Prior at the Seminary, Malta, he was sent to Isfahan 1628 (at the same time as Fr. Matthew of the Cross).⁴ On 21.10.1628 he left Aleppo for the onward journey to Isfahan, *vide* his letter written "From the desert of Arabia" after he had been 47 days with the caravan: and he tells how he and his companion were bringing out a printing-press, and the trouble they were having to pass it through the frontiers—it was so heavy that a camel could scarcely carry it.⁵ They were carrying a Brief to Shah 'Abbas from Pope Urban VIII and are named in the latter's subsequent Brief of 9.1.1633 to Shah Safi (see *S.R.*, vol. 209, p. 216).

He is mentioned as being at Isfahan in a list, undated, but clearly compiled in 1628 or early 1629.⁶ Leaving Isfahan on 13.9.1629⁷ he was taken by the Visitor General, Fr. Epiphanius, to India and placed in charge of the mission at Diu, whence in 1634 he passed to Goa, elected Prior of the Convent by the conventuals.⁸ Chosen Procurator of the Mission to attend the Chapter General ("to be held in Rome 3 years and 3 months hence," wrote Fr. Melchior of the Kings on 19.9.1636⁹), Fr. Dominic of Christ had "arrived from Goa at Isfahan, and was about to leave for Rome"¹⁰ about 13.8.1636. While in Rome Fr. Dominic of Christ was chosen to be Prior of the Convent of Isfahan 1638 (*vide The Book in which are to*

¹ Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, 2 11.1672, O.C.D. 238 s. ² *Chron. Basra*. ³ Fr. Valerius' letter of that date, O.C.D. 238 s.

⁴ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct., MSS. *Hist. Miss.* in O.C.D., book 7, vol. IV, chap. 13; see *Regesta* also, vol. II, p. 7, under 13 1.1628.

⁵ O.C.D. 237 e. ⁶ *Idem*, 235 (? n.).

⁷ Fr. Dimas, 18.9.1629, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁸ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct. in MSS. *Hist. Miss.*, in O.C.D. 285-6, book 7, vol. IV, chap. 13.

⁹ O.C.D. 238 b.

¹⁰ Fr. Dimas, 13.8.1636, O.C.D. 237 b.

be noted the elections of Superiors of the Missions in Persia and the East) at "the morning session on "29.5.1638."¹ He was at Aleppo on 10.2.1639 on his way back from Rome, where he had been appointed Vicar Provincial.² In that capacity and as Prior he gave hospitality at the Convent to Bishop Duval of Baghdad, and his letters of 1641 are full of the troubles and trials of the friars with their somewhat imperious and hot-tempered guest. But while Bishop Bernard was still at the Convent Fr. Dominic of Christ had to leave Isfahan on 1.2.1641³ to attend the 'Congress' of missionaries at Shiraz for the election of Procurator for the next Chapter General and was awaiting the arrival at Shiraz of Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary Visitor General to attend it on 11.4.1641⁴—in his letter he alludes to his good relations with the English Agents of the East India Company, and how he went to greet them for Christmas. At this Congress, when he wrote, no less than ten Religious were present, some of them to 'judge' the action to be taken against the malcontents in the Convent at Goa. As one of those deputed to 'try' the case, Fr. Dominic of Christ set off after the Congress in the heat of the South Persian summer for Goa but, falling ill with fever on the borders of Lar district, turned back to Shiraz, where he died in July 1641.⁵

Letters extant:

6.10.1628	"Desert of Arabia"	O.C.D. 237 e.
26.2.1640	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 e.
—5.1640	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 e.
24.5.1640	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 e.
30.1.1641	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 e.
11.4.1641	Shiraz	O.C.D. 237 e.
11.4.1641	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 i.
14.4.1641	Shiraz	O.C.D. 237 e.
19.5.1641	Shiraz	O.C.D. 237 e.

DOMINIC of S. Mary

A Lombard (subject of the Duchy of Milan).

Family name: — Police. Born about 1580 at Cremona.⁶ Prov.: Lombardy. Professed at Cremona 14.5.1613.⁷ Accompanying the Visitor General, Fr. Vincent of S. Francis, he arrived at Isfahan in May 1621: there exists a declaration signed jointly by himself, Frs. Basil and Peter Thomas, on 26.9.1621 that during their journey via Naples, Messina, Malta, Tripoli, Aleppo, Baghdad the Visitor General had maintained that character only, not the rank of a Papal envoy.⁸ He was under arrest with the other Fathers in the Convent at Isfahan after the martyrdom of the three converts, March 1622. He was one signatory of the memorial of 24.8.1624 from the missionaries at Isfahan to the Pope, when they sent Fr. Prosper to report to His Holiness.⁹ Sent to Shiraz in the first months of 1625;¹⁰ and there he remained—except for short spells at Basra—for nearly six years in charge of the Residence, alone for most of the time, leading a life of great austerity. Fr. John Antony, who joined him in mid-December 1630 speaks in his letter of 1.8.1631¹¹ of Fr. Dominic—

"that saintly man . . . so little known in Europe and less in Persia . . . because of his "humility . . . continually occupied in the Divine contemplation . . . often attacked by "gout and persistent fever . . . a hermit . . . having for his cell a hole which, with my "own eyes I have seen it, was not large enough to take his body. . . ."

¹ O.C.D. 235 c. ² His letter, May 1640, in O.C.D. 237 e., and also Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct., cited above.

³ His letter from Shiraz, O.C.D. 237 e., 14.4.1641.

⁴ His letter from Shiraz of that date, O.C.D. 237 e.

⁵ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct., cited above, and Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary, 4.5.1642, O.C.D. 236 b.

⁶ Fr. Felix to Praepositus General, Rome, on 10.6.1661, O.C.D. 238 p., called him "over 80 years of age".

⁷ *Vide* list, undated, O.C.D. 235 n. (?); this information is queried because before 1619 there was no noviciate in the Lombard Province of the Order.

⁸ O.C.D. 237 f.

⁹ See No. 7817 in Fondo Barberini, Arch. Vatican.

¹⁰ Fr. Dimas, 26.5.1625, O.C.D. 237 b., and Fr. John Thaddeus, 27.5.1625, O.C.D. 237 m.

¹¹ O.C.D. 236 b.

In a letter of 12.11.1625 reported to have been very ill not long before ¹ In 1628 deputed by Fr. John Thaddeus to visit the house at Basra, where he arrived in February or March: leaving with funds received from Goa for Shiraz at the end of September;² was ill with tertian fever³ in November: and left Shiraz for Isfahan, which he reached in mid-January 1629.⁴ In 1627 he had attended and fortified a Portuguese who, having been wrecked on the Persian coast, was taken to Shiraz prisoner and decapitated after refusal to become a Muslim if his life were spared:⁵ and he obtained and buried in the church the body, as that of a martyr. Fr. Dominic was still at Shiraz in November 1630,⁶ but arrived in Isfahan about 5.1.1631. Accompanying the Visitor General, Fr. James, in June 1636 he left Isfahan,⁷ and on 16.10.1636 went from Basra for India.⁸ *The Book in which are to be noted elections of the Superiors of our Missions in Persia and the East*⁹ records his election in Rome on 29.5.1638 by the Definitory General to be Prior of the Convent at Goa. Actually he could only have taken over the office in 1640, for his own letter of 9.8.1644¹⁰ speaks of his "three years term as Prior having ended on "23.4.1643". "A good and learned Religious," he is called in the letter from Shiraz on 11.4.1641¹¹ by Fr. Dominic of Christ, after whose sudden death that year during his period as Vicar Provincial an interregnum in the government of the Mission ensued, which was ended in May 1643 when a messenger from Persia brought to Goa the 'letters patent' from Rome for Fr. Dominic of S. Mary to succeed as Vicar Provincial.¹² It was his misfortune to be Vicar Provincial, and at Goa, when the Apostolic Visitor, John of Christ, arrived from Portugal and on the authority of the Portuguese Crown and ministers possessed himself of the government of all the Carmelite houses in India, expelling at the end of October 1643 Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, who reached Masqat 20.11.1643.¹³ Leaving Masqat the end of February 1644 "after great sufferings both there and on the voyage", he and his companions reached Kung for Easter, and thence in mid-April set out for Isfahan, where they arrived after no small contrarieties at the end of May.¹⁴ His reports to Rome of 1644, of 21.6.1647 regarding the imbroglio in Goa with the Portuguese, as well as of 18.6.1625 and 27.9.1626 on the founding of the Mission at Shiraz and conditions there, are full of interesting details.

In mid-April 1645 the Archbishop of Goa had written, inviting him as Vicar Provincial to proceed to Goa for the settlement of the situation in the convent. He declined by reason of gout in his hands and one foot:¹⁵ and for the rest of his life was a martyr to his infirmities (though in 1646 he was mentioned as "still able to say Mass daily, unable to leave the Convent"¹⁶). It is frequently mentioned in correspondence that for years he could not even leave his cell.¹⁷ Fr. Felix's letter from Shiraz of 10.6.1661¹⁸ stated that Fr. Dominic was so ill as not expected to live: and *Cat. Def. Lomb.* has the date of 13.10.1662 for that of his death (though it may be that of receipt of the news at Milan).

Letters extant:

	19.9.1621	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 f.
(jointly)	26.9.1621	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 f.
	4.6.1622	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 d.
	24.8.1624	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 f.
	—1625	Isfahan	O.C.D. 235 c.
	18.6.1625	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 o.
	10.6.1626	Shiraz	O.C.D. 237 f.
	27.9.1626	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 o.
	5.3.1629	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 f.
	15.1.1631	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 f.

¹ Fr. Dimas, 12.11.1625, O.C.D. 237 b.

² Fr. Dimas, 15.11.1628, O.C.D. 237 b.

³ *Vide* a letter of 2.10.1627 in *S.R.*, vol. 209.

⁴ Fr. Dimas, 13.8.1636, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁵ Preserved in O.C.D. 235 c.

⁶ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, Isfahan, 9.8.1644, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁷ O.C.D. 237 f.

⁸ Fr. Dionysius of Crown of Thorns, 2.3.1646, O.C.D. 237 c.

⁹ e.g. by Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas, 17.1.1649, O.C.D. 237 g.

¹⁰ Fr. Basil, 27.9.1628, O.C.D. 241 g.

¹¹ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, Isfahan, 5.3.1629, O.C.D. 237 f.

¹² His letter, 15.1.1631, O.C.D. 237 f.

¹³ *Idem*, 2.12.1631, O.C.D. 237 b.

¹⁴ O.C.D. 237 f.

¹⁵ See his own letter, 9.8.1644, O.C.D. 247 f.

¹⁶ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 8.5.1645, O.C.D. 237 f.

¹⁷ O.C.D. 238 p.

	21.6.1644	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 f.
	9.8.1644	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 b.
	8.10.1644	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 f.
	8.5.1645	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 f.
	13.6.1645	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 f.
	18.6.1645	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 f.
	13.7.1645	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 f.
	31.7.1645	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 f.
	7.3.1646	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 f.
	12.7.1646	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 f.
	21.6.1647	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 f.
	19.7.1647	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 f.
	21.3.1650	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 f.
	20.4.1650	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 f.
(jointly)	15.2.1655	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 k.
(jointly)	5.5.1655	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 c.

DOMINIC of S. Nicolas

A Dutchman.¹

Born in the province of Guelders. From being a Calced Carmelite and Vicar (of their House) at Cologne, Germany, he crossed over to the Discalced Carmelites in 1622. Prov. in Order: Gall-Belg. Professed 1623 at Brussels. While Prior of Malta² he was on 2.12.1647 (see *Regesta*, vol. iv, p. 134) appointed Vicar Provincial and allowed the like authority as Frs. Augustine and Stephen had been granted (see *Regesta* 27.1.1649). He left Rome May 1648, was at Aleppo 25.8.1648: and via Erzerum and Tabriz reached Isfahan in December of that year:³ his letter of January 1649, relating his arrival, emphasizes the far greater security, plentifulness and courtesy to foreign travellers met in Persian territory than in the Turkish dominions. He left Isfahan for the south⁴ on 17.6.1649, and with Fr. Dionysius of the Crown of Thorns travelled via (what in recent years has been known as) the 'Sarhad' route, *not* by the modern post-road, to Shiraz, and then proceeded to Basra: he was not in favour of retention of the hospice at Shiraz. At the end of August 1649 he made a visitation of the Residence at Basra,⁵ leaving in September together with Fr. Matthew of S. Joseph for Goa by way of Kung and Masqat. His own letter (in Latin) from Masqat, dated 25th October 1649, to the Praepositus General in Rome stated that he had been liberally and honourably received by the Portuguese officials in that fortress; but there were difficulties about continuing the voyage, and he was waiting an armed convoy. On his way down the Gulf he had been to Kung, which in his opinion was most suitable for a mission station: expenses would be small, and the port under Portuguese protection occupied a central position for trade: preaching to the Arabs could thus (as Fr. Matthew had shown) be done without risk. Both Portuguese and Arabs had begged him to remain, or to send missionaries. There were Augustinian Hermits in Kung: were they to raise difficulties, 'Cassab' (i.e. ? Hasa on the Arabian coast) "where 'the Portuguese alone rule' would be better still. He recommended the abandonment of Shiraz, and the placing of a mission instead at Hasa "in the Gulf of Arabia", where the Portuguese desired them to come. One additional merit of the proposal was that Hasa should prove a focus for linking Goa and Persia in missionary activities and administration.

These proposals were stillborn, because Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas was but a few weeks after his letter to be a witness at the death-stroke to the long period of Portuguese power in the Persian Gulf and Gulf of 'Uman.

¹ Vide Fr. Ignatius, 20.10.1650, O.C.D. 241 m., and Fr. Stephen, 18.11.1650, O.C.D. 238 c.

² Fr. Matthew of S. Joseph, 22.6.1650, in O.C.D. 241 n.

³ Fr. Barnabas, 4.12.1648— itinerary— O.C.D. 241 f.

⁴ Fr. Dionysius of Crown of Thorns' report attached to letter of Fr. Stephen, 18.11.1650, O.C.D. 235 d.

⁵ *Chron. Basra*.

When this took place Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas was still at Masqat, and played a role in a historic event: for a letter relates:¹

"The Arabs have taken Masqat to our greatest possible shame, by the fault of the (Portuguese) General, who died there of mortification over it. They slaughtered all the Religious of S. Augustine and a great number of people, and made the rest prisoners. They sacked" (the town) "which was a thing to move one to tears, desecrating the churches, breaking up the images, violating sacred objects. They made prisoners of all the women and children, employing every sort of barbarity. . . . The Vicar Provincial happened to be there with Fr. Matthew, and they were present at three assaults" (on the town), "the Vicar Provincial with crucifix in hand assisted at" (the firing of) "the artillery and in the end escaped by a miracle, leaving everything behind, in particular many books and money, and going on board a vessel, in which they were 600 persons, men and women, without a sufficiency of provisions, for which reason many died. . . ."

Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas was also Prior of Isfahan, and in that capacity was going to Goa with Fr. Matthew of S. Joseph—the "Socius for the Convent of Isfahan"—to be present at the election to take place in Goa in February or March 1650 for a Procurator to attend the Chapter General of 1653 in Rome.² After the election he remained on in Goa and in 1651 began to build a church for a second house of the Order, which he finished three years later.³ By remaining in Goa so many years in succession Fr. Dominic caused a certain amount of dissatisfaction among the missionaries in Persia;⁴ but he had commissioned Fr. Stephen of Jesus to act as his Substitute in Persia—

"the Fr. Vicar Provincial wished to commit to me his authority as Vicar of this convent of Isfahan and as Vicar Provincial—and here I am at present governing the mission."⁵

Earlier,⁶ Fr. Stephen had remarked of Fr. Dominic's appointment that "the Dutch are not welcome among the Portuguese" (this was a time of great rivalry and strife between the two nations in Indian waters). But even in April 1651 Fr. Matthew of S. Joseph had heard:

"Our Fr. Provincial at present is in Goa, a very great friend of the Viceroy, contrary to all expectation well liked and honoured by all,"

and by 4.12.1651 Fr. Stephen was writing that Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas, Vicar Provincial, was still in India, "acceptable to all" and waiting for the new Viceroy, to see what orders he was bringing from the king of Portugal⁷ (that viceroy, however, died on his way from Portugal⁸). In these years the antagonism of the Portuguese authorities in India to non-Portuguese Religious was again rampant, and there are several instances of Carmelite missionaries not being allowed to enter or remain in Goa: of Fr. Stephen of Jesus himself it was stated in a letter of 20.10.1650 that

"he had been forced to leave by orders of the Viceroy and the prayers of our Vicar Provincial, who exhorted him to leave out of respect for our Religious . . .";⁹

though the further statement in this letter that

"the Vicar Provincial also left Goa, being sent away by the Viceroy for being a Dutchman"

¹ Fr. Felix of S. Antony, Basra, 4.6.1650, O.C.D. 241 k.

² Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, Isfahan, 20.4.1650, O.C.D. 237 f.

³ Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus in *La Orden de Sta Teresa, etc.*, Madrid, 1923, p. 110.

⁴ Fr. Felix, 5.8.1653, O.C.D. 241 k., and 6.2.1653.

⁷ Fr. Stephen, O.C.D. 241 p.

⁹ Fr. Ignatius, Basra, O.C.D. 241 m.

⁵ and ⁶ Fr. Stephen, 18.11.1650, O.C.D. 241 p.

⁸ *Idem*, 22.3.1652, O.C.D. 241 p.

is incorrect—or rather anticipated events. For in January 1654 Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas was perhaps compelled against his will to leave Goa for Portugal:

“I learn from India that Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas *has been sent* with the Count of Obbidos, “the Viceroy that was, who after an uprising in the city was taken and sent to Portugal—“they say, because of his extortions of money, and they seem to wish to charge him with “scant loyalty to his king. There were also sent away two Portuguese of much note the “one an Augustinian, the other a Dominican, who were made prisoners because of the “relations they had with the said viceroy: and Fr. Dominic, they sent him to Portugal. “Up till now I have had no letters from our Fathers” (i.e. in Goa); “but I have heard “from the Augustinian Fathers” (i.e. at Isfahan) “the story, and they say that strict orders “have been given by the new Viceroy, Branco de Castro, prohibiting any foreign Religious “from being in India. . . . Please give me news how the war between Portugal and Spain “is going.”¹

Writing that same spring of 1654 from India² Fr. Dionysius of Jesus may have been more correct in his version:

“After my departure from Goa” (i.e. for Tatta) “something occurred which impelled “the Vicar Provincial to go to Portugal. Some say that he was compelled by decree or “some measure of the king; but I do not believe it as, while I was at Goa, nothing of the “kind was being said and within a space of 12 days he decided on such a journey. At “the end of January he set out for Portugal. Others say that of his own choice he offered to “make such a voyage in order to settle business for the Order, and this is more probable. . . .”

Whether his intimacy with the past viceroy or viceroys, or a plan to seek audience of the king of Portugal in order to solicit special exemption (from the prohibition mentioned) for non-Portuguese Religious to work in Goa and Portuguese possessions, was the cause of his abrupt departure was perhaps never known fully; because on the voyage Fr. Dominic died at S. Michael's Isle (Terceira) in the Azores on 24.7.1654³ at the house of the Jesuit Fathers in circumstances which testify to his self-sacrifice, not to his prudence, as described by Fr. Ludovic Murz, rector of Angria in Terceira, in a letter of 31.8.1654:⁴

‘Fr. Dominic had grown weak on the voyage by fasting late daily, as he was saying ‘Mass near midday for the Cav. d'Obbidos, who was providing him with food. A youth ‘fell ill, and Fr. Dominic remained with him two days and two nights, and beside the body, ‘comforting the youth's father after his death: and so he probably caught contagious disease. ‘He was landed from the ship, after suffering much pain, suffering from malignant crisympelas ‘and a tumour on the head which began to turn black. He was buried before the altar ‘of S. Teresa.’

Letters extant:

17.1.1649	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 g.
20.5.1649	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 g.
28.5.1649	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 g.
25.10.1649	Masqat	O.C.D. 242 a.

ELIAS of the Mother of God⁵

A Portuguese (Goanese).

Name: Miguel Cuello. Born at Diu about 1596, son of a Portuguese soldier and of a convert from Brahminism. Prov. in Order: Persia (?). Originally taken from Goa by Fr.

¹ Fr. Felix, Isfahan, 16.8.1654, O.C.D. 237 i.

² Fr. Dionysius, 6.4.1654, in O.C.D. 242 a.

³ Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus, O.C.D., in *La Orden de Sta Teresa* . . . , Madrid, 1923, p. 110.

⁴ O.C.D. 270 m.

⁵ Vide Fr. Basil on 24.8.1630 in O.C.D. 241 g., and the list cited below.

Benignus, i.e. in 1611, to be clothed at Isfahan.¹ As a choir-brother he arrived at Hurmuz from Isfahan with Fr. Leander on 30.6.1612.² Fr. Vincent of S. Francis while in Goa in 1612 learnt of facts which, unknown to the Brother himself, by the Constitutions made the acceptance of Brother Elias invalid without special dispensation of the Definitory in Rome, and therefore on Fr. Vincent's return to Hurmuz in the spring of 1613 the Fathers in Chapter decided to revoke Brother Elias' profession, and they sent him back to Diu.³

However, in his report—undated, but of 1615—in O.C.D. 239 c., Fr. Leander added:

“now from letters received . . . the Definitory had pronounced in his case that he was “a friar, and should continue in his profession”.

Perhaps, therefore, Brother Elias was summoned, and returned to Hurmuz from Diu, and reclothed; or else what follows concerns another person of the same name. For, as a priest, Fr. Elias of the Mother of God is mentioned as at Goa with Fr. Leander in 1621;⁴ and as a priest Fr. Elias of the Mother of God was sent with another Religious and two Lay Brothers from Hurmuz to Tatta in October 1622.⁵ Father Elias arrived at Basra about the autumn of 1625, was generally ailing;⁶ and he was still there in 1626, but had left either before Fr. Basil's letter of 9.12.1630 or that of 2.12.1633, by one year.

ELIAS of S. Albert (later Bishop of Isfahan)

A Belgian (Walloon).

Family name: Laurent Mouton, son of Maurice and Marguerite M. Born at Mons, 28.1.1643. When aged 11, sent to school at Antwerp, to learn Flemish: in 1660 to university, Louvain, where he studied mathematics and medicine for 4 years. Prov. in Order: Fland-Belg. Took the Carmelite habit at the Convent, Louvain, 14.6.1664: professed, 14.6.1665. Ordained priest 22.9.1668, he wished to go to missions, but was sent for a time as novice-master to the Convent at Louvain. In 1675 brought to Rome and put in the Seminary for the Carmelite missions at San Pancrazio.⁷ On 31.5.1676 he was sent to the Persian Mission—see, also, the information given by the Procurator General in Rome to the Sacr. Cong. in the session of 15.12.1676⁸—with the Visitor General, Fr. John Baptist of S. Joseph, via Venice, Mt. Carmel, Aleppo, Mausil, Baghdad, he reached Basra 23.5.1677⁹ (the party were four choir-priests and one lay brother, and in the absence of the Visitor General Fr. Elias was to be leader), and Isfahan via Shiraz on 14.8.1677.¹⁰ The *Vita P. F. Elia a S. Alberto* . . . gives 1679 as the year when he left the Convent at Isfahan for Julfa; but Fr. Elias' own letter dated 30.1.1682¹¹ definitely says

“at the beginning of this month of January” (i.e. 1682) “at the instance of the aforesaid “Armenian gentlemen I came to live at Julfa, and, joining the Reverend D. Basil not only “in spirit but in my habitation also, in order that I might the more easily learn the Armenian “grammar, in which he is very skilled, and that I might assist his truly apostolic work . . . “for which he left Rome in the year 1670 . . .”—

Fr. Elias went on to paint in dramatic Latin phraseology the scene when the schismatics, armed with a sentence of excommunication from Echmiadzin against the priest Basil, in a crowd went to the Muslim city judge for orders to expel his associate. Five rich Armenian

¹ Fr. Vincent, 16.4.1613, in O.C.D. 239 b.

² Report of Fr. Leander in O.C.D. 239 c.

³ Fr. Vincent, letter of 16.4.1613, in O.C.D. 239 b., and of 3.6.1613.

⁴ List undated, but certainly made between April 1620 and May 1621, O.C.D. 235 n.

⁵ Fr. Prosper, —1623, O.C.D. 238 d.

⁶ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist of the Order, in *Hier. Carmelitana*, 1934.

⁷ *Chron. Basra*. ⁸ *Vita P. F. Elia a S. Alberto* . . . by Lay Brother Francis Mary of S. Sirus, MSS. O.C.D. 320 c.

¹¹ *S.R.*, vol. 488.

traders of Julfa, the Sharimans or Sarrati, had separated themselves from the schismatics and become 'Uniats': it was they who had brought the ex-student of the Urban College of Propaganda, the priest mentioned, from Tabriz, provided him with a house in Julfa, and had invited Fr. Elias to join him, so that he might aid him in teaching the numerous progeny of the Sharimans themselves. In that house besides a school which rapidly grew in numbers they made a chapel, which subsequently developed into the church of the Annunciation, where Mass was celebrated in the Armenian vernacular and rite. The schismatics could not stomach that, and persecuted the 'Catholic' party cruelly, denouncing them to the Persian officials as having changed their religion and become 'Franks'; so that Fr. Elias found it prudent after Epiphany 1683 to withdraw for a while to the Convent in Isfahan.¹

On the 4th December 1682 an election for Prior of Isfahan had been held and the lot fell on Fr. Elias, though doubts were raised by several conventuals as to its validity,² so much so that the Visitor General (Fr. Agnellus) took out from Europe with him a confirmation from the Definitory General,³ dated 17.10.1683 (see *Regesta*, vol. VI, p. 259), and found on arrival at Isfahan "everyone expected me to declare the election null and void".⁴

Later that year came a letter from the Emperor recommending the Christians, and to deliver it Fr. Elias on 9.8.1683⁵ had an audience of Shah Sulaiman. With the answer, when it was ready, he received a *raqam* giving the 'white-clothed Carmelites' licence to remain wherever in the Shah's realm they listed to live their Religious life, without let or hindrance by anyone: a copy in Persian of this rescript, dated Ramazan 1095 (i.e. August 1684) is preserved in the archives of the Order; but there is no specific mention in the wording to permit of the "building of churches . . ." or, if they were attacked, "to defend themselves and, if in "self-defence anyone was killed, no action would lie against the Carmelites," asserted by the author of *Vita P. F. Elia* . . . to have been included in it—possibly that was given in another document. According to the narrative, relying on this *raqam* Fr. Elias reopened the mission in Julfa. But it was as late as his letter of 19.7.1686 that he was asking the Order in Rome to obtain a faculty for the taking of a house in Julfa—

'should possession of a house for a hospice, which a friend wanted to give us, not be prevented we could still make a Residence, provided the licence were received from our Superiors. The Visitor General for his part (i.e. in 1684) had refused his consent, and assigned us for a hospice (when we visit Julfa) the house of Fr. Lucas, the Armenian Dominican. He did not wish the Jesuits to get to know of this project.'

Fr. Elias' collaborator in this forward work in the heart of the schismatic stronghold, the vartapet Basil, died on 20.9.1686 in the Carmelite Convent in Isfahan city: and, following this, he himself resigned the priorship, to which he had been re-elected on 2.5.1685. In October 1687 he received from Rome letters patent as Vicar Provincial for Persia and the Indies—and continued to hold the office till his episcopal consecration in 1697: with them, according to the author of his Life, came permission to found a House in Julfa.⁶ Fr. Elias had been 'dangerously ill' in 1688 and finding himself free from fever in the autumn set off for Shiraz, where he arrived 13.9.1688; but his visitation coincided with an epidemic there, 'when' 'thousands of men died in a day', and, attacked by it, he himself was more desperately in danger of his life than previously in Isfahan. Recovered, after making changes in vicarships, etc., he got back to Isfahan on 4.12.1688.⁸

At some date between June 1689 and early in 1691 Fr. Elias must have transferred himself from the Convent at Isfahan to residence in the house in Julfa provided by the Sarrati or Shariman brothers, for a letter of 24.9.1691 is dated from Julfa and says:

¹ Fr. Elias, 14.7.1683, O.C.D. 237 h.

² See a paper in O.C.D. 236 a. as to the circumstances in which it was held.

³ Fr. Agnellus, 6 11.1683, O.C.D. 241 a.

⁴ *Vita P. F. Elia*, MSS. in O.C.D. 320 c.

⁵ Fr. Elias' letter of 18.6.1689.

⁶ *Idem*, 26.10.1684, Shiraz, O.C.D. 238 k.

⁸ and ⁸ See *Vita P. F. Elia a S. Alberto*, MSS. in O.C.D. 320 c.

“here in Julfa we have not only a fine and commodious residence as well as subsistence
“for two or three missionaries, due to the generosity of the brothers. . . .”

Of the Vicar Provincial's personal mode of life at this period the author of his *Vita* gives a time-table from his rising at 3 a.m.: his contemplation, compositions in the Armenian language, reading philosophy in Armenian to those who could grasp the subject, holding talks on various mysteries of the Catholic Faith several times weekly in houses of one or other of the Sharimans, when he permitted anyone present to express doubts or ask questions. Rapidly the ‘Uniat’ party grew in Julfa, so that the Sharimans decided to build another chapel with a small hospice attached for Religious to reside there, and on 18.12.1691 this new church was opened in buildings they had provided, and dedicated to the ‘Holy Patriarch Elias’. To assist him Fr. Elias took over from the Bishop of Baghdad the Tertiary of the Franciscan Order, Fr. Cherubin, who from the autumn of 1690 had arrived in Isfahan: and they started a school attended within a year by over 80 boys, and catechism classes on Sundays for the men, with distribution of alms later to the poor. The Papal Jubilee was also celebrated with many ceremonies and large gatherings in the new church and those of the Jesuits and Dominicans in Julfa. At all this activity and proselytism the schismatic Armenian bishops took umbrage. In 1692 the vartapets and heads of the lay community presented a memorial, which Shah Sulaiman is said to have torn to pieces, remarking that

‘for four dogs of Armenians he was not going to put himself on bad terms with the Christian
‘Princes, who had recommended the missionaries to him’.

Intent on strengthening their position, the Catholic section of the Armenians made representations at Rome for the appointment of a bishop, and in the session of the Congregation on 4.5.1693 Cardinal d’Estrées reported:

“The Catholics of Isfahan repeat their request for the establishment of an archbishop
“in that capital.”

Fr. Elias had previously communicated the offer of the Sharimans (who, it is to be noted, had already trading interests in Venice and may have seen material advantage in a closer connection with the Holy See) to provide an endowment for the new see and a fine residence for the bishop,¹ and suggested that an Armenian monk should be found for the position.² According to the author of the *Vita*, too, Pope Innocent XII himself questioned a son of Murad Shariman, who replied that the Armenians desired none other than Fr. Elias himself: and in the sequel, on 26.10.1693, a Bull issued for the appointment of Fr. Elias of S. Albert to the see of Isfahan.³

Before he wrote his letter of 13.3.1694 from Julfa⁴ Fr. Elias had learnt of this charge to be laid on him: and in that month he negotiated for the purchase of an episcopal residence to adjoin the Carmelite premises, and where a church for the see could be also built. On his taking possession of the new house, after six weeks the Armenian schismatic bishop Stephen determined to prevent the construction of the intended church and stirred up a band to invade the site. A timely message to the ambassador of Poland (who happened to be the Jesuit superior, Fr. Zapolski) resulted in mounted men being sent who drove off the demonstrators.⁵ Then attempts were made through intermediaries to persuade the bishop-elect to cancel the purchase, the deeds for the buildings not being handed over; but Fr. Elias refused. Next the Armenian bishop and his adherents offered 3,000 Tumans, a large sum (45,000 scudi) in bribes to Court officials, then unchecked, as Shah Sulaiman was already in his last illness.

¹ His letter of 23.2.1694 in *S.N.R.*, II, p. 95.

² Fr. L. Lemmens, O.F.M., in *Hierarchia Latina Orientis*, vol. II, part II of No. 10.

³ *S.N.R.*, II, p. 99.

⁴ *Vita P. F. Elia* . . ., O.C.D. 320 c.

⁵ *Narrative* by Fr. Elias, *S.N.R.*, II, p. 293.

Having demolished the existing building the Shariman brothers began at once to lay foundations for a church for the new bishop: on the Sunday in the octave of Corpus Christi (13.6.1694) Bishop Pidou of Baghdad sang the Mass of dedication, and a procession of the Blessed Sacrament in the streets followed and created a deep impression on the Armenians, so much so that Stephen and his party, infuriated, laid a complaint over more than 900 names and seals to the Queen-Mother who held Julfa in fief, accusing Fr. Elias of having perverted many Armenians and made them 'Franks' and subjects of the Pope, depriving the Persian monarch of his vassals thereby. Orders were thus finally secured from the king, and the Diwan Baigi (president of the tribunal) was deputed to Julfa, where he appeared at the site in dispute accompanied by the schismatics in force. One of the privileges on which the latter relied was an ancient 'farman' prescribing that no European might reside in Julfa. The Diwan Baigi ordered Fr. Elias and the Carmelites to quit Julfa, under pain of heavy penalties not to set foot in it, and to retire to their convent in Isfahan. Then in his presence the church buildings begun were demolished. This expulsion from Julfa of the bishop-elect and the Carmelites took place on 11.7.1694: it is recounted in great detail in Fr. Elias 'Narrative' in *S.N.R.*, II, p. 293 *et seq.*, as also in his Latin letter to the Pope of 7.8.1694, and in the *Vita*: the first cited was being written as the news of the death of Shah Sulaiman spread through the city, and was countersigned by all other heads of missions, as well as by the Archbishop of Nakhchiwan at that time staying in Isfahan.

Fr. Elias at once sent off two Carmelite Religious to Rome to urge on the Holy See that strong representations and protests should be made against the hostility of the schismatics, and in particular to solicit that the Emperor, king of Poland, and other sovereigns also instruct envoys to ask reparation from the new Shah.

Then on 10.5.1695, after he had received the Bulls for his consecration,¹ he set out for Hamadan in company of Bishop Pidou, invited by the latter to be consecrated at his residence in that town. Arrived at Hamadan Fr. Elias changed his mind and set it on consecration in the Carmelite church at Isfahan, but only after succour had come from Europe and reparation been made for the damage done to Catholics and the Catholic cause—he knew the oriental mentality.

" . . . It is impossible for them" (i.e. the Sharimans) "to give us possession of the house and episcopal residence, which they have promised, until our resettlement in Julfa, until there is liberty for them and all other Catholics of ours to declare themselves ours, and for all to give or sell us premises. . . ."²

He had arrived back from Hamadan at Isfahan on 4.7.1695.³ It was the Portuguese special ambassador, Gregorio Pereira Fidalgo, who, undertaking to present the letter of protest from the Pope—see the Brief from Pope Innocent XII to Shah Sulaiman, dated 28.1.1695, *Epistolae ad Principes*, 81, p. 31, requesting that Fr. Elias and the Carmelites be given free licence to return to Julfa—obtained from the young Shah Sultan Husain orders for Mgr Elias to be readmitted and conducted to Julfa. Almost immediately afterwards Fr. Conrad, returned from his mission of appeal for support in Rome and invested with the dignity of envoy from the king of Poland, was able to obtain even more favourable orders, viz. for the church begun and destroyed at Julfa to be rebuilt at the expense of the State, and for liberty of worship for the Armenians. Bishop Elias had been consecrated by Bishop Pidou of Baghdad in the Carmelite convent chapel at Isfahan on 30.12.1696: now, on the 28th February 1697, clad in robes of honour (*khal'at*) the bishop with the Shah's *raqam* fixed in his hat together with the Polish ambassador rode into Julfa in procession ("in triumph" as he himself expresses it to the Pope in his letter of 28th June) to the discomfiture of the more bitter schismatics, who had spent 10,000 Tumans in bribes: but the retribution, which would seem from his

¹ His letter of 23.5.1695 in *S.N.R.*, II, p. 131.

² His letter of 24.5.1695 in *S.N.R.*, p. 133.

³ His letter of 22.8.1695, *S.N.R.*, II, p. 146.

letters to have most impressed the new Bishop of Isfahan was the degradation of his adversary, the Katholikos Stephen.¹

On 20.8.1696 the Definitory General of the Order in Rome decided and recorded (see *Regesta*, vol. VII, p. 117):

“in consideration of the services to the Order rendered by the reverend Fr. Elias of S. Albert, “now Bishop of Isfahan . . . that the said bishop may remain in our Convent at Isfahan “or in other Residences of Persia, and that, besides, for his maintenance until it be provided “sufficiently from elsewhere, he may enjoy the sources of revenue acquired by him while “he was Vicar Provincial which sources after his death will, however, have to return to “the Order. . . .”

In May 1699 there arrived at Isfahan, as Apostolic Visitor to the Missions in Persia on the one hand and as envoy to the Shah from several European Courts, the nephew of Pope Innocent XII, appointed Vicar Apostolic in the Mogul's dominions, the Carmelite Fr. Peter Paul of S. Francis, Archbishop of Ancyra. With three particular objectives in view, as he himself explained in great detail in his letter in Latin to the Cardinals of the Sac. Cong., dated 26.9.1702,² Bishop Elias determined to take the opportunity offered of going to Europe as the bearer of the replies of Shah Sultan Husain to the various Christian princes and their letters brought by the Archbishop of Ancyra: and he set off from Isfahan on 14.10.1699. In the light of subsequent events it was disastrous for his diocese and the consolidation of his energetic work among the Armenians that he took the same northern route, which had been so unfavourable to his great predecessors in the mission, Frs. Paul and John Thaddeus. For, to begin, on reaching Shamakha on 7.11.1699 Bishop Elias and his party found themselves blocked there by snow on the mountain passes till 10.5.1700: he arrived at Astrakhan 28.6.1700, at Moscow 20.9.1700, only to find the Czar absent and to be detained at his residence (because he declined to hand over the Shah's missives to the other Christian princes) until at last a Georgian noble of his acquaintance obtained permission for freedom to continue his journey. So that it was 24.1.1701 before Bishop Elias got away from Moscow³ and 18.5.1701 that he reached Warsaw: on 30th August, at Vienna, where he stayed till 12.12.1701: at Venice he wrote on 4.3.1702 a memorial to the Doge which can be read in *S.N.R.*, II, pp. 414-8. In these several capitals Bishop Elias was busy, as will be seen from the memorial mentioned, in the endeavour to obtain the continued interest and protection of the sovereigns for the missionaries in Julfa, and in recommending the Sharimans, whose ardent champion at all times, in almost every letter he remained. It was 1.4.1702 before he reached Rome—the end of a disastrously prolonged journey, as the Bishop had himself represented in his letter to the Sac. Cong. of 4.5.1701 (“after more contrarities and mistakes than ever happened to Ulysses”). The three main objectives for his visit *ad limina* were (a) because of the persecution of the Catholic Armenians in Julfa, particularly the Sharimans, who were much alarmed because a French adventurer had lodged *de jure uxoris* a claim against them for the sum of 28,000 Tumans, said to have been deposited with them by the noted French traveller and writer, Tavernier, over 30 years before, and with the aid of an Armenian renegade was threatening them with dire penalties, e.g. the extraction of all their funds in Venice unless they also became renegades, stopped building the church for the Bishop and consorting with the missionaries, so that the Bishop saw no remedy but to solicit from the Emperor, the Doge of Venice and other sovereigns more effectual pressure on the Shah and his Court, such as threats of expulsion of Armenians from Europe; (b) Shah Sultan Husain, in his zeal for Shiah Islam, had forcibly converted the Gabrs (Zoroastrians), and six years before had issued similar orders in respect of the Armenians, actually after the Bishop's departure in 1699 having had more than 1,000 at Qazwin circumcised; (c) the Sharimans after so many losses had ceased to pay

¹ *Vide* his letters of 27.4.1697, 18.6.1697, and the *Vita P. F. Elia* . . . in O.C.D. 320 e.

² *S.N.R.*, II, p. 342, and *S.R.*, vol. 543.

³ *Vita P. F. Elia* . . . in O.C.D. 320 e.

the endowment for the bishopric,¹ which they had promised to him and offered to the Sacr. Cong.: they were unable to meet the expense, and on the other hand in these past six years his procurator in Rome had obtained barely 100 scudi as stipend for him. The payment of a regular stipend, the grant of episcopal vestments gratis he had come to beg in person and to explain the reasons why these were needed.

The Sacr. Congregation took the view that pressure must be brought on the Sharimans, known as prosperous merchants in Venice and Leghorn, to meet their promised obligations—at least in part—and so instructed the Nuncio at Venice: meanwhile the Bishop of Isfahan remained in Rome, without obtaining the funds he wanted,² until on 13.10.1703 he was exhorted by the Cardinal Prefect to return to his diocese,³ as soon as possible. A 'Compendious Report' by the Bishop on the work of the Carmelites, written about this time, alludes to the need for more than one missionary at Basra, Shiraz and other places; but he added:

"as regards the number of missionaries our Superiors do not want to listen to anything
"for, say they, it is not for us to maintain them. . . ."⁴

According to the author of his *Vita*, in 1703 the year of the great earthquake in Rome, the Pope bade Bishop Elias preach in Armenian at the church of S. Maria Ægyptiaca: and the Bishop then found an Armenian priest who had become schismatic and was teaching schismatic errors (he had certainly had the schismatic rite stopped in a church at Venice—*vide* his own letter to the Sacr. Cong. of 13.6.1702): and other information from the *Vita* is that on 31.5.1703 he was 'sent by the Pope together with Mgr Philip Ellis, O.S.B., bishop of 'Calles [*? sic*, Wales] to obtain information for a beatification': that he was suspended by the Cardinal Vicar for ordaining a priest in Sienna, but restored on cause being shown by those who had invited him to the ceremony: and that the Pope had the idea of retaining him in Rome in some post connected with the missions, but there were influences against this. Anyhow, it was 11.5.1704 before the Pontiff had a reply and presents ready to be taken back to the Shah of Persia, and 22.5.1705 before the Bishop of Isfahan paid a final visit for the Apostolic blessing. (It is to be remembered that the author of the *Vita*, Lay Brother Francis Mary, had joined his bishop in Rome on 22.12.1702, so his facts should be based on first-hand knowledge.) A letter from Florence tells that he arrived there on 4.6.1705: he was waiting for the presents to the Shah and letters of the Grand Duke of Tuscany; in the meanwhile at Leghorn he had been greeted by the members of the Shariman family resident there. Next a letter of the Nuncio at Venice⁵ dated 5.9.1705 mentions that he had arrived there recently: and in the same year he went to the Court of the Emperor for that monarch's commendatory letters to the Persian king. Then (according to the little work of the Carmelite Fr. André de Ste Marie, *L'Ordre de Notre-Dame du Mont Carmel*, Bruges, 1910, 2nd part, pp. 141-2):

" . . . he passed by Antwerp . . . where the Bishop, Renaud Cools, who saw himself
"about to die (1706), begged him not to leave him, but to take provisional charge of his
"diocese. The missionary prelate yielded to this request, and for three months he edified
"the people of Antwerp by his indefatigable ardour in proclaiming the word of God, and
"still more by his love for the poor. Touched by such fine examples and making itself the
"interpreter of public feeling the Chapter offered him the see of Antwerp; but the saintly
"bishop hastened to start for the East. . . ."

¹ *S.N.R.*, II, p. 348-9: by the fifth year only 4 of the 5 brothers were paying their quotas of the 30 tumans per annum: then only three paid; finally all excused themselves.

² See *Vita P. F. Elia* . . ., O.C.D. 320 c., and also *S.R.*, vol. 541—the orders on the Bishop's report, considered in the sitting of the Cong. on 13.6.1702, were that he should be assigned 10 scudi a month.

³ *S.R.*, vol. 546, p. 384.

⁴ *S.N.R.*, II, p. 291.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 471. Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist of the Order, in his *Hier. Carmelitana*, also draws attention to the letters of Pope Clement XI, of 18.2.1705 to the king of Persia, and of the same date to the heads of the Venetian Republic in favour of Bp Elias, quoting Clementis XI, *P. M. Epistolae and Brevia selectiora*, Rome, 1724.

Making his way to Lisbon, where he was granted a passage at the royal expense on the fleet due to sail for Goa, Bishop Elias left that port on 26.4.1708.¹ Carried by storms to the Brazilian coast the ship put in at Bahia, where having landed he was asked to pontificate on the Feast of S. Teresa (15.10.1708), though in poor health; he had an apoplectic seizure during the Mass, and died on the 3rd November 1708. A letter from a Religious, who was presumably with him, asserts that it was necessary to divide up his clothing among the local people, who acclaimed him as died in the odour of sanctity.²

“He made his will, by which he left everything in my hands for the benefit of the Missions “and his new foundation at Julfa, and commissioned me to carry out his legation to the “king of Persia, and hand over to the said king the Briefs, and gifts from the Sovereign “Pontiff, the Emperor and other Christian Princes. As soon as, by God’s grace, I reach “Goa, I shall try to satisfy my obligation of going to Malabar . . .”

(letter from Fr. Dionysius of S. Brigid, from Bahia, Brazil, 15.11.1708, in *S.N.R.*, III, p. 352).

The preceding sketch of his life will suffice to show that Fr. Elias was dominated by a call to wean the Armenians of Julfa from schism to unity with the Holy Roman See; that in this the Shariman family were his chief instruments, and he championed them in and out of season: that his methods were forcible and bitterly antagonized the schismatic clergy and leaders. That the ‘Uniat’ portion of the Armenian town grew gradually to between one-third and one-fifth of the population was much due to his policy; but it also largely caused the persecution of the ‘Uniates’ and the missionaries which continued through the next seventy years, and ultimately the disappearance of Catholicity before 1800. Whether as Vicar Provincial or Bishop his letters, reports, all records about him show him wrapped up in the Armenians—no word, hardly, of interest in the other Carmelite missions, Basra, India, Shiraz, or work of other Orders. It was doubtless a tragedy that for less than 3 years he did the work of a bishop (when his influence might have grown and helped the missions and progress in Julfa), and that for the next nine years he was lost to his diocese, unprofitably it would seem.

There is a short biography of Bishop Elias by the present archivist of the Order, Fr. Ambrosius a Sta Theresia, in his *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, published in 1934. The only portrait of Fr. Elias so far traced, or identified, is that at the Municipality of the town of Mons in Belgium, his native place. It does not represent him in episcopal garb, and hardly conveys conviction as a faithful rendering of the energetic leader and missionary revealed by his letters: one would rather see in it a mystic and contemplative.

Letters, etc., extant:

29.7.1678	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , I, p. 343
30.1.1682	Isfahan	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 488
8.1.1683	Isfahan	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 517
14.7.1683	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 h.
25.10.1683	Isfahan	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 495
26.2.1684	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 h.
21.3.1685	Isfahan	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 495
19.7.1686	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 h.
16.1.1688	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , I, p. 493
20.5.1689	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 236 a.
18.6.1689	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 h.
26.7.1689	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 h.
24.7.1691	Julfa	<i>O.C.D.</i> 238 t.
1.10.1693	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 87

¹ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, in *Hier. Carmelitana*.

² Fr. Fortunatus, 12.3.1709, Lisbon, *S.R.*, vol. 567, p. 37.

	23.2.1694	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 95
	13.3.1694	Julfa	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 99
	7.8.1694	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 108
	10.8.1694	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 110
(joint report)	—1694	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 293
	18.3.1695	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 123
	23.5.1695	Hamadan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 131
	24.5.1695	Hamadan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 133
	24.5.1695	Hamadan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 135
	22.8.1695	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 146
	28.6.1697	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 178
	29.6.1697	Julfa	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 186
	8.7.1697	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 189
	12.9.1697	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 196
	15.9.1697	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 198
	12.6.1699	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 264
	4.6.1701	Warsaw	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 539, p. 298
	4.3.1702	Venice	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 414
	13.6.1702	Rome	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 541, p. 455
	4.9.1702	Rome	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 543
	26.9.1702	Rome	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 342
	—1702	Rome	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 348
	30.4.1703	Rome	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 545
	16.7.1705	Firenze	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 469

ELISAEUS of S. Andrew

A Spaniard.

Family name: Andres Garcia de Montoja: a noble, he came to Naples in the Viceroy's Court. Born 1583 at Tarrazona (diocese of Cuenca). Prov. in Order: Roman. Professed 18.6.1617, at S. Silvestro in Tusculano.¹ In the archives of the Order exists the original 'apostolical commission', or letters patent, to himself and to Brothers Cyprian of S. Mary: John of Jesus Mary: Eustace of the Most Holy Sacrament, to be missionaries at Basra, issued by the Sacred Congregation on 22.1.1624, signed by Cardinal Ludovisi the first Prefect of the Congregation then newly created, and by Mgr Francis Ingoli, the first Secretary—one of the earliest of such documents issued after the creation. (See illustration facing page 275.)

According to his own letter of 27.5.1625 he had left Rome on 5.2.1624, accompanying the Visitor General, Fr. Eugenius of S. Benedict, and travelling from Genoa to Alexandretta by a Dutch ship in 27 days. But on account of the wars they were detained seven and a half months in Aleppo, whence the Visitor left with Brother John Baptist direct for Basra, while after another 8 days Fr. Elisaeus with Brother Eustace set out from Aleppo for Baghdad, reached in 10 days. They halted there till 1.1.1625 and then for 13 days had to tramp through much snow before entering Isfahan.²

At a Chapter held on Saturday, 10.5.1625, he was elected sub-Prior;³ but the election was declared void several months later by the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Leander—one reason being that Fr. Elisaeus was 'not a conventual of Isfahan, but only a guest, his commission not 'having assigned him to Isfahan'.⁴ However, he is called "sub-Prior" in letters of Fr. Dimas dated 12.10.1625 and 26.5.1625.⁵ He was one signatory of a joint letter, dated Isfahan 27.5.1625, addressed to the Procurator General of the Order in Rome and asking for sanction

¹ See *Series Professionum S. Silvestro in Tusculano in Analecta Carm.*, January 1937.

² See O.C.D. 236 b.

⁴ Cf. account of the election in O.C.D. 235 c.

³ Fr. Dimas to Fr. Paul Simon, Rome, 26.5.1625, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁵ O.C.D. 237 b.

to say Mass in Arabic,¹ also of a letter signed together with Frs. Dimas and Balthazar on 3.8.1626.²

'By commission' at Isfahan, i.e. by the Vicar Provincial and Visitor General, he was made Vicar of Goa in 1626.³ A letter of Fr. Dimas dated 14.2.1631 stated that he, Fr. Dimas, was

"expecting for Easter in Persia Fr. Elisaeus, as I have summoned him, as he is very suitable for the mission".

But he was still in Goa in 1634, as it would appear from Fr. Dimas' letter of 20.5.1634,⁴ which—on the subject of funds to be contributed by Carmelite houses in India to those in Persia—stated:

"Fr. Elisaeus, as procurator of this Convent of Isfahan, writes to me these very words—
"now, with this monsoon we are sending you, without having said anything to the Fr.
"Visitor, 474 scrafini—all that this house' (i.e. Goa) 'owes for Masses for March 1633'".

No further mention of Fr. Elisaeus of S. Andrew occurs in the correspondence inspected. Died at Goa in April 1636.⁵

Letters extant:

	27.5.1625	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 b.
(jointly)	27.5.1625	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 m.
(jointly)	27.5.1625	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 m.
(jointly)	3.8.1626	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 b.

ELISAEUS of S. John Baptist (Lay Brother)

A . . .

Born . . . Prov. in Order: . . .

Sent as companion⁶ for Fr. Redempt on his journey to Spain from Isfahan he left Isfahan 29.9.1615, arrived at Hurmuz in December, in Goa on 24.2.1616 and sailed thence in a ship of the fleet on 2.2.1617. Landed in Lisbon 28.9.1617. Fr. Redempt died at sea off the coast of Guinea on the return voyage, 30.5.1619, after nursing his Lay Brother companion—*vide* Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct. in his *Hist. Miss. MSS.* in O.C.D. 285–6, and also Pietro della Valle *Viaggi*, letter of 8.8.1620: whether the lay brother recovered or not is not clear.

EMMANUEL of S. Albert (afterwards Bishop of Baghdad)

(Although only 10 months of his work were passed in Persia proper the biographical notice of this remarkably able missionary prelate is included in this series, because he superintended the mission at Hamadan in Persia, and greatly interested himself in it for over 20 years, and because he is a valuable source of historical information regarding events and changes in the Persian situation, more valuable indeed than his contemporary colleagues in Persia itself.)

A Frenchman.

Family name: Bruno *Ballyet*.⁷ Born 21.11.1702 in the diocese of Besançon. Prov. in

¹ O.C.D. 237 m.

² and ³ Fr. Dimas, letter of 3.8.1626, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁴ O.C.D. 237 b.

⁵ See *Series Professionum S. Silvestro in Tusculano*, cited.

⁶ O.C.D. 234 c. See *Account of the Voyage of Fr. Redempt*.

⁷ This is how he himself spelt his name in numerous letters, all signed, "Fr. Emmanuel Ballyet de St. Albert, C.D. Evesque de Babilonne", e.g. those of 8.9.1755, *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 301; 28.7.1757, *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 404; 8.7.1758, *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 398; 20.7.1758, *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 411; 15.7.1763, *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 178. "Baillet" is the modernized and Latinized spelling adopted, e.g. in his published Latin report of 1754, Rome; and in Fr. Lemmens', O.F.M., *Hierarchia Latina Orientis*.

Order: Burgundy. His brother also entered the Order, and as Fr. Symphorian of S. Andrew became Praepositus General of it in 1740-3. After completion of studies sent to the seminary for Carmelite missions at San Pancrazio, Rome,¹ and was destined for the mission in Persia and Mesopotamia and about to sail in 1728,² when in the sitting of the

"Sacr. Congregation on 26.9.1728 the Secretary reported: ' . . . the diocese being without
 " 'a Vicar Apostolic, Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, Discalced Carmelite, having resigned the
 " 'charge, our Holy Father has instead placed there in it as Vicar Apostolic Monsignor
 " 'd'Oea' (i.e. F. Bernard Mary of Jesus (Beamonte)), '100 scudi being reserved for the
 " 'benefit of a Pro-Vicar to be chosen and deputed by this Sacr. Cong., and who will have
 " 'the duty of managing the government of the diocese of Babylon in question. Meanwhile,
 " 'as it did not seem more suitable to choose as Pro-Vicar any other than a Discalced
 " 'Carmelite Religious in view of the fact that their missions are situated near the said
 " 'diocese, so therefore the General of the said Order proposes Fr. Emmanuel of S. Albert,
 " 'Discalced Carmelite, native of Burgundy, although young in age, yet very learned and
 " 'well bred.' "

And the Cardinals in Congregation "agreed to the deputation of a Pro-Vicar in the person
 "of Fr. Emmanuel".³ Small wonder that Fr. Emmanuel at this early age of 26 wrote in his
 letter of 26th November 1728 (from Rome ?) that he had been "astonished" when about to sail
 at receiving from the Cardinal Prefect a letter notifying him of this appointment.⁴ He reached
 Aleppo on his journey out 10.9.1729:⁵ and there is a note by the secretariat of the Sacr. Cong.
 in *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 546:

"Fr. Emmanuel, destined as Pro-Vicar Apostolic of the diocese of Babylon, reports that
 "he had arrived at his residence about the middle of September of the year 1729."

It is evident that Bishop Emmanuel made an error of memory as to the year of his first
 arrival in Baghdad—and presumably also in the time of his departure from Rome—when he
 published in 1754 his report to Pope Benedict XIV regarding the diocese of Baghdad, and
 wrote:

"In the month of March 1728 I left the Seminary of S. Pancrazio in the City, about to
 "depart out East, and in the month of *September* I reached Baghdad after a prosperous
 "journey and passage."

For, apart from his own letters of November 1728 and October 1731 on the subject, there
 is confirmation in Fr. Joseph Mary's letter of 6th July 1729 from Baghdad (*S.N.R.*, IV, p. 533)
 that it was towards the end of September 1729 that Fr. Emmanuel entered Baghdad:

"I have received letters from Fr. Emmanuel of my Order, by which he notifies me that
 "he has been made Pro-Vicar Apostolic of this diocese of Babylon. . . . Where Fr.
 "Emmanuel may be I do not know. He had written me from the borders of Palestine."

In his printed report of 1753-4, cited, he tells how he found no Catholic missionary in
 Baghdad on his first arrival: for over 20 years the Capuchins had abandoned their former
 mission: and there was such fear of punishment that his Catholic layman host would not
 agree to other persons coming to the house to hear Mass said on Sundays and Feasts by Fr.
 Emmanuel during his stay. The latter therefore decided to learn Turkish sufficiently to talk

¹ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia in his biography in *Hier. Carmelitana*, 1934.

² and ⁴ Fr. Emmanuel, 29.11.1728, *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 28.

³ Fr. L. Lemmens, O.F.M., in *Hierarchia Latina Orientis*, vol. II, No 10, part 2.

⁵ Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, 10.12.1729, *S.N.R.*, IV, p 52.

it fluently and went to Hamadan in Persia where for 6 months he studied it before returning to Baghdad, where during his absence at his request his predecessor had come back from Aleppo. Fr. Emmanuel's residence in Hamadan must have been between November 1729 and May 1730, because on the 12th June 1730¹ he had arrived at Basra, and sailed thence for Pondicherry on the 7th July—*Chron. Basra* adds:

“on some business connected with the Baghdad mission, or for establishing a French merchant of the East India Company in Baghdad, which I thought impossible, as it turned out, and his journey was in vain”.

But Fr. Emmanuel himself, in his Latin report published in 1754, explains:

“in order to place this Mission on a stable and profitable basis, on the advice of Fr. Joseph Mary I considered it would be the sole method, if a petition were presented to the French Viceroy in the East Indies, that a letter should be addressed” (i.e. by him) “to the Governor of Baghdad” (saying) “that it would be convenient, on account of divers business facilities, that the French should be established there” (i.e. in Baghdad) “with every sort of liberty and should build for themselves their own house. Fr. Joseph Mary added that, if he were not so advanced in years, he would proceed himself to execute this plan and that, if I did not object to going there, he would take every care of the mission until my return: encouraged by the promise of that excellent man, without any delay in the month of June 1730 I set out for Basra and after a few days sailed, and reached Pondicherry after 3 months' voyage. The Viceroy having learnt the reason of my arrival summoned the Council, to which I myself was admitted and stated my petition: it being approved, he sent me back very courteously with letters and gifts, and I returned to Baghdad 9 [? sic] months after my departure thence. As the Governor” (i.e. of Baghdad) “received me and the gifts brought favourably, he gave permission for us to found a House.”

On his return from Pondicherry by the French ship *Union* Fr. Emmanuel reached Basra 25.5.1731 and left for Baghdad 4.6.1731.²

“So,” the report of 1753–4 continues, “in the year 1731,³ not far from the houses of the Catholics, we bought for 500 piastres a house in ruins, but the extent of which could provide a place for a church and very spacious house. The construction would cost not less than 10,000 isolotas” (piastres) “in the opinion of the architect: since we were unable to meet such expenditure and scarcely to pay the cost-price to the seller . . . in the place destined for the church we built a chapel suitable for existing requirements, dedicating it to S. Thomas, Apostle of the Indies. . . .”

Alone at Baghdad since the 18th September, his first letter⁴ after his return dealt with the ruined condition of the episcopal residence and chapel in the town of Hamadan, then just retaken for the third time by an army—the Turkish—and stated that as soon as a companion joined him from Basra he proposed himself to start for Hamadan in order to restore that mission. But it was for Constantinople that Fr. Emmanuel had left some time before July 1732, as asserted by Fr. Joseph Mary in two letters⁵ of July and August that year (we may speculate that this expedition was to obtain assistance from the French ambassador, possibly in respect of the new chapel in Baghdad, or against malice by schismatics): and then it is from Sidon in Syria on 12.7.1733, after he had landed on July 1st on his return voyage, that we next hear of Fr. Emmanuel:⁶ and he tells of the ‘pestilence’—cholera, perhaps, seeing that the

¹ and ² *Chron. Basra*.

³ In April 1731 he informs the Pope in another place in his printed report of 1753 4.

⁴ 1.10.1731, *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 548.

⁵ 4.7.1732, *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 226, and 20.8.1732 from Baghdad, *S.N.R.*, IV.

⁶ On May 11, 1733, by the translation of Mgr d'Oea to the See of Lipari, Fr. Emmanuel became Vicar Apostolic of the diocese of Baghdad—cf. *Hier. Carmelitana*, quoted.

season was past midsummer—raging in Aleppo. He had left Tripoli on 8.9 1733 and arrived in Aleppo on 17.9.1733¹ to find that the epidemic had ceased, after making—as computed—upwards of 60,000 victims in Aleppo alone (no European among them except on the 3rd June Fr. Jerome, the Carmelite Vicar Provincial, who had bravely exposed himself to infection by attending those sick). Now having a companion Religious, Fr. Emmanuel hoped to leave for Baghdad “as soon as the roads are open”, for the Persian army under Tahmasp Quli Khan was threatening Baghdad. But he was still detained at Aleppo in March 1734 owing to the blockade of Baghdad by the Persians;² caravans had been stopped for two years and, having got as far as Urfa once, he had been obliged to return to Aleppo, where for the rest he was not idle, seeing that he had had made or got together a quantity of necessaries for the chapel at Baghdad, the house at Hamadan—chalices, candlesticks, tabernacle, monstrance, sacred pictures—and even bought furniture for the living house. Shortly before 3rd May 1734 Fr. Emmanuel was again in Baghdad (he notes that the cost of living was twice as dear as in Europe, owing to the desolation caused by the wars). He was alone at Baghdad in September 1735,³ but had been joined by Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia on 18.12 1735:⁴ and by the beginning of May 1736 he was visiting Hamadan, seeing to the repairs. Having seen the episcopal house put in good condition, after 4 months spent in Hamadan,⁵ he arrived back in Baghdad 4.9 1736.⁶

“The English Consul from Basra has come to Baghdad for his business affairs and is “my special friend, or rather of all the missionaries, and his recommendations to the Pasha “and notables (on our behalf) contribute greatly towards making the Catholic Faith “victorious in this fine mission, because the said Consul is that same one who liberated “Basra some months ago from invasions by the Arabs and Persians. Wherefore his “recommendation has had all the effect I could hope.”⁷

There was strife between the Pashas of Baghdad and Basra at that period, and the former was avaricious and wanted funds: so the ‘recommendations’ of that English consul proved evanescent in effect, and Fr. Emmanuel goes on to relate (in his printed report of 1753-4):

“ . . . Two missionaries were sent to labour with me in accordance with my request “and I always lived with them in great poverty, so that by parsimony I might be able to “build the church and adorn it fittingly. . . . But the heretic Armenians, jealous at these “successful beginnings and also at the return of many of their number to Holy Church, “by repeated accusations traduced us to the Governor, who was greedy to make money “out of it and so worked it that in the month of August of the year 1737 at length we were “obliged to succumb. I myself and the chief Catholics were put in fetters; but when the “sum of 30,000 piastres had been paid by the Catholics, 700 by myself, our fetters were “unfastened, the Church restored and the Catholics remained free, as before. I informed “the Most Christian King” (i.e. of France) “and his envoy at the Ottoman Porte of this “insult. The King, judging that a commission as consul would be greatly to my protection, “was pleased to honour me with it, appointing me consul of the French Nation, and at “the same time instructed his envoy to protect our mission as much as he could, whether “by gifts, or by commendatory letters to the governor, by which actions for some while “we enjoyed peace and tranquillity. The heretic Armenians, giving up hope of doing us “injury, ceased from raging against us. . . .”

¹ *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 278.

² Compare, however, the statement in *Chron. Basra*: “The gates of the city of Babylon were opened and freed from the “besieging army of Tahmasp Quli Khan on the 17th of July 1733.”

³ His letter of 9.9.1735, *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 390.

⁴ His letter of 8.3.1736, *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 375.

⁵ He left Hamadan actually 8.8.1736, wrote to Fr. Leander that day (*S.N.R.*, IV, p. 422).

⁶ Bp. Philip Mary of S. Augustine, Baghdad, 29.9.1736, *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 419, and Fr. Emmanuel, *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 421.

⁷ His letter of 8.3.1736: this was doubtless Mr. French (? “the Englishman” who lent the 686 piastres to pay his release from prison, *vide* summary to *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 517).

In March 1739 Fr. Emmanuel¹ set out for Rome; a copy of a letter addressed to him from Baghdad by Fr. Leander on 26.6.1739² is superscribed "at present in Rome", and refers to a previous letter reporting acts of persecution suffered after the departure of the Vicar Apostolic. Written from the Convent of Monte della Pietà Fr. Emmanuel's own letter of 22.4.1740³ to the Cardinal Prefect mentioned that he had arrived in Rome during the conclave (i.e. in 1740 following the death of Clement XII and leading to the election of Benedict XIV) and also that, after his experiences in prison in 1737, he had been struck down by the "pestilence" (? plague or cholera) and had been ill for a whole year as the result of that dangerous malady, i.e. presumably through most of 1738. A minute attached in the secretariat of the Sacr. Cong. to this letter adds the information that Fr. Emmanuel had come to Rome for the Chapter General of his Order, as one of the *vocali*—voters in the election (perhaps then as Procurator for the Persian mission?)—a fact all the more interesting because it was precisely at the election in 1740 that his own brother, Fr. Symphorian of S. Andrew, became Praepositus General of the Order. His main business was, however, to try and secure from the Sacr. Cong. more ample grants from the income of the endowment of the sec of Baghdad invested in the Luoghi di Monti and bringing in 522 scudi annually: there were debts to pay—686 piastres given him on loan for release from prison, other sums borrowed, while he himself, until in 1740 he was granted 210 scudi as his personal allowance, had been allotted only 100 per annum. The Sacr. Cong. did not comply, it would seem, but decided to assign him two more Religious for work in the diocese "one now, another at the time of his return".

The authorities in Rome must, however, have been favourably impressed by Fr. Emmanuel's personality for, when the report of the death of the *de jure* but contumacious bishop Mgr Varlet in Holland on 17.5.1742 reached the Sacr. Cong., forthwith it recommended to the Pope Fr. Emmanuel's name for the succession, and the Pope approved on 30.6.1742, the Bull for the elevation of Fr. Emmanuel issuing on 26.11.1742.⁴ Whenever it may have been—in 1741 or 1742—that he left Rome, it would seem as if he had not got back to Baghdad in the interval, as it was in Aleppo that Fr. Emmanuel received the news of his promotion, and wrote (26.1.1743) that he awaited the Bulls there: they reached him on 3.6.1743.⁵ The bishop-elect

'tried in vain to get to Persia for his consecration, for all the roads were closed by the wars, and (his letter of 13.11.1743) he had come to Malta as the nearest place, and had 'then been in quarantine there eight days',⁶

after having called on the voyage at Rhodes, where an ex-Grand Vizir, having learnt of his arrival, in a long conversation wished to have Fr. Emmanuel's information about the fortifications of Baghdad, about the notables, etc.⁷ His consecration by the Bishop of Malta in the cathedral there took place on the fourth Sunday of Advent 1743: the text of the oath taken before Mgr Paul de Bussan, 'knight grand cross of the Order of S. John', is given on pp. 106-14 of *S.N.R.*, V, under date 21.12.1743. On p. 105 of that volume is given the new Bishop's memorial in Latin to the Pope, by which he asked for the revenue *in toto* from the 6,000 Spanish doubloons (the original endowment for the sec of Baghdad by Mme Ricouart), as well as for the income earned by this capital during the past 26 years that the sec had been vacant, in order that he might with part of the money reconstruct the Bishop's residence and church at Hamadan, pay debts due on that establishment (e.g. to the Carmelites of Isfahan): on p. 124 there is preserved a further, and important letter from him to the Cardinals of the Congregation regarding the needs of the diocese and about the house at Hamadan: he urged with much force that his predecessor, Mgr Pidou, had received 800 scudi annually from this source—how, then, could the income from the endowment be only 532 scudi in 1744. The new bishop went on—this was in March 1744—that he intended to be the first bishop to reside within

¹ Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia in his book, *Secondo Viaggio*, Rome, 1757.

² *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 506.

³ *Idem*, p. 517.

⁴ *Idem*, V, p. 49, and Fr. Lemmens' *Hierarchia Latina Orientis*, vol. II, No. 10, part 2.

⁵ His letter of 30.6.1643 from Aleppo in *S.N.R.*, V, p. 86.

⁶ *S.N.R.*, V, p. 94.

⁷ *Idem*, p. 96, letter of 14.11.1743.

the limits of the diocese. All this pressure seems to have met scant satisfaction, for Bishop Emmanuel was still in Malta at the end of June 1744, when he wrote that he needed money before he would be able to continue his journey;¹ although in March of that year he had received instructions that he was to carry the pallium to the patriarch of the Maronites in the Libanan (whom elsewhere he called 'Cyril, patriarch of the Greeks'—a mission which delayed him six months).² Ultimately he entered Baghdad on 5.7.1746³—after over 7 years' continuous absence, it is to be presumed—and brought with him a "fine present" and letters of recommendation to the benevolence of the Pasha from the French ambassador in Constantinople. Early in 1747 he was in Basra, and *Cont. Basra Chron.* relates that

"to meet the Prelate, there betook themselves to Minawi the French Pro-Consul Marcel Dumont, the English Resident Gridon [? *sic*] and Mynheer Canter the Dutch Resident "with several other European and Eastern merchants and, when salutes had been fired "by the English and Dutch ships there, they escorted him with ceremony to our House. . . ."

He signed the baptismal register 14.1747, pontificated on Holy Thursday, and gave Confirmation on Holy Saturday, before returning "towards Baghdad 20.5.1747". His letter, dated 20.11.1746 from Baghdad, complained of receiving no replies to his letters to the Sacr. Cong. during his delegation away, as also of no money allowances coming to hand for two years past: and the irony of the situation stands enhanced, since this letter was endorsed and docketed in the Sacr. Cong. "arrived 10.9.1750", i.e. four years after the complaints were written! Those were troublous times, of wars, and corsairs and interrupted communications, no doubt: and there is a whole interval of over two years before the next letter of the Bishop which is extant, that of 16.5.1749,⁴ wherein he remarked that it was now the fifth year since he had received no stipends, and to add to his hardships he was ailing in health. Worse still was to follow. Three months later, on 19.8.1749,⁵ he gave details of the "most cruel persecution" ever suffered since he had been in the East. On the 31st July officials from the Pasha had shut and sealed up the church and his house, deprived him of his episcopal ring and led him together with Fr. Constantius, his secretary, off to prison, where they were in chains for 8 days and he suffered much from the great heat of the season and the noisome conditions. Owing to representations by friendly notables to the Pasha, that such violence might well have an ill sequel at Constantinople, the Bishop and his companion had been released the Thursday before he wrote and the church was again open, the sacred rites being performed as usual, while the churches of their sectarian adversaries remained shut. This affair—the Factor of the Dutch Company had also been imprisoned—had been a desperate measure of the Pasha of Baghdad, Tiryaki Mehmed an ex-Grand Vizir, who had just been worsted in a struggle with the Pasha of Basra, Sulaiman, and had thought to obtain much money in fines and confiscations. But it had involved the Bishop in 400 piastres of expenses, which he trusted the Sacr. Cong. would meet, and

"after such an affront to a Bishop and Consul of France I considered that it behoved me "to absent myself for a while, so that I decided to retire to Aleppo and there await orders "from the French Court, those of Your Eminence and the replies from Constantinople, so "that I may subsequently return to Baghdad in all honour. The doctors have assured "me that my native air should be able to cure my giddiness and deafness, and so I beg "Your Eminence to be so good as to give your consent to my making this journey and "recovering my health. . . ."

The Bishop was, however, still in Baghdad on 26.3.1750,⁶ when he wrote to Rome regarding affairs of the Chaldaean patriarch and church; and there is no indication in the documents

¹ *S.N.R.*, V, p. 123, letter of 28.3.1744.

² His letter of 20.11.1746 in *S.N.R.*, V, p. 180.

³ *Idem*, p. 324.

⁴ *Idem* his printed report of 1753-4 to the Pope.

⁵ *S.N.R.*, V, p. 323.

⁶ *Idem*, p. 405.

perused to show when exactly he left Baghdad for Aleppo—whether in 1752 or early in 1753; but he was at Mardin 30.6.1753 and in Cyprus on 22.8.1753,¹ and he had been still at Baghdad when he consecrated there on 16.4.1752 Fr. Sebastian of S. Margaret as Bishop of Isfahan.² One abiding result of his visit to Rome is his report, already mentioned, to Pope Benedict XIV:

“Ad Benedictum Decimum Quartum Pontificem Maximum Literae, quibus eum
“certiorem fecit De initio, progressu et praesenti statu Missionis Babyloniae Fr. Emmanuel
“Baillet a Sto Alberto, Carmelita Discalceatus primum Vicarius Apostolicus, deinde
“Episcopus Babyloniensis et Consul Gallicae Nationis”—

(printed ‘Romae. MDCCCLIV apud Josephum Collinum’), and dated in the manuscript copy preserved in *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 123, “Romae, in conventu SS. Theresiae et Joannis a Cruce
“Carmelitarum Discalceatorum XV Kalendas Januarii anni 1753”: it is a readable and businesslike account, in which the formation of the Catholic-Uniat community in Baghdad and their consolidation and rise in numbers can be historically traced. That the Bishop subsequently had the satisfaction of enjoying his “native air” is apparent from his letter of the 20th September 1754,³ dated from Paris:

“La lettre dont Votre Eminence m’a honorée ne m’est parvenue que depuis peu de
“jours parce qu’elle était adressée à Besançon, ma patrie, d’où on me l’a renvoyée à
“Paris . . .”:

in it he was rebutting a claim put forward by the new Bishop of Isfahan, whom he had consecrated, that Basra should be detached from the diocese of Baghdad and allotted to that of Isfahan in lieu of Hamadan, and vigorously, for he invoked the prestige of France:

“. . . 30. Votre Eminence n’ignore pas que depuis 27 ans que je suis dans les Missions,
“j’y ay souffert de rudes et cruelles persecutions de la part des Turcs et hérétiques, j’y été
“deux fois emprisonné et chargé de chaînes, toutes les autres fois que j’ay pu prévoir les
“persécutions je ne les ay évité qu’en me retirant à Bassora, qui a toujours été un lieu de
“refuge pour les missionnaires persecutés à Babylone, cela à cause du grand commerce
“que la Compagnie Royale des Indes y fait, et nous y protège efficacement. Si je consentois
“à la proposition de Mgr l’Évêque, je n’aurois plus aucun refuge dans mon diocèse et la
“résidence à laquelle sont obligés les évêques de Babylone par le décret de N. St. Père le
“Pape, cette résidence dis-je deviendrait impossible. 40. Votre Eminence est trop éclairée
“pour ne pas apercevoir que la proposition de M. l’Évêque d’Ispahan est tout à fait con-
“traire aux droits de la France, qui ne consentirait jamais à un pareil démembrement au
“préjudice de ses sujets des Indes, qui commercent à Bassora sous sa protection desquels
“la mission s’est toujours soutenue jusqu’à présent, et que je ne pourrais jamais l’accepter
“sans encourir la disgrâce du Roy mon souverain qui ne m’a honoré du Consulat que pour
“soutenir mon caractère d’évêque tant à Babylone, qu’à Bassora, et pour le service de ses
“sujets qui s’y commercent. . . .”

Bishop Emmanuel’s letter of 20.4.1757⁴ mentions “il y a 3 années que je suis parti de
“Rome . . .”: for those three years no stipend had found its way to him. On his return
journey he reached Aleppo on Thursday, 4.9.1755,⁵ in company with two priests from the
Seminary for Foreign Missions at Paris on their way to found a mission on the island of
Socotra: and he remained at Aleppo, detained first by inclemencies of winter, till some date
between February 1756 and the beginning of December 1756, when he addressed a letter from

¹ See letter of Fr. Lanza, O.P., in *S.R.*, vol. 757, p. 276, who met Bishop Emmanuel there; and see Bp. Emmanuel’s printed report of 1753-4 about his visit to Mardin.

² *S.R.*, vol. 753, see letter of Bishop Sebastian of 25.4.1752.

⁴ *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 400.

³ *Vide S.R.*, vol. 759.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 301, letter of 8.9.1755.

Baghdad; so that he had again been absent from headquarters in his diocese for 3 years. At Aleppo he called on the Capuchins to submit to his jurisdiction: in 1763,¹ on the other hand, he was defending himself at much length against an accusation of infringing the jurisdiction of the Chaldaean Uniat patriarch. In *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 419, dated 14.5.1754, there is given the text of a decree issued by Pope Benedict XIV in a Congregation held 29.4.1754, which begins: "Frater Emmanuel Baillet a Sancto Alberto, C.D. . . .": on p. 418 of another decree of the Congregation held 24.9.1758, and on p. 488 a further reference to those decrees, which concerned matters of jurisdiction—just as there is on pp. 455–64 a long summary discussing the plea of the Chaldaean Uniat patriarch that the Latin Bishop of Babylon should observe the above-mentioned decree of 1758, which restored to each of the oriental prelates his own jurisdiction.

In 1765 Bishop Emmanuel determined to visit Rome again:²

" . . . Le decennium sans une visite des Sts Apôtres estant expiré ie me propose avec
"la feste de Pacque prochain de profiter de la première caravane qui se présenterait pour
"aller rendre compte à V. Eminence et à la Sacr. Cong. de mon administration . . ."

and he left Baghdad that spring. One of his own letters³ gives the date of his departure from Rome on his return journey, i.e. 11.6.1767 and, sailing from Marseilles to Alexandretta, he reached Aleppo 17.9.1767, found the great caravan about to leave and made the crossing of the desert in 34 days, entering Baghdad 10.11.1767.

Although on the death of Mgr Sebastian of S. Margaret Bishop Emmanuel had written to the Sacr. Cong.⁴ suggesting that a fresh appointment to the see of Isfahan would be pointless in view of the almost extinct Catholic community at Isfahan and the disturbed conditions in Persia—a suggestion ignored by the Sacr. Cong.—yet, when Bishop Cornelius came to resign the see and the cardinals in Congregation directed that Bishop Emmanuel should administer the affairs of the diocese of Isfahan,⁵ the latter by his letter of 5.7.1772⁶ asked to be excused from the charge, and suggested it should be given to a Vicar Apostolic. His relations with the last Bishop of Isfahan, Mgr Cornelius of S. Joseph, seem to have been of mutual esteem, for when at the end of 1771 Elias, the schismatic Chaldaean patriarch, made his submission publicly at Baghdad in the church of Bishop Emmanuel, it was Mgr Cornelius whom the latter invited to be present,⁷ and to whom he entrusted the affidavits and documents to be taken to Rome in this connection.⁸

In March 1773 plague again began to rage in Mesopotamia, and all the six Carmelites at Basra, Baghdad, Mardin died of it—see the entry from the Basra parochial book, transcribed by the author of *Annales de la Maison de Bagdad*, vol. 1, p. 52, under date 20.4.1773:

"On the 20th April the unhappy news arrived that on the 27th March the reverend
"Fathers Angelus of S. Anne and Claude of S. Joseph, both of the province of Burgundy,
"having caught the infection, had yielded their souls to God: further, that on the 4th April
"the illustrious and most reverend Emmanuel of S. Albert, Bishop of Babylon, and Fr.
"Constantius of S. Hyacinth had similarly perished of the plague. . . ."

In his 71st year, it was then 43½ years since the first arrival at Baghdad of Bishop Emmanuel, and, though in that period he had been away from Baghdad no less than 14 years⁹ in all, his missionary career in the Middle East had been one of the longest in the record of the Carmelites. The first resident Bishop of Baghdad, his tireless activity made him in a real sense the organizer and founder of the Uniat and Latin Catholicism seen in modern days in the capital of 'Iraq,

¹ *S.N.R.*, VII, pp. 182–5.

² *Idem*, p. 478, of 27.12.1767.

³ *Acta of Sacr. Cong.* for 1770, Cong. of 2.4.1770.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 19: letter of 1.12.1772, Bp. Emmanuel.

⁵ i.e. 9 months in Hamadan, 1 year on the Pondicherry journey, 7 years between 1739 and 1746, 3 years between 1753–6, and 2½ years between 1765–7.

² *Idem*, p. 292, letter of 5.1.1765.

⁴ *S.N.R.*, vol. 1773, p. 279, letter of 2.12.1755.

⁶ *S.N.R.*, VIII, p. 36.

⁸ Bp. Cornelius' letter, 16.2.1772, *S.N.R.*, VIII, p. 24.

not alone in the building of a mission and church in the face of the almost insuperable difficulties that the Ottoman Government always made to the erection of new churches, but, as he himself wrote in his printed report of 1753-4:

"when I left Rome for Baghdad in March 1728 [*? sic 1729*], there were in this diocese "about 60,000 Catholics . . . and so in the space of 26 years there has been an accession "of 40,000 called into the bosom of the Church by God's grace, through the labours of "the missionaries, Capuchins, Dominicans, Discalced Carmelites, Students of the College "of Prop. Fide, and clergy of the Patriarch Joseph and Bishop Markar of Mardin".

Of Catholic (*? Latin*) families in Baghdad, when Fr. Emmanuel first arrived in 1729, there were only 30: by 1753 already there were 86, numbering 480 souls. The Danish traveller Karsten Niebuhr in 1765 referred to him as "greatly beloved by all, not only by Christians "but also by Muhammadans": his other characteristics may be deduced from the preceding notes and from his letters—his care to maintain the rights of his episcopal jurisdiction, his fitting himself linguistically to deal with officials and people, his activity in reporting to Rome on current events and in keeping missionaries at Hamadan, Mardin, Mausil and elsewhere. But he was also a great Frenchman, who found that his own country would afford protection to the mission in Mesopotamia and relied much on his consular status: the see having been endowed by a Frenchwoman for bishops of French race, he gathered round him French missionaries, and his own nephew by marriage, Pyrault, was the representative at Basra of the French East India Company. During his last visit to Rome, and the day before his departure, he made in person to the Definitory General of his Order¹ a

"solemn donation of the house, convent and church in the city of Babylon with all its "appurtenances and premises, made by him with his own money. Further, in virtue of "this he declares that after his death, whenever a Discalced Carmelite Religious be made "bishop of Babylon, he should enjoy those same apartments for the service of the Church: "on the other hand, however, if a secular priest or Religious of another Order should be "promoted to the said bishopric, he shall have no right over the said house, convent, "church, etc. Besides this, the same Monsgr Emmanuel similarly gives to the said Definitory General a small house, which he possesses in Basra, opposite our convent, which "brings in annually 100 piastres, but the half of the said 100 piastres goes in upkeep of "the said house: and this donation is made by the said Monsignor to the Definitory General "under the stipulation of the rent from the said house being applied to the advantage of "the said mission of Baghdad. . . . Rome. . . . 10th June 1767. . . ."

From this income indeed till the French Revolution the Order always maintained two missionaries at Baghdad. The letters of Bishop Emmanuel are voluminous, and most of them in French.

Letters extant:

29.11.1728	Rome?	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 28
1.10.1731	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 548
12.7.1733	Sidon	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 274
29.9.1733	Aleppo	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 278
5.3.1734	Aleppo	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 297
before May 1734	Aleppo	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 359
3.5.1734	Baghdad	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 684, p. 42
9.9.1735	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 390
8.3.1736	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 375

¹ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist of the Order, in footnote to his biography of Fr. Emmanuel in his *Hierarchia Carmelitana*.

3.10.1736	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 421
22.4.1740	Rome	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 517
21.9.1740	Rome	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 703, p. 447
26.1.1743	Aleppo	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 70
26.1.1743	Aleppo	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 74
5.3.1743	Aleppo	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 72
30.6.1743	Aleppo	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 86
13.11.1743	Malta	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 94
14.11.1743	Malta	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 96
22.12.1743	Malta	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, pp. 104, 106-14
8.2.1744	Malta	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 100
28.3.1744	Malta	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 121
28.3.1744	Malta	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 123
—3.1744	Malta	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 124
25.4.1744	Malta	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 127
25.4.1744	Malta	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 129
27.6.1744	Malta	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 131
20.11.1746	Baghdad	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 733, p. 430
20.11.1746	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 180
15.1.1749	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 266
16.5.1749	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 323
19.8.1749	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 324
26.3.1750	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 405
—1.1753	Rome	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 123
20.9.1754	Paris	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 759, p. (?)
8.9.1755	Aleppo	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 301
14.10.1755	Aleppo	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 302
2.12.1755	Aleppo	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 773, p. 279
20.1.1756	Aleppo	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 275
2.2.1756	Aleppo	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 261
2.2.1756	Aleppo	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 303
10.12.1756	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 271
20.4.1757	Baghdad	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 773, p. (?)
20.4.1757	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 400
28.7.1757	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 404
20.1.1758	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 410
8.7.1758	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 398
20.7.1758	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 411
16.6.1760	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 598
19.6.1760	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , I, p. 280
15.7.1760	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 629
26.11.1760	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 644
10.1.1761	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 632
24.3.1761	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 79
19.6.1761	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 93
29.6.1761	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 103
17.4.1762	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 156
12.5.1762	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 162
(jointly) 10.2.1763	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 182-5
25.5.1763	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 211
15.7.1763	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 178
28.11.1763	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 239
20.3.1764	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 256

	5.1.1765	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 293
	27.12.1767	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 478
(jointly)	—1768	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 509
	1.12.1771	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 669
	1.12.1771	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VIII, p. 19
	18.1.1772	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VIII, p. 18
	5.7.1772	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VIII, p. 36
	5.7.1772	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VIII, p. 64
	10.8.1772	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VIII, p. 67
	25.8.1772	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VIII, p. 93

EPIPHANIUS of S. John Baptist

A subject of the Papal States.

Family name: Giov. Battista Soccioli, son of Francesco S. and Brigida Rastagna. Born in 1580 at Modigliana, diocese of Faenza. Prov. in Order: first, the Roman; later, after its formation, transferred to that of Lombardy. Professed at S. Maria della Scala, 10.4.1616.¹ While Definitor of the second province named, appointed by the Definitory General, 8.12.1628, to be Visitor General of the Missions (see *Regesta*, vol. II, p. 21). Instructions given by the Definitory General in 1630 during his term are on record in O.C.D. 284 g.—he left Rome 8.2.1629, accompanied by Frs. Ignatius of Jesus, Philip of the Most Holy Trinity and John Antony after having been on the 4th February to kiss the feet of the Pope. Left Naples 19.2.1629: reached Isfahan² 17.8.1629, and on the following days had a first discussion with the Katholikos of the Armenians, Moses, who with other leading Armenian schismatic ecclesiastics had then recently written to the Pope expressing the wish for reunion but not making clear their doctrinal position.³ As a result of the discussions, the Visitor General pointed out that it was not that the creed professed by the Katholikos himself and his genuine readiness for submission was in doubt, but whether the Armenian race or community in Persia as a whole could be brought to subscribe to the doctrine of the Council of Chalcedon: and the patriarch assured Fr. Epiphanius that he would summon a synod in order to obtain general acceptance. Fr. Epiphanius' letter of 10.9.1629⁴ from Isfahan deals with these discussions. (The death of the Katholikos Moses not long after interfered with further progress.)

Leaving Isfahan on 13.9.1629⁵ with Fr. Dominic of Christ, Fr. Epiphanius proceeded to Shiraz, the closure of which mission he recommended, and thence to Tatta in Sind. He arrived in Goa at the end of January 1630.⁶ In Goa Fr. Epiphanius launched on the building of a new convent—an edifice so capacious and imposing that it aroused criticism⁷ among the Carmelites, and those in Persian stations were the more displeased because all available funds were expended on it.⁸ A letter of Fr. Dimas from Isfahan, 7.3.1632, mentions

“ . . . the Visitor has sent news that he will not return to Persia till next year . . . ”

and again on 20.5.1634:

“ . . . the Prior of Goa wrote me that the Visitor had in mind to found a Residence in the “straits of Masqat at a place named Doba taken by the Portuguese a few years ago from “certain Arabs, and to colonize it with the Sabacans whom Fr. Basil sent to India. . . . ”

¹ *Vide Series Professionum* at S. Maria d. Scala, part 2, p. 171, by Fr. Marcellinus a S. Teresa.

² Fr. Dimas, 18.9.1629, O.C.D. 237 b.

³ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct. in MSS. *Hist. Miss.* in O.C.D., vol. V, chaps. 25–30.

⁴ *S.R.*, vol. 115, *Lettere di Levante*.

⁵ *Idem*, 8.8.1630, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁶ Fr. Dimas, 14.2.1631 and 7.3.1632, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁷ Fr. Dimas, 18.9.1629, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁸ Fr. Ignatius, 19.12.1634, O.C.D. 238 r.

The same Vicar Provincial in a postscript of 22.9.1634 to his letter of 1.8.1634 makes the position clear:

" . . . I have had a letter recently from the Fr. Visitor General, dated 29th March last (1634) from Goa, in which he writes that he must remain there another 6 months, but I think his stay will be longer. You will have already learnt of the expenditure that our Fr. Visitor is making in Goa chiefly on buildings, which I understand will turn out very sumptuous and little according to our style and simplicity, each month spending 1,000 serafini (= 500 piastres). On this building has been spent the money deposited by the Genoese, which Your Reverence writes me that I should have transferred to Persia for the upkeep of the mission, in addition to the legacy left us by Cavallini for making our church" (i.e. at Isfahan) "and other money which the House at Goa owes to this in Persia. Since our Fr. Visitor has been in Goa he has sent us not a farthing—I say it without exaggeration—except for 30 Tumans which two years ago he had sent for Sindi. Certainly the mission in Persia owes little to the Fr. Visitor. This is one of the reasons why a return has not been made to the House at Shiraz. . . ."¹

That his activities in India afforded satisfaction to the Portuguese authorities on the other hand may be seen from a letter of the Viceroy Conde de Lincros [*sic*]:²

" . . . Fr. Epiphanius is a person, with whose proceedings, example and virtue I can declare that all India remains greatly satisfied. . . ."

Ultimately he left Goa in September 1634, passing at sea within sight of Cape Musandim Frs. Dimas and Eustace on their way to Goa, and leaving Basra for Rome in February 1635:³ two days' distance out of Baghdad he met the new Visitor General, Fr. James of S. Teresa: and on 28.5.1635 he was awaiting a caravan for Aleppo. In a letter of his own of that date, Fr. Epiphanius admitted to the Praepositus General in Rome that he had greatly exceeded the term of his office in remaining nearly 5 years in India

" . . . in Goa, where if I have contravened our holy obedience in staying longer than Your Reverence intended, I must not and shall not try to justify myself, in order not to cause the more scandal by so doing: if I reach there (Rome) I shall submit with much goodwill to the penance for my disobedience. . . ."⁴

He had doubtless learnt from Fr. James during their meeting that clause No. 9 of the instructions given to the latter by the Praepositus General directed him to "signify to Fr. Epiphanius that his functions as Visitor General have expired and he should return".⁵

Fr. Epiphanius afterwards wrote his *Itinerary* to India. Elected Vicar Provincial of prov. of Lombardy, 1.5.1637; founder of Convent, Modena, 1638.

Died at Milan 3.4.1650.⁶

Letters extant:

10.9.1629	Isfahan	<i>Lettere di Levante</i> (Prop. Fide), vol. 115, p. 361.
25.12.1631	Goa	<i>Lettere di Spagna</i> (Prop. Fide), vol. 104 (V), p. 299.
28.5.1635	Baghdad	O.C.D. 242 e.

¹ See S.R., vol. 135, p. 507, Fr. Dimas' letter of 2.11.1634 in like sense.

² S.R., vol. 135, p. 345, letter of 3.10.1633.

³ Fr. Basil, 20.4.1635, in S.R., vol. 135, p. 530.

⁴ Letter of 28.5.1635 in O.C.D. 242 e.

⁵ "Nota dell' istruzioni date dal N. R. Paolo Simone Generale al P. F. Giacomo di S. Teresa . . ." in O.C.D. 236 a.

⁶ *Series Professionum* at S. Maria d. Scala, part 2, p. 171.



FR. EUGENIUS OF S. BENEDICT, O.C.D.

Visitor General to Persia and the Indies, 1624-7; elected the 14th Praepositus
General of the Order, 16.4.1644

EUGENIUS of S. Benedict (later Praepositus General of the Order)

A Roman.

Family name: Ludovico (Luigi) del Monte, son of Alexander del M. and Livia Melondina.¹ Born in Rome, 21.3.1578.² Prov. in Order: Roman. Took the vows 23.12.1607.³ For a time in Poland, where he was sub-Prior at various convents, on his return to Italy he was Prior at the Seminary.⁴ Then, with faculties and instructions given him by the Praepositus General, Fr. Paul Simon, and designed to meet needs which could be visualized by a General who had himself been a missionary in Persia—they are to be read in O.C.D. 238 g. and are of special interest—he was sent to the missions in Persia and the Indies as Visitor General. Left Rome 6.2.1624 and via Genoa and Alexandretta (reached in 27 days from Genoa)—if the ship was due to call at Malta he was to report immediately to Rome so that he might take with him the printing-press in Arabic characters, and other objects⁵—he proceeded to Aleppo, where he was delayed 7½ months by the wars. He left Aleppo 11.11.1624 for Basra, accompanied by Lay Brother John Baptist, and arrived Basra 30th December.⁶ After leaving Basra on his way to Goa, he was wrecked in the Straits of Hurmuz,⁷ and left a short, graphic account of the circumstances in his letter of 10.2.1625; but the island called by him ‘del Pīlor’ (unless it be Farur) and the place ‘Giulfar’ whence he wrote,⁸ are not easily identifiable. He had been directed by the instructions of the Praepositus General, before leaving Rome, to be sure and take back with him from Goa to Isfahan Fr. Leander of the Annunciation. After his arrival at Shiraz from India on 1.5.1626 for the Chapter there held there was a curious incident with Fr. Leander, then Vicar Provincial (recorded by Fr. Dominic of S. Mary in O.C.D. 237 f. under date Shiraz, 10.6.1626, and perhaps the subject of the allusion in Fr. Basil’s letter of 27.9.1628). Fr. Eugenius left Shiraz for Isfahan shortly after 5.7.1626, and arrived 6.7.1626 at Isfahan, where, because his term of office had expired, he was unwilling to make a visitation of the Convent, though begged by the Religious to do so: the sequel will be read in the biographical notice of Fr. Leander. His visitations are preserved in O.C.D. 241 i., being dated Basra 10.1.1625, Goa 23.9.1625, Tatta 8.11.1625, Shiraz 20.5.1626, and are particularly valuable for the financial accounts of each mission post given. After his return to Italy—he made his report to the Definitory General on the 7th and 11th January 1628⁹—he became in turn Prior, twice Provincial (several letters are addressed to him as “Provincial of Cologne” by missionaries in Persia), Definitor, Procurator General, and finally he was elected 14th Praepositus General of the Order on 16.4.1644. While absent from Rome, and as second Definitor General occupied in building a hermitage at Monte Virginio he fell ill and died at Caprarola 13.9.1655.¹⁰

Letters extant:

(Instructions to him)	—1624	Rome	O.C.D. 284 g.
(His report)	—1625	—	O.C.D. 234 k.
	16.1.1625	Basra	O.C.D. 241 i.
	10.2.1625	“Giulfar”	O.C.D. 241 i.
(His visitations)	—1625	Shiraz	O.C.D. 241 i.

EUSTACE of the Most Holy Sacrament

A Roman.

Family name: Eustachio Picucci. Born 1602 in Rome. Prov. in Order: Roman. Professed 1623 at S. Silvestro in Tuscolano. Studied in the Seminary of S. Maria della Vittoria (see *Series Professionum S. Silvestri* in *Analecta*, January 1937, No. 50). His ‘patent’ or commission

¹ and ³ *Series Professionum* by Fr. Marcellinus a S. Teresa, part 2, No. 29.

², ⁴ and ¹⁰ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct. in *Enchyridion*, p. 261.

⁶ His report of 1625 in O.C.D. 234 k.; and see 241 i., letter of 16.1.1625; also Fr. Basil, 2.2.1636.

⁷ Fr. Elisaeus of S. Andrew, 27.5.1625, in O.C.D. 236 b.

⁸ O.C.D. 241 i.

⁵ O.C.D. 284 g.

⁹ See *Regesta*, vol. II, p. 5.

as a missionary, issued by the Sacr. Cong. de Prop. Fide, signed by Cardinal Ludovisi the first Prefect and by Mgr Francesco Ingoli, the first secretary, and dated 22.1.1624, is extant in the archives of the Order, and one of the earliest of such documents after the creation of that Congregation. In it he is called simply 'frater': and letters of Fr. Eugenius of S. Benedict,¹ Fr. John Thaddeus,² Fr. Dimas³ all refer to him as 'fratello' = choir-brother; so he was not yet ordained priest on arrival in the Mission. His letter to the Praepositus General, Fr. Paul Simon, from Isfahan on 26.9.1634,⁴ confirms this. ". . . It is already 11 years since Your "Reverence sent me to this mission, when I was still a brother (fratello)". He sailed from Genoa 6.2.1624, accompanying the Visitor General, Fr. Eugenius of S. Benedict, travelling from Genoa to Alexandretta by a Dutch ship in 27 days; but on account of the wars they were delayed 7½ months in Aleppo. From Baghdad on 1.1.1625 he left in company of Fr. Elisaeus of S. Andrew for Isfahan, where they arrived about 14.1.1625.⁵ A letter of Fr. Basil, Basra, 22.7.1625,⁶ refers to "Fratello Fra Eustachio, corista" being at Isfahan. A letter, dated 8.8.1630,⁷ from Fr. Dimas mentions him at Shiraz and as "Father Eustace"—where and how he had been ordained is untraced—but apparently desirous of returning to Europe with the Visitor General, Fr. Epiphanius. However, in a letter of 1.8.1631⁸ Fr. John Antony mentioned having shortly before met (at Basra?) Fr. Eustace "summoned by the Visitor General for study": and Fr. Dimas' letter of 24.6.1631 referred to Fr. Eustace having gone to Goa, news expanded in a further letter of 31.7.1631 into "one of two Fathers sent from Isfahan to Goa, where the Visitor General had set up a Seminary, or House of Studies ('studio')". Thence, "exempted from study" (or teaching) "by the Visitor",⁹ Fr. Eustace in 1633 or early 1634 was dispatched by the Visitor General to Masqat in order to accompany the proposed colony of Mandaeans (so-called Christians of S. John Baptist) to be settled at Duba; but, finding at Masqat the Portuguese officials opposed to the project, and the district almost entirely recaptured by Arabs, he came on from Masqat to Isfahan, where he arrived between 1.8.1634 and 22.9.1634 (*vide* Fr. Dimas' letter of latter date,¹⁰ and Fr. Eustace's own account of the undertaking).¹¹ On 8.11.1634 in company with Fr. Dimas, Vicar Provincial, he left Isfahan, reached Shiraz 21.11.1634, and proceeded to Goa,¹² where they arrived 17.2.1635 for the Congress of the missionaries, he as 'companion' to Fr. Dimas, Prior of Isfahan, for the purpose of the election of the Procurator to attend the Chapter General, Rome. In 1640 Fr. Eustace had been sent to Diu as Vicar:¹³ and he was named as being in India in a list, undated, but presumably of 1641 or 1642—preserved in O.C.D. 235 n. "He made common cause with Fr. Matthew of the Cross"¹⁴ in the latter's separatist and Portuguese nationalist movement, which led to such turmoil and complications: but he was but one of a number of Religious from Italy like minded, some with names distinguished in the Order. In 1642 Fr. Eustace was at the 'College of S. Augustine' in Goa,¹⁵ but left his associates to go to Persia to join the Visitor General (Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary), the latter having in fact ordered Fr. Eustace to reside in Basra: and he got as far as Shiraz, but finding the Visitor General had already passed on north, Fr. Eustace returned from Shiraz to Goa, largely perhaps because he learnt of the return of Fr. Matthew of the Cross from Europe:¹⁶ and Fr. Eustace reached Goa on 7.10.1643 via Kung and Masqat. In November 1644 (?) he had recovered of an illness (and not died, as previously reported), and been made sub-Prior of the Convent of Goa, instead of Vicar as he had been previously.¹⁷ On the commission of Fr. John of Christ from Portugal as Apostolic Visitor being revoked and the latter's departure from Goa for Portugal together with Fr. Matthew of the Cross in January 1646, the new Vice-Collector for Portugal caused Fr. Eustace among others to be sent away to Persia. He went to Masqat, where he and the Portuguese Fr. Ignatius sold a small house which the Order had possessed there, and thence went to Tatta, where on the strength of 'letters patent'

¹ 16.1.1625, O.C.D. 241 i.

² 26.5.1625 and 12.10.1628, O.C.D. 237 b.

³ Fr. Elisaeus in O.C.D. 236 b., and Fr. Dimas in letter, 26.5.1625, O.C.D. 237 h., calls him "a new arrival at Isfahan".

⁴ O.C.D. 241 g.

⁵ Fr. Melchior, O.C.D. 238 b., on 8.8.1634.

⁶ Fr. Ignatius, 19.12.1634, O.C.D. 238 r.

⁷ Fr. Dominic of Christ, Shiraz, 11.4.1641, O.C.D. 237 e.

⁸ Fr. Ignatius, 11.10.1643, O.C.D. 241 m.

⁹ 27.5.1625, O.C.D. 237 m.

¹⁰ O.C.D. 236 a.

¹¹ Isfahan, 26.9.1634, O.C.D. 236 b.

¹² Fr. Stephen of Jesus, Basra, 23.3.1640, O.C.D. 238 e.

¹³ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 9.8.1644, in O.C.D. 236 b.

¹⁴ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 13.6.1645, O.C.D. 237 f.

¹⁵ *Idem*, 236 b.

issued by the Apostolic Visitor they wished to take over charge of that Residence, but were refused compliance.¹ (Fr. Stephen of Jesus, arriving as Visitor General, wrote from Basra on 7.12.1646 to the Praepositus General in Rome that from India he would try, in accordance with orders of the Definitory, to dispatch Fr. Eustace to Rome.²) Fr. Eustace then went to Diu, where he died—presumably early in 1647—after five days' fever.³ The only letter of this Carmelite available shows by its calligraphy and style that he was more scholarly than the majority of his contemporaries in the missions: its filial devotion for Fr. Paul Simon, his longing for the peace and quietude of a Convent of the Order in Europe, strengthen the impression that, however unfortunate the dissension over the administration of the Convent at Goa may have been, Frs. Eustace and the future Praepositus General, Philip of the Most Holy Trinity, and other Fathers of standing from Italy must have had solid grounds, and the weal of their Order in view, in taking up the line they did: no more than the others were Fr. Eustace should not be regarded as a mischief-maker and unruly: in the *Voyages d'Orient* Fr. Philip wrote in his praise.

Letter extant: 26.9.1634 Isfahan O.C.D. 236 b.

FAUSTIN of S. Charles

A Lombard (subject of the Duchy of Milan).

Born 1669. Prov. in Order: Lombardy.⁴ Sent from Rome as Vicar Provincial on 22.5.1716, and travelling with Frs. Cyril, Philip Mary, and Alexander of S. Sigismund he left Genoa on 27.6.1716, arrived Marseilles 7.7.1716,⁵ reached Aleppo 20.10.1716,⁶ Baghdad on 12.12.1716 and Basra on 5.2.1717. Thence he departed for Kung on 26.12.1717.⁷ He was appointed also Vicar General of the diocese of Babylon by the Bishop, on orders from the Sacr. Cong. Confirmed as Vicar Provincial for the mission in Persia and Indies 4.10.1719.⁸ On 23.2.1720⁹ he wrote from the convent at Isfahan that he was leaving the next day for Hamadan by orders of the Sacr. Cong. to take possession of the episcopal residence of the bishops of Baghdad, and that he was then aged 51. He remained at Hamadan from 8.3.1720 for 5 months alone, then had Fr. John Joseph as companion and apparently returned thence in 1721, as he mentioned having come to Isfahan on 23.1.1721.¹⁰

He died at the Convent in the city of Isfahan on 20.2.1723.¹¹ He had laboured devotedly in restoring the partly ruined buildings at Hamadan, though he was hard put to it to find the money and had to borrow. He was one of those Carmelites who preferred the Convent in the city to living in Armenian Julfa:

“the Persian language, which God has given me the grace to speak and read in a short time, renders me in some way necessary in this House, where Persian notables come almost daily and also some of the royal race, taking pleasure in conversing with me and in this garden, which is very large. I no longer think of returning to Europe, happy to die here in the service of souls and of this residence, the Mother of the Missions. It only needs that our Fr. General should think of giving us a head who would be better than I am. . . .”

And he was one of the first to encourage the Georgians in Isfahan at that period to frequent the Carmelite church, make their confessions, etc., and reconcile their schismatics.

“That poor good old man works hard for the Holy Faith: God grant that his labours be

¹ and ³ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 21.6.1647, O.C.D. 237 f., and Fr. Ignatius, Basra, 12.6.1647, O.C.D. 241 m.

² O.C.D. 241 p. ⁴ and ⁷ *Chron. Basra.*

⁵ His letter in *S.R.*, vol. 608, p. 707.

⁶ See O.C.D. 238 u., *Responsio* of Fr. Philip Mary, dated 20.6.1725.

⁹ O.C.D. 238 g.

¹⁰ *Idem*, his letter of 26.5.1721.

¹¹ See the *Responsio* cited.

"recognized by men. For truly he is a good old man, and kind father in everything.
 "The little that there was here he has expended on this mission of Hamadan . . ."

wrote one of his contemporaries.¹

Letters extant:

31.7.1716	Marseilles	O.C.D. 242 m.
20.10.1716	Aleppo	S.R., vol. 608, p. 207.
— 1719	Isfahan	O.C.D. 242 b.
13.2.1720	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 g.
26.5.1721	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 g.

FELICIAN of S. Roch

A Lombard² (as subject of the Duchy of Milan).

Family name: Giovanni Battista Alsona. Born about 1638³ at Piacenza.⁴ Prov. in Order: Lombardy. Professed 15.8.1655 at Milan (see List of Prof., Prov. of Lombardy). Sent to missions 1664:⁵ and 'assistant' at Goa still in 1671. Mentioned as having been made 'Substitute' (i.e. presumably 'Substitute' to the Vicar Provincial for Indian posts when the latter was in Persia) after death of Fr. Valerius, i.e. after August 1674, and as being on close terms with the Portuguese viceroy in regard to administration of the Convent of Goa.⁶ While Prior of Goa, in 1680, he was at Bandar 'Abbas for the Congress of the missionaries, and then deputed by the Vicar Provincial, Fr. John Baptist, to make a visitation of the Residence at Basra, which he did on 6.8.1680. There will be found in *Chron. Basra* a long affidavit made by him regarding the licences by which, and circumstances in which, the church of the mission at Basra had then been restored. He left for Kung on 23.8.1680.⁷ According to *Cat. Def. Lomb.*, he perished "drowned at sea in a storm on 30.11.1682" (though the date may have been that of receipt of the news in Milan).

Letter extant: 6.8.1680 Basra O.C.D., 262 c. (and see O.C.D. 241 a.)

FELIX of S. Antony

A Neapolitan.

Family name: Giuseppe de Cunto,⁸ and of gentle birth—'gentiluomo'.⁹ Prov. in Order: Naples. There is a strange contradiction about the year of his birth. According to his own letters of 14.1.1672 and 31.1.1673¹⁰ and also to that of Fr. Dionysius of 8.5.1645 ("Fr. Felix then aged 32"), he must have been born in 1613: while the list of 1663 in O.C.D. 235 n., giving him as Vicar of Basra aged 58—then 23 years in the missions—makes him born in 1605, which is endorsed by the list of 1671¹¹ furnished by the Procurator Fr. Valerius, a list proved exact in cases of other colleagues. But the List of the Province of Naples definitely states "born 1.3.1615" at Naples. Professed in 1632, Naples.

He seems to have been at Malta when, 5.6.1638, the Definitory General appointed him for the Missions in the East (*Regesta*, vol. III, p. 79). He arrived first in Persia with Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary, Visitor General, in March 1639.¹² In 1641 he was 'economus' of the Convent

¹ Fr. Alexander of S. Sigismund, 23.6.1720, O.C.D. 238 g.

² and ⁴ List of S.R., vol. 428, p. 135, on 9.5.1671, and list of S.R., vol. 428, p. 224.

³ *Cat. Def. Lomb.* and list in S.R., vol. 428, p. 224.

⁶ Fr. Angelus of S. Joseph, 7.8.1676, in O.C.D. 241 d.

⁹ List in S.R., vol. 428, p. 224.

⁵ List of S.R., vol. 428, p. 224.

⁷ *Chron. Basra*.

¹⁰ O.C.D. 238 p.

⁸ S.R., vol. 238, p. 45.

¹¹ S.R., vol. 428, p. 224.

¹² Cf. *Brief Narrative* of Fr. Stephen of Jesus in O.C.D. 236 a., and also Fr. Felix's own letter of 20.12.1655 stating that he had then been 17 years in the mission: also list in S.R., vol. 428, quoted.

at Isfahan during the residence there of Bishop Bernard of Baghdad,¹ and he accompanied the Visitor General to Qazwin, when the latter went to solicit from the new Shah 'Abbas II renewal of the privileges of the Carmelites. Sent to India to obtain aid for the mission at Isfahan, on 2.2.1646 he wrote from Kung to the Vicar Provincial that he had arrived there from Tatta via Masqat bringing funds collected, and by 12.7.1646 he may have been back at Isfahan, though from a letter of Fr. Dominic Mary² he had been sent to Gāmburun, as also says a letter of Fr. Ignatius, Basra.³

A minute in the Secretariat of the Sacr. Cong. dated 27.9.1649⁴ mentions that Fr. Felix had arrived in Rome as Procurator of the Mission and asked for the provision of five chalices and chasubles for the mission posts, as also for Julfa. He was already on his way back to Persia with four companions at the end of October 1649 and at Naples, where he reported that he found his native city so exhausted by recent disorders, and the noblest and richest families become the poorest to an extent to him incredible, that he had been unable to collect funds for the missions,⁵ and he was also calling on the Sacr. Cong. to ransom Fr. Augustine of S. Teresa and his companion, slaves in the hands of the Barbary Moors. He was at Malta on 21.11.1649, and till the end of January 1650:⁶ then he was about to embark on a Flemish ship, and suggested to the Sacr. Cong. that a seminary for Armenian youths should be made at Isfahan, and would cause small expense. He reached Basra 22.5.1650,⁷ was to leave shortly for Kung—to await instructions from the Visitor General or Vicar Provincial, that was in June⁸—and his letters show him back in Isfahan by May 1651. From perhaps early in October 1652 to the end of January 1654 Vicar at Basra (signing the parish register October 1652, January 1653, 8.1.1654), and then he received appointment as Vicar Provincial. A report of the Agent and Factors, East India Company, dated Isfahan 1.9.1654 (printed in Sir W. Foster's *English Factories in India*) mentions his coming from Basra to Isfahan after receiving this appointment: and his own letters of 10.4.1654 from Basra and 20.6.1654 from Isfahan stated respectively that he was about to start for Isfahan with Fr. Dionysius, and had reached that city on the eve of Corpus Christi. The former emphasized the importance attached by all the Carmelites to negotiations with the schismatic Chaldaean patriarch. After having made a visitation of the Convent he left Isfahan again in May 1655 for Basra, and stayed there till early October.⁹ This was the period when the vogue for foreign varieties of flowers, especially tulips, became strong in Europe: lovers and owners of gardens began to vie with one another, and evidently from the Sacr. Congregation he had been asked to obtain and send species from Persia, for in his letter of 6.10.1655 he wrote:

“ . . . regarding the bulbs of flowers for which you ask me, here in Basra there is nothing
“ in the way of flowers, neither have I ever seen in Persia flowers worth consideration:
“ the most beautiful are those which the Armenians bring from Europe . . . because the
“ tulips and other very beautiful flowers which I have seen in Rome and Naples, and people
“ there call ‘Persian tulips’, I have never seen here, although I have been here 17 years and
“ travelled over the greater part of Persia”—

which shows that Fr. Felix could not have been observant in the matter of flowers when travelling in spring and autumn, for as a fact there are a number of varieties of tulips and other flowers with bulbs, native to the region between Isfahan and Shiraz and the coast, which are handsome and in demand in this twentieth century.

On 20.12.1655 Fr. Felix was at Shiraz—which for the rest of his period as Vicar Provincial he made his headquarters, indeed his residence for the remainder of his work in Persia, rarely, briefly and with dislike making visitations at Isfahan. In July 1656 one letter mentions him

¹ Fr. Dominic of Christ, 11.4.1641, in O.C.D. 237 c.

² 12.6.1647, O.C.D. 241 m.

³ Cf. Fr. Felix's letter, 6.11.1649, in S.R., vol. 135, p. 279.

⁴ Cf. his letters of 31.1.1650, O.C.D. 237 i., and 25.1.1650 in S.R., vol. 292, p. 515.

⁵ His letter, 4.6.1650, O.C.D. 241 k.

⁶ Fr. Casimir, 29.11.1655, O.C.D. 241 h.

⁷ 21.6.1647, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁸ S.R., vol. 135, p. 223.

⁹ Fr. Matthew of S. Joseph, Basra, 22.6.1650, O.C.D. 241 n.

as about to leave for Basra,¹ but another of September as sick with fever at Shiraz:² in November of that year he went, however, to Isfahan³ to communicate to the Fathers the news of the transfer of the administration and financing of the foreign missions from the Orders to the Sacr. Cong. And he was again in Isfahan from June 1657⁴ to about August 23rd 1657, when he started from Isfahan for Basra,⁵ but in November was about to return from Basra to Shiraz: and shortly before his letter of 4.5.1659⁶ was written he had been at Kung.

From 1656 he obtained permission from the Definitory General of the Order to concentrate all the income of the several mission stations in his own hands, uncontrolled, for distribution to each Residence and mission as he thought fit, and he placed his funds out at interest, as he aimed to secure thus the advantage of the high rates offered by Indian *sarrafs* and money-changers. He even sold the Residence at Shiraz, and bought other premises—policy which did not commend itself to his fellow missionaries; and indeed in his financial dealings he was “most unfortunate”—*infelicissimo*, perhaps a punning allusion to his name—as the Indian bankers went bankrupt and the capital of the missions was lost, so that for years later the posts were starved for funds. As one missionary wrote on 27.4.1671:⁷

“although he is well intentioned, he has not the capacity for it, nor is he successful”.

He was Vicar Provincial for about 7 years,⁸ i.e. till 1661: he is called ‘Vicar Provincial’ by the Procurator’s list in *S.R.*, vol. 238, p. 85, i.e. in 1662 still. But he had offered to resign in his letter of 20.2.1656. His election as Prior on 10.5.1664 was declared valid by the Definitory General, 2.6.1665 (*Regesta*, vol. V, p. 257), but on 10.5.1670 he declined the priorship of Isfahan—see his act of renunciation in *O.C.D.* 236 i.—although apparently again elected, see list of 4.4.1671 in *S.R.*, cited above. He acted as Vicar Provincial Substitute (for Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, then in India) about 1668–70. After having to put off his departure through sickness in 1673, he ultimately left Shiraz to return to his province 7.2.1675 where,⁹ according to the memorial of the Praepositus General dated 1.4.1675, Fr. Felix was being ‘ordered’ by the Sacr. Cong., and not on the motion of the heads of the Order, to return. As a matter of fact Fr. Felix himself was not pleased: it irked him that his own relatives (who had been pressing the Sacr. Cong. for his return to Italy for years past—on 18.12.1662 Don Giovanni Battista de Cunto, his brothers and sisters, on account of litigation over an inheritance, applied to their Eminences for the early return of their brother, Fr. Felix¹⁰) should have moved the Sacr. Cong. to request his transfer, and that the Order had not spontaneously acted. For, he remarked, he owed more to his Order than to his relations.

“So, I am very perplexed because (1) the permission was obtained by such means; (2) the Mission has already been so depleted in numbers; (3) I am already 60 years old “whence I consider it would be quicker to go down to the tomb than to repatriate myself.”¹¹

He spoke Armenian and Persian very well.¹² A great traveller—in his letter of 15.3.1667¹³ he mentions in addition to the moves cited above that some years previously he had been to Nakhchiwan, 30 days’ journey from Isfahan—he was evidently a personality with many-sided interests in his work, and a strong individualist, preferring to manage affairs in his own way. He did not omit to maintain good relations with the foreign trading companies, even of Protestant nations, e.g. the factors of the East India Company: witness a report from their station in Isfahan to the council at Surat:

¹ Fr. Barnabas, 20.7.1656, *O.C.D.* 241 f.

² Fr. Vincent of S. Catharine, 10.9.1656, *O.C.D.* 242 a.

³ Fr. Dionysius of Crown of Thorns, 20.11.1656, *O.C.D.* 237 c.

⁴ His own letter, 17.6.1657, and Fr. Dionysius, 16.7.1657.

⁵ *S.R.*, vol. 236, p. 24.

⁷ *O.C.D.* 236 i.

⁸ Fr. Cornelius of S. Cyprian, 24.9.1657.

⁹ *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 224.

¹⁰ Fr. Felix, 31.1.1673.

¹¹ *S.R.*, vol. 222, p. 163.

⁶ *Idem*, vol. 464, p. 188.

¹² *Idem*, vol. 238, p. 45.

¹³ Cf. list in *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 224.

“Padree Felice the Carmelite padree . . . we have thanked for his curtesie in dispeeding
“and receiveing our letters, and also rewarded him with some small matter.”

His many letters contain little of historical interest.

Letters extant:

	20.2.1641	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 i.
	4.6.1641	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 i.
	15.11.1642	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 i.
	27.9.1649	Rome	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 135, p. 223
	6.11.1649	Naples	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 135, p. 279
	25.1.1650	Malta	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 292, p. 515
	31.1.1650	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 i.
	4.6.1650	Basra	O.C.D. 241 k.
	2.10.1650	Kung	O.C.D. 238 s.
(jointly)	13.7.1651	Isfahan	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 222, p. 261
	5.10.1651	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 i.
	12.5.1651	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 i.
	15.11.1651	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 i.
	12.5.1652	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 i.
	6.2.1653	Basra	O.C.D. 241 k.
	7.2.1653	Basra	O.C.D. 241 k.
	10.2.1653	Basra	O.C.D. 241 k.
	5.8.1653	Basra	O.C.D. 241 k.
	5.8.1653	Basra	O.C.D. 241 k.
	11.1.1654	Basra	O.C.D. 241 k.
	11.1.1654	Basra	O.C.D. 241 k.
	11.1.1654	Basra	O.C.D. 241 k.
	16.3.1654	Basra	O.C.D. 241 k.
	22.3.1654	Basra	O.C.D. 241 k.
	8.4.1654	Basra	O.C.D. 241 k.
	8.4.1654	Basra	O.C.D. 241 k.
	10.4.1654	Basra	O.C.D. 241 k.
	10.4.1654	Basra	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 292, p. 523
	20.6.1654	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 i.
	16.8.1654	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 i.
	3.9.1654	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 i.
	15.12.1654	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 i.
	30.12.1654	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 i.
	15.2.1655	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 i.
	23.2.1655	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 i.
	25.3.1655	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 i.
	12.5.1655	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 i.
	21.6.1655	Bandar Rig	O.C.D. 241 k.
	28.8.1655	Basra	O.C.D. 241 k.
	6.10.1655	Basra	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 135, p. 308
	10.10.1655	Basra	O.C.D. 241 k.
	9.11.1655	Shiraz	O.C.D. 241 k.
	20.12.1655	Shiraz	O.C.D. 237 i.
	20.2.1656	Shiraz	O.C.D. 237 i.
	20.3.1656	Shiraz	O.C.D. 237 i.
	8.10.1656	Shiraz	O.C.D. 237 i.
	21.10.1656	Shiraz	O.C.D. 237 i.

24.10.1656	Shiraz	O.C.D. 237 i.
1.11.1656	Shiraz	O.C.D. 237 i.
18.11.1656	Isfahan (?)	O.C.D. 237 i.
8.12.1656	Shiraz	O.C.D. 237 i.
12.5.1657	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 p.
17.6.1657	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 i.
29.6.1657	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 p.
26.12.1657	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 p.
20.6.1658	Shiraz	O.C.D. 237 i.
29.6.1658	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 p.
19.11.1658	Shiraz	O.C.D. 237 i.
4.5.1659	Shiraz	S.R., vol. 236, p. 24
12.9.1660	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 p.
10.6.1661	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 p.
8.9.1661	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 p.
20.12.1661	Basra	O.C.D. 241 k.
15.3.1667	Isfahan	S.R., vol. 222, pp. 163-8
20.12.1668	Shiraz	S.R., vol. 238, p. 58
1.8.1670	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 p.
4.8.1670	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 p.
8.10.1670	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 p.
2.1.1671	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 p.
25.1.1671	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 p.
15.4.1671	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 p.
26.7.1671	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 p.
30.7.1671	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 p.
2.11.1671	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 p.
22.1.1672	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 p.
31.1.1673	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 p.
1.7.1673	Shiraz	S.R., vol. 449, p. 86

FELIX of S. Joseph

A Fleming.¹

Family name: Jean Ignace Van den Broecke. Born Waesten (West Flanders), 14.2.1666. Prov. in Order: Gall.-Belg. Professed 1.5.1685.

In a communication from the Praepositus General of the Order to Card. Sacripante on 27.3.1708² on the subject of missionaries in Malabar occur the words:

"... Fr. Felix of S. Joseph, a Fleming; but, he, according to what they write from "Isfahan, having been constantly ill there, retired to Shiraz, where he is doing the mission "work decorously."

And the same communication gives lower down in a list:

"In Persia there are: Fr. Hugo of S. Dionysius (Burgundian) Vicar Provincial,
 "Fr. Basil of S. Charles (French),
 "Fr. Felix of S. Joseph (Fleming),
 "Fr. Ladislav (Pole),
 "Fr. Raymond (Pole)."

No information as to his arrival, or departure from Persia has been noticed in the archives perused. Died at Namur, 29.4.1725, a conventual of Brussels.

¹ and ² S.R., vol. 561, p. 95.

FERDINAND of S. Charles

A Lombard (subject of the Duchy of Milan).

Family name: Paolo Fontana. Born Milan, 8.10.1739. Prov. in Order: Lombardy. Professed Milan 9.10.1757.¹ First sent to mission at Aleppo. After the death from plague of all missionaries in Mesopotamia in the spring of 1773, he was sent to Basra, and arrived 28.9.1773. In 1774 he

"had a very sharp litigation with a certain Antun Pitar of Aleppo over the two houses adjoining our church. Having won the suit the Fr. Vicar acquired legal possession for us by paying to the claimants 95 Tumans, 14 muhammadi, 41 fils, as is vouched by the authentic (documents).

". . . In this year Fr. Ferdinand the Vicar decorated our church: the bare walls he covered with lime and whitened, as they now are: the two side altars, which before had been made of wood, he erected as they now are: and he repaired the church with other embellishments: I have often heard from Fr. Ferdinand the Vicar that in decorating the church he had spent 270 Tumans. . . ."

On the 28th July 1776 he left for Persia, "for a change of air", returning in January 1777, and

"being a spectator of the tyranny of the Persians up till the month of September. . . . In the month of October Fr. Ferdinand the Vicar went off to the Indies in order to seek some financial aid for this hospice. . . ."²

In *Cont. Basra Chron.* a footnote by Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia states that Fr. Ferdinand later went to China, and thence returning died at Basra 5.6.1780.

FERDINAND of Jesus Mary³

A Roman.

Family name: Filippo Carneali, son of Francesco C. and of Agata Paolini. Born at Rocca di Papa, diocese of Tusculum, near Rome, 25.7.1720. Prov. in Order: Roman. Professed at S. Maria d. Scala 22.7.1738.⁴ Sent by the Sacr. Cong. as one of the two companions of Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia (who was to report on the disposition of the Nestorians towards the Holy See, establish relations with their patriarch and bishops, obtain specimens of the liturgy, etc., and open missions at Diarbakr, Mardin, Edessa and Mausil),⁵ he arrived at Diarbakr 25.11.1747 and there he was established.⁶

His letter of 26.9.1749⁷ from Naples gave the information that he had been dispatched by Fr. Leander to Rome to discuss verbally with the Sacr. Cong. certain affairs of this mission to Mesopotamia, and that he had left Diarbakr 29.1.1749. On pp. 359-73, *S.N.R.*, V, is a

"Brief Narrative presented by Fr. Ferdinand of Jesus Mary, C.S., missionary in Mesopotamia to the Sacr. Cong. of Prop. Fide in the year 1749",

a detailed, informative and sensibly written account of the various creeds in the population at

¹ Footnote to *Cont. Basra Chron.* by Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist of the Order.

² *Cont. Basra Chron.*

³ He is twice called—erroneously—" . . . of St. Joseph" in *Cont. Basra Chron.*, under years 1758-60, but his name as professed, and as he signs his letters, was " . . . of Jesus Mary".

⁴ *Seres Professionum* at S. Maria d. Scala, communicated by Fr. Marcellinus a S. Teresa.

⁵ *S.N.R.*, V, p. 186.

⁶ *Idem*, p. 311, letter of Fr. Leander of 20.8.1748.

⁷ *S.N.R.*, V, p. 344.

Diarbakr, and their respective numbers. Fr. Ferdinand had travelled from Alexandretta on an English ship as far as Cyprus, thence by a French ship he had reached Malta on 14.7.1749—

“and, as the Consular Bill of Health was too much covered with ink, it was looked on as if “infected with the plague, and as a favour they kept me in quarantine only 45 days instead “of the 60 I ought to have remained there”.

We learn more about port regulations and delays from his letter of 3.2.1750¹ (when he must have been setting out to return to Mesopotamia) from Naples, where

“ . . . From Civita Vecchia I had the honour to write to Your Lordship. . . . I was “unable to find any passage there, and was constrained to direct my steps to Naples where “ . . . we came into harbour Friday afternoon about 22 o'clock, although they did not “give the ship ‘pratique’ until Saturday after 16 o'clock, due to the slowness and dilatory “habit of the commissioners in that capital. This came hard to the two Dominican “Fathers, not yet used to such inconveniences . . . having no experience of the divers “customs of nations. But what is certain is that in any other ports from the hour we came “in up till dark they would have cleared and given pratique to more than 40 ships—so “our French captain said. . . .”

About Messina (his letter of 26.2.1750)² he observed:

“ . . . between freight and excise ducs, both at Naples and here I have had to spend “10 ducats on the two boxes of books. . . .”

But the régime in Malta was simpler (letter of 3.3.1750):³

“Here in Malta everything went well, seeing that there are no Customs there, and any “layman whatsoever carries off his effects straight to his lodging.”

From Cyprus, reached in 12 days' from Malta, he would start for Aleppo, as soon as he could get a passage.⁴

After 1750 it is not clear where Fr. Ferdinand was stationed (Fr. Leander had returned to Rome in 1751)—perhaps at Diarbakr still, as no further letters of his have been noticed in the archives, though a letter of Bishop Emmanuel from Aleppo 20.1.1756⁵ mentioned, “ . . . from Diarbakr I have learnt that Fr. Ferdinand has at last left. . . .” But *Chron. Basra Chron.* reported him as having arrived at Basra on 27.11.1758, “formerly a missionary at Diarbakr”, and relates how he became involved in the quarrel of the English Resident, Mr. Shaw, with Fr. Clement of the Annunciation, whom, for reasons of private vengeance the Englishman arranged to have waylaid and beaten by his Turkish guards on his way to board a ship. Fr. Clement got on board without harm; but Fr. Ferdinand, who had been to see him off, on returning with the French consul's janissary fell into the ambush instead, was badly beaten and taken to the house of the English Resident, who full of remorse for the mistake “moved “every stone to conciliate and make friends with Fr. Ferdinand, so that the latter accepted his “apologies”. This affair seems to have been magnified by the French consul at Basra from reasons of racial antipathies, then strong even in the mission stations owing to the European wars and rivalries, and fills pages of Bishop Emmanuel's reports in *S.N.R.*, V, pp. 598–608 and 629–30. In the sequel Fr. Ferdinand left Basra for Bandar 'Abbas in February 1760 “animam suam pro ovibus positurus”, as he died there a few months later.⁶

¹ *S.N.R.*, V, p. 391.

² *Idem*, p. 393.

³ *Idem*, p. 399.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 436.

⁵ *Idem*, VI, p. 275.

⁶ *Cont. Basra Chron.* See also letter of Bishop Emmanuel, 19.6.1760, *S.N.R.*, I, p. 280. *Series Professionum* gives date as August 1761, doubtless in error.

Letters extant:

14.12.1747	Diarbakr	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 293
12.2.1748	Diarbakr	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 301
26.9.1749	Naples	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 344
3.2.1750	Naples	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 391
26.2.1750	Messina	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 393
3.3.1750	Malta	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 399
20.4.1750	Cyprus	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 436

FERDINAND of S. Teresa (Lay Brother)

A subject of Savoy (?).

Born ——. Professed ——. Prov. in Order: Piedmont. On 17.12.1721 he arrived from Europe, accompanying Fr. Jerome Francis of S. Joseph:¹ and from 1721 till 1725 he is several times² mentioned as being at the Convent in Isfahan city, e.g. at the end of 1724 by Father Philip Mary:

“ . . . in our Convent of Isfahan there is Brother Fra Ferdinand with one servant, making “his living from day to day out of the garden, fowls and his industry, and there sometimes “goes Fr. Jerome Francis. . . .”

On 16.5.1729 he arrived at Basra from Isfahan, and left for Bushire 12.7.1729: he returned to Basra from Isfahan on 4.8.1730, accompanying Monsieur de Gardanne, the French consul in Isfahan and his brother: he was

“being sent to Rome by our Vicar Provincial with letters patent that he might ask for our “allowances (subsidies) and, if possible, obtain some alms. . . . On the 29th September “1730 he set out for Baghdad with Monsieur de Gardanne the French consul and a certain “Mattuk, son of Aslan of Basra. . . .”³

He remained in Europe at least three years, as can be deduced from Fr. Urban’s letter of 13.6.1733,⁴ written from Isfahan:

“ . . . already 3 years since he left here for Europe, with the intention of returning at the “end of two. I think he will not return.”

But he was back certainly by 1740, and perhaps long before, for he is again stated to have arrived at Basra on 25.6.1740 and to have left thence for Hamadan via Hillah on 29.10.1740.⁵ A letter of 30.6.1755 written by a Religious of his own province, Piedmont, after remarking that ‘the revolutions and warfare in Persia continue to increase’, added:

“Lay Brother Ferdinand writes to me that he is well. God guard him, and give him a “long life.”⁶

so that perhaps the Lay Brother was still in that year in charge of the Convent and garden, and he is that Religious indicated in Bishop Sebastian of S. Margaret’s letter from Basra of 16.4.1754:⁷

¹ *Vide Latin Responsio* of Fr. Philip Mary, 29.6.1725, O.C.D. 238 u; also Bishop Barnabas Fedeli, O.P., letter of 14.1.1722 *S.N.R.*, III, p. 520.

² Fr. Philip Mary, 21.9.1724 and 17.11.1724, in O.C.D. 238 u.; and Fr. Urban, 4.6.1725, O.C.D. 242 b.

³ *Chron. Basra*. ⁴ O.C.D. 242 h.

⁶ Fr. Hyacinth of S. Teresa, Basra, O.C.D. 242 b.

⁵ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

⁷ *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 207.

"... four missionary Religious have remained at Isfahan and Julfa, . . . one of my "Order."

In any case there can be small doubt that Fra. Ferdinand was the last Carmelite to inhabit the Convent of Isfahan city. It may have been Lay Brother Ferdinand, too, who is meant in a letter, received in the Sacr. Cong., Rome, in May 1758,¹ regarding the Dominican missionary of Julfa, Fr. Raymond Berselli:

"lately I have received a letter from Julfa from our Fra. Raymond Berselli, in which he "writes me that he has remained there alone, together with one Carmelite Lay Brother, "but that Julfa is depopulated of its own folk . . ."

but, if so, it would seem as if Fra. Ferdinand had left the city Convent—perhaps about 1757, seeing that Bishop Cornelius' report to the Sacr. Cong. of 1772 refers to the

"Convent having been occupied for about 15 years by a Persian who claims to be a creditor "of our Fathers for 15 Tumans".²

FIDELIS of S. Teresa

(As far as has been ascertained, this Religious did not stay in Persia proper at all: his name is included in this list merely because he became from 1767 "Vicar Provincial of Persia", and so remained till his death in 1773: indeed, the Bishop of Babylon (see *S.N.R.*, I, p. 280) called him by that title in 1762.)

A Lombard, from Novara.

Family name: Gaudenzio Bianchi. Born 8.1.1708.³ Prov. in Order: Lombardy. Professed 10.8.1731 (see List of Prov. of Lombardy). Trained at the Seminary of San Pancrazio. "Ad missiones a 15 Apr. 1738,"⁴ and see also Bishop Emmanuel, writing 27.12.1767,⁵ "Fr. Fidelis . . . 30 years in the missions", while the *Acta* of the Sacr. Cong. on 8.8.1757, and the Procurator General of the Order in his statement to the Sacr. Cong. in *S.R.*, vol. 773, p. 275, both give him in the latter year as having spent 16 years and more in the missions. The footnote on p. 32 of *Cont. Basra Chron.* can hardly be exact in giving 1734 as the year of his being sent to the missions.

He "arrived in Basra from Europe, 24.3.1739", and was sent on 17.8.1739 by the Vicar Provincial to Baghdad.⁶ He had been Vicar at Baghdad a number of years when he again arrived at Basra 17.1.1751, and returned to Baghdad 15.6.1751:⁷ this was after he had been sent in April 1749 by Bishop Emmanuel to reside for some months, and conduct a mission at Kirkuk,⁸ and returned thence to Baghdad in June of that year.⁹ On 21.10.1767 it was learnt that he had been appointed by the Praepositus General to be Vicar Provincial of Persia, and as such he signed a letter written from Baghdad in 1768.¹⁰ In 1770 he came to Basra from Baghdad, and there remained until on 29.4.1773 he died of plague.¹¹ Twice proposed for bishopric of Isfahan.

Letters extant:

10.2.1763	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 182
—.—.1768	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VIII, p. 509

¹ Fr. Lanza, O.P., from Mausil, *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 393.

² *S.N.R.*, VIII, p. 6.

³ *S.R.*, vol. 773, p. 275, statement of Procurator General, O.C.D., and *Acta* of Sacr. Cong., 8.8.1757, where he is given as 50 years old.

⁴ *S.N.R.*, V, p. 13.

⁵ *Idem*, VII, p. 478.

⁶, ⁷ and ¹¹ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

⁸ *S.N.R.*, V, p. 323.

⁹ *Idem*, p. 324.

¹⁰ *Idem*, VII, p. 509.

FORTUNATUS of the Angel Guardian

A Genoese (?).¹

Born 1670. Prov. in Order: Genoa (according to *Regesta* of 18.11.1696). Sent to Persian missions 1697,² one of the missionaries accompanying Archbishop of Ancyra;³ for the latter writing from Surat on 1.1.1701 complained that Fr. Fortunatus had abandoned him at Shiraz.⁴ From Isfahan complaint had been made that in 1707, or some previous year, he had gone to Malabar without sanction from his superiors.⁵ On 12.3.1709 he wrote from Lisbon, describing how it was necessary to divide the garments of Bishop Elias of Isfahan among the people of Bahia, Brazil, because of the veneration he inspired. Fr. Fortunatus himself had left Bahia, while Mgr Elias of S. Albert was lying seriously ill there, i.e. in October 1708: and his letter of 13.7.1709 informs also the Sacr. Cong. of his arrival at Genoa on 9.7.1709 after little over one month's journey from Lisbon:⁶ this mention of Genoa lends weight to the assertion that he was a Genoese.

Letters extant:

12.3.1709	Lisbon	S.R., vol. 567, p. 37
13.7.1709	Genoa	S.N.R., III, p. 362

FORTUNATUS of Jesus Mary

A Sicilian.

Family name: Cipriano Crema. Born 1650 at Palermo. Prov. in Order: Sicily. Professed at Palermo, 16.5.1666.⁷ A contemporary with Fr. Elias of S. Albert at the seminary of San Pancrazio for the missions in 1675-6,⁸ when he was dispatched to Persia (the session of the Sacr. Cong. on 15.12.1676 took note of his dispatch with four others):⁹ and he arrived at Basra 28.5.1677 together with Fr. John Baptist of S. Joseph, Visitor General and Vicar Provincial.¹⁰ In November 1677 he went from Basra to Persia "as the climate of Basra disagreed with him".¹¹ Mentioned in the report of Fr. Agnellus in 1684 as being at Isfahan, and it was proposed to bring him to Shiraz;¹² licence for him to go as Vicar to Bandar 'Abbas had been revoked.¹³ Perhaps he left the mission in October 1687, when he received 82 'abbasi for a journey (see *Annales de la Mission de Bassorah*, MSS. by Père Polycarpe).

Died at Mazzara (Sicily), 9.12.1689 (see Chron. List., Prov. of Sicily).

Letters extant:

20.10.1678	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 k.
20.3.1679	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 k.
25.9.1681	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 k.
28.4.1682	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 k.
28.4.1682	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 k.
28.9.1682	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 k.
28.9.1682	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 k.
20.2.1684	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 k.
10.6.1684	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 k.
26.6.1684	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 k.

¹ Vide report by Praepositus General, O.C.D., 27.3.1708, to Card. Sacripante in S.R., vol. 561, p. 95.

² *Catalog. Miss.*

³ *Acta*, Definitory General to, VIII (1694-8), p. 123, vide *Analecta*, O.C.D., July-September 1934: in Session VI of the Definitory General on 18.11.1696 he was one of the missionaries appointed to accompany Archbishop of Ancyra to the Indies.

⁴ S.R., vol. 541, p. 22.

⁵ *Idem*, vol. 561, p. 95.

⁶ *Idem*, III, p. 362.

⁷ Fr. Agnellus, 26.10.1684, O.C.D. 238 k., and *Catalog. Miss.*

⁸ Fr. Fortunatus, 10.6.1684.

⁹ S.R., vol. 461, p. 104.

¹⁰ and ¹¹ *Chron. Basra*.

¹² Fr. Agnellus, letter cited.

¹³ Fr. Amadeus, 31.5.1685, O.C.D. 238 i.

FRANCIS of Jesus

A Genoese.

Family name: Martino Rivarola. Born 25.12.1614 at Chiavari (Liguria). Prov. in Order: Genoa.¹ Professed 21.11.1633. As Visitor General to the missions he arrived at Isfahan on Easter Tuesday 1668 (having brought a sum of money, receipt for which was acknowledged by the Vicar Provincial)² and after 20 days, the visitation being finished, he left for Shiraz, where the election of a 'Socius' was to be made and where he was on 31.5.1668.³ He had not the stamina to face the journey from Shiraz to Basra in the heat of the summer,⁴ and after the autumn left Shiraz for Bandar 'Abbas, where he arrived 8.12.1668.⁵ Jointly with the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, he there signed a document, and dated his *ordinationes* 28.1.1669.⁶ Fr. Francis sailed from Bandar 'Abbas 4.2.1669 on an English ship for Surat, whence he proceeded to Goa.⁷ After completing his visitations in Persia and India he reached Basra, but died there on 23.10.1670,⁸ and

"was buried in the cemetery 'Isa wa Mariam, where a certain memorial was erected to "him. This structure was a monument after the manner of this country, but since a similar "structure is found over the bodies of other Christians I could not distinguish his grave from "the rest, and therefore did not translate his bones to the church",

wrote Fr. Agathangelus in *Chron. Basra*, adding the remark: 'It does not appear that he visited 'this Residence before he was visited by the Lord'. From criticisms by the Vicar Provincial, it would seem that Fr. Francis allowed a relaxation of discipline at Shiraz and Bandar 'Abbas on account of the climate, e.g. to eat at meals where there were meat-dishes provided; to ride horses; to have two hours' recreation prolonged in the evening; to wear linen habits, and dispense with some articles of clothing.⁹

Letters extant:

(jointly)	28.1.1669	Bandar 'Abbas	O.C.D. 237 d.
(ordinationes)	28.1.1669	Bandar 'Abbas	O.C.D. 236 a.

FRANCIS MARY of S. Sirus (Lay Brother)

A Lombard.

Family name: Antonio Gorla, born at, and baptized in the parish church of, Portalbera, diocese of Pavia, 24.4.1658. Prov. in Order: Lombardy. Clothed in the Convent of S. Charles at Milan, 26.6.1678.¹⁰ Left Alessandria in 1692 on the 12th October embarking at Leghorn on a French ship, together with Frs. Hermengild, Joseph Ignatius and Antony Mary,¹¹ arrived Smyrna 16.3.1693 and left there 28.3.1693 on a Turkish vessel, which arrived, 14.4.1693, at Constantinople, whence sailing on a Greek boat, 4.5.1693, they came to Trebizond, 23.5.1693. Leaving, 26.5.1693, they were at Erzerum by the 2nd June, paying 4½ scudi for each horse. They had to wait in Erzerum forty days for a caravan for Tabriz, paying 8 scudi hire for each horse. On the 7th July they left Erzerum, but had trouble with the Turkish officials, the Pasha's men taking 1 scudo, after demanding 8 scudi per head, and the Customs 2 scudi both on arrival and departure, others smaller toll on the road. At Kars, the last town in Turkish

¹ and ⁴ *Chron. Basra*.

² Fr. Joachim Mary, Basra, 31.8.1669, O.C.D. 242 a

³ O.C.D. 236 a.

⁴ *Chron. Basra*, but Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary in letter, 17.2.1671, O.C.D. 241 l., wrote that he died 15.10.1670.

⁵ Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, 15.2.1669, O.C.D. 237 d.

⁶ Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, O.C.D. 237 d., 5.4.1668.

⁷ Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, 22.12.1668, O.C.D. 237 d.

⁸ Fr. Angelus, 25.3.1669, O.C.D. 238 l.

¹⁰ Fr. Ambrosius of S. Theresia in *Hier. Carmelitana*, p. 17, quoting Dott. P. Donnazolo, 'Viaggi in Oriente . . . del Fratello Fr. Maria di S. Siro', *Revista Geografica Italiana*, Florence, 1912.

¹¹ This, and the whole account of the journey, is taken from an unsigned narrative, evidently of Brother Francis Mary's compilation, and undated (O.C.D. 238 g.).

territory, reached on the 13th July, the party got off with paying 1 sequin. At Erivan they lodged with the Jesuits, who resided 2 miles outside the town: and the Persian Customs were equally importunate, taking half a scudo each man, and a few days later 3 sequins at Nakhchivan, while it was only thanks to the prayers of the chief muleteer that they were released at Maragha from the demand for a large sum. Brother Francis Mary and his party entered Tabriz on August 6th, paying $\frac{1}{2}$ scudo each person, "and now they are asking 2 sequins a head from Europeans". (*Rahdari*, such a scourge to travellers and impost on merchandise in the years preceding the Great War of 1914, was no new feature in Persian travel, it is clear.) At Tabriz the French Capuchins received the Carmelites hospitably: the latter left on 24th August with a dozen Georgians

"whose company was a benefit to us, because from Tabriz for Isfahan we paid not a cent, though there are more than 15 toll-posts, because the customs-toll keepers are afraid of the Georgians, and the latter never pay a halfpenny. . . ."

"We had to buy horses in Tabriz because we were not travelling by caravan: and we arrived at Isfahan in 19 days, when a caravan usually takes 40",

i.e. they reached their destination about 11th September 1693. Lay Brother Francis Mary was stationed at the Convent in Isfahan city,¹ and there remained till in 1698 he accompanied the Portuguese envoy, Gregorio Pereira Fidalgo, to Goa.² In the narrative, unsigned and undated, alluded to above, he explains the object:

"... as the Mission was greatly in debt, in the year 1697 the Superiors sent me to India, and to the Philippine Islands to seek alms-offerings. When I returned to Persia, all the debts they had were paid off. . . ."

In his letter of 13th May 1701³ he mentioned that from Surat he had written an account of his journey and his return from Manila: he was in Surat during the sickness and death on 3rd January 1701 of Mgr Peter Paul, Archbishop of Ancyra and Apostolic Delegate to the Mogul, and in this letter gives details, so that he must have reached Surat at the end of 1700. He embarked in an Arab vessel on the 13th January, leaving Surat 24th January and, as his letter shows, was in Shiraz in May 1701. Then—returning to his narrative unsigned—we learn:

"... by reason of these wars with difficulty the subsidies (allowances) come to hand, sometimes being years in arrears; and, being so slender, they (the Fathers at Isfahan) sent me to Europe to see whether it would be possible to obtain some special grant in aid; but I found Europe altogether plunged in warfare, and see myself unable to do what I desire for the relief of our said Missions. . . ."

By way of Turkey he reached Rome, 22.12.1702; there found and attached himself to his revered Bishop Elias of S. Albert and, when the latter sailed from Lisbon and landed at Bahia in Brazil to die in October 1708 Brother Francis Mary was still his companion. On 10.8.1709 Brother Francis Mary sailed from Bahia, and reached Bologna 24.4.1710. He died on 24.4.1736 in the Convent at Milan.⁴

Besides the account of the life and struggles in Persia of his bishop, Elias of S. Albert, which he has left in the MSS. in O.C.D. 320 c., *Vita Ven. Patr. Elia a Sto Alberto* . . ., Lay Brother Francis Mary formed the subject of the article by Dr. Pietro Donazzolo in the *Rivista Geografica Italiana* (Florence, 1912), written under the title, "Travels in the East and West of Lay Brother Francesco Maria of S. Sirus, C.S. . . .", and in it the author referred to three manuscripts,

¹ and ² *Vide Vita Ven. Patr. Elia a S. Alberto*, MSS in O.C.D. 320 c., by Lay Brother Francis Mary.

³ O.C.D. 238 g. (or t.?).

⁴ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia in *Hier. Carmelitana*, footnote to p. 16.

one in the royal library at Modena (B. 65), the others in the Ambrosian library at Milan (Z. 199 and L. 200) by the Lay Brother, all on his 'Travels'.¹

Letter extant:

	13.5.1701	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 g (or t?).
MSS. <i>Vita</i> (after 1710)	—	—	O.C.D. 320 e.

FRANCIS of the Passion

A Roman.

Family name: Francesco Leoni. Born at Velletri, 17.11.1610. Prov. in Order: Roman. Professed at S. Maria della Scala, Rome, 13.4.1632. Accompanying the Visitor General, Raymond of S. Margaret, he had been in Isfahan in August 1659, and on 20.8.1660 wrote from Shiraz to the Sacr. Cong. With the Visitor General he was then about to leave Shiraz for Bandar 'Abbas, in order to embark in English ships for Surat and thence for Goa.² In 1661 he was elected by the Religious of Goa 'Procurator' of the mission to proceed to the Chapter General in Rome—not to the satisfaction of the Fathers in Persia, who considered that he had insufficient residence in the latter country to represent them.³ Died at Terni, 13.10.1672.

Letter extant: 20.8.1660 Shiraz S.R., vol. 238, p. 62.

GASPAR JOSEPH of S. Anne

A Frenchman.

Family name: Gaspar Joseph de Grincourt. Born in Lille about 1660. Prov. in Order: Gallo-Belgian. Professed, Namur, 2.3.1676. Sent to missions 1688.⁴ Arrived at Isfahan via Aleppo and Erzerum 3.4.1689.⁵ Signed a declaration in Latin jointly with other Fathers 19.6.1689. Was still at the Convent in Isfahan city in July 1691⁶ when he was engaged in compiling a history of the Mission, begun a number of years previously but interrupted. Appointed by the Vicar Provincial Fr. Elias to be Visitor on his behalf of the Residences in India—being at the time Prior of Isfahan—Fr. Gaspar left Isfahan for India about 1.9.1691 for the Congress of missionaries to be held at Goa.⁷ He died, 24.11.1693,⁸ in Isfahan.

Letters extant:

(jointly)	19.6.1689	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 b.
	23.7.1691	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 b.

GEORGE of the Holy Spirit

A Portuguese, from Portugal.

Born 1588. Professed in the Hospice at Hurmuz 1615.⁹ At Hurmuz still in 1620–1,¹⁰ but after the fall of Hurmuz in 1622 it would appear that he was transferred to Isfahan.¹¹ In 1637 he was sent from India to serve in the mission at Shiraz, and is mentioned as being there in a letter of 1.1.1638;¹² but after a short time transferred to Isfahan, where he died 4.2.1640.¹³

¹ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist of the Order, in his *Hier. Carmelitana*, biography of Fr. Elias a S. Albert, *vide* footnotes.

² See Fr. Francis' letter of 20.8.1660 in S.R., vol. 238, p. 62.

³ Fr. Barnabas, 29.8.1661, O.C.D. 242 e.; also Fr. Felix, Basra, 20.12.1661, O.C.D. 241 k.

⁴ Fr. Elias of S. Albert, 18.6.1689, O.C.D. 237 h.

⁵ Fr. Elias, 24.9.1691, O.C.D. 238 t.

⁶ See his own letter of 23.7.1691.

⁷ *Catalog. Prov. Gallo-Belg.*

⁸ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct., MSS. *Hist. Miss.* in archives, O.C.D. 285–6, part 4, book 7, chap. V.

⁹ See list in O.C.D. 235 n., undated, but certainly made between April 1620 and May 1621.

¹⁰ Fr. Prosper, Isfahan, statement of 1623, month not stated, O.C.D. 238 d.

¹¹ To Fr. Eugenius of S. Benedict from Fr. Dimas, 1.1.1638, O.C.D. 237 b.

¹² Fr. Dominic of Christ, 26.2.1640, O.C.D. 237 e.

HERMENGILD of S. Marcellus

A subject of the Republic of Venice.

Family name: Bernardino Riboldi (see Cat. Professed, Prov. Lombardy). Born 1650 at Lumezzane, Sant' Apollonio (Brescia province). Prov. in Order: first Lombardy, later Venice. Professed 9.5.1666 at Milan, there being no Carmelite province of Venice till 1678, from which date he may be considered transferred to that—not from 'Provence', as incorrectly given by Sir H. Gollancz in his English translation in *Settlement of the Carmelites in Mesopotamia*, seeing that the Latin original is simply 'ex Provincia' with the name of the province omitted.

He arrived at Basra 20.9.1687, and set out on 19.1.1688—"for Shiraz", says *Chron. Basra*. But the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Elias, distinctly stated that

"Fr. Hermengild towards the end of 1688 having embarked for Goa turned back from "Surat in a Dutch ship"—'probably on account of the ban on foreign, especially Italian, 'missionaries recently re-enacted in Goa';¹

and a subsequent letter (on 26.7.1689) added that he was sending, as companion to the new Vicar of Basra,

"Fr. Hermengild, returned from Surat, where having learnt of the expulsion of our Italian "Fathers from the Portuguese districts he returned to bring me the news. . . ."²

Fr. Hermengild returned to Basra 20.8.1689, and remained as companion to the Vicar, who, having died of plague 19.4.1691,³ the Vicar Provincial appointed in his stead Fr. Hermengild to be Vicar of Basra.⁴

"Left alone, and the plague waxing great at the time, Fr. Hermengild nearly went out "of his mind for fear . . . and departed towards Isfahan in August 1691."

So says *Chron. Basra*; but this date (which may have been written in a later year by the chronicler of the time being, as the mission at Basra remained without Religious from October 1693 till March 1694) conflicts with the entries in the register book of baptisms, deaths kept at Basra, where there are entries of 26.4.1692 and 8.3.1693 signed "Hermengild of S. Marcellus".⁵

There are further contradictions and problems in tracing the career of this Religious. When Lay Brother Francis Mary, author of the *Vita Fr. Elia* . . ., arrived at Isfahan in September 1693 he was put to live in the Convent in Isfahan city with three Fathers, one of whom he names 'Fr. Hermengild of S. Teresa' (of the province of Venice). That Religious, he tells us, after the expulsion of the Carmelites from Julfa in July 1694, "went to Europe on account of his ill health".⁶

Catalog. Miss. gives Fr. Hermengild of S. Marcellus as dying at Venice in 1711; the List of Dead of the Prov. of Venice is precise: on 8.12.1711.

(But an unsigned, undated account of his journey to Persia in 1692–3, also written undoubtedly by Lay Brother Francis Mary, states that he left Leghorn on 12.10.1692 in company with Fr. Hermengild of S. Charles (province of Lombardy), Frs. Joseph Ignatius and Antony Mary;⁷ in the *Vita* of Bishop Elias the same writer mentions that he had arrived at Isfahan with Frs. Joseph Ignatius and Antony Mary. What had become of Fr. Hermengild of S. Charles? unless the memory of the writer was at fault. The confusion, in *Chron. Basra* especially, is the worse because contemporaneously there was in the missions Fr. John Francis of S. Hermengild.)

¹ Fr. Elias, Isfahan, 18.6.1689, O.C.D. 237 h.

² Fr. Elias, Isfahan, O.C.D. 237 h.

³ *Chron. Basra*; the register of baptisms, deaths at Basra—"Deaths of Religious" must be incorrect in giving 15.4.1692 as the date.

⁴ Fr. Elias, Isfahan, 24.7.1691, O.C.D. 238 t.

⁵ See original MSS. book in archives, O.C.D.

⁶ O.C.D. 320 c.

⁷ *Idem*, 238 g.

HILARY of S. Anne (Lay Brother)

A . . .

Born 1602. Prov. in Order: . . . In the missions since 1628.¹ Mentioned as at Masqat on 23.11.1643,² and at Kung on his way from Isfahan to Diu on 16.10.1644.³ Sent to Tatta by the Vicar Provincial in 1645.⁴ At Goa in 1663 (when he is included in the list preserved in O.C.D. 235 n.). "Hilary of S. Teresa" is given in *Catalog. Miss.* as dying at Goa 1666—perhaps he was the subject of this note.

HUBERT of S. Charles

A Frenchman.

Family name: François Montaigne. Born at Lille about 1602. Prov. in Order: Gallo-Belgian.⁵ Professed 5.11.1625. On 1.3.1635 the Definitory General appointed him to Persia, with 100 scudi for the journey (see *Regesta*, vol. III, p. 6).

In 1636 he had come from Shiraz to Isfahan "as if restored to health"⁶—so perhaps he had been previously in Isfahan, or India:⁷ perhaps, too, one of the seven Religious at Isfahan in August 1636 of whom Fr. Dimas wrote in his letter of 13.8.1636.

He was elected 'Substitute Superior' of the Convent at Isfahan for 1640:⁸ and arrived at Shiraz from Goa on 20.2.1641, having been elected 'Socius' of the Prior of Goa, in order to take part in the election for Procurator which was held in Shiraz that spring, sent on in advance by the Visitor General.⁹ Fr. Hubert was at Isfahan on 7.11.1642, when a letter¹⁰ states him to have been "two years and a little more in Isfahan, first under Fr. Dimas" (which would make him to have arrived there first before Christmas 1639, when Fr. Dimas was already dead). He was sub-Prior of Isfahan in 1642, when in November,¹¹ there was some friction with the Visitor General, Charles of Jesus Mary; and he was sub-Prior still in 1644, when Fr. Hubert himself wrote his letter of 12th September, and when the Vicar Provincial mentioned¹² that he would have liked to dispatch Fr. Hubert to Tatta, on account of his experience of Indian affairs and of the Portuguese, as proposed by Fr. Stephen of Jesus.

He was still at Isfahan on 8.5.1645,¹³ when Fr. Dionysius of the Crown of Thorns alluded to Fr. Hubert being about to return to Flanders by permission. The Definitory General ordered his return and assigned money for the journey, 23.4.1645 (see *Regesta*, vol. IV, p. 59). But he left about the beginning of June 1645.¹⁴ Died at Lille 10.2.1680 (see List of Gallo-Belg. province).

Letter extant: 12.9.1644 Isfahan O.C.D. 236 b.

HUGO of S. Dionysius

A (Burgundian) Frenchman.

Born 1668. Prov. in Order: Burgundy.¹⁵ He was one of the missionaries "destined for "Persia, to whom a list of oriental books can be given" in a communication from Cardinal Franc. Barberini, dated from the latter's palace at the Quattro Fontane, Rome, 12.10.1704.¹⁶ Appointed Vicar Provincial he left Rome with another Religious in that year, they being paid 176 scudi for their journey expenses.¹⁷ He reached Isfahan 15.1.1706, bringing letters from

¹ See list of 1663 in O.C.D. 235 n.

² List given by Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 9.8.1644, O.C.D. 236 b.

³ Fr. Barnabas, 16.10.1644, from Kung, O.C.D. 238 s.

⁴ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 13.6.1645, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁵ Fr. Dionysius of Crown of Thorns, 8.5.1645, O.C.D. 237 c.

⁶ Fr. Dimas, 3.12.1636, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁷ and ¹² Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 5.9.1644, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁸ Vide MSS. *Book in which are to be noted elections of superiors of our missions in Persia*, in archives O.C.D. 235 c.

⁹ Fr. Dominic of Christ, 11.4.1641, O.C.D. 238 i.

¹⁰ Fr. Dionysius, 16.11.1642, O.C.D. 237 c.: "in Isfahan" conflicts with Fr. Dominic's statement that he came from Goa in 1641.

¹¹ Fr. Felix, 15.11.1642. ¹³ Fr. Dionysius, O.C.D. 237 c. ¹⁴ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 18.6.1645, O.C.D. 237 f.

¹⁵ S.R., vol. 562, p. 95, communication from Praepositus General to Card. Prefect, 27.5.1708.

¹⁶ S.N.R., II, p. 460.

¹⁷ S.R., vol. 550, pp. 87-8—accounts of Seminary of San Pancrazio.

the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda.¹ The writer of a letter from Julfa, in 1707, in which he signed as Vicar Provincial; but his other letter extant—of 2.4.1709—is subscribed “Vicar of of “Julfa” only.

Died “in Persia 1714”;² although perhaps he was indicated in a report of the Procurator General of the Order to the Sacr. Cong. dated 23.3.1713³ and already in 1712 one of “two “missionaries dead in Persia”.

Letters extant:

28.7.1707 S.R., vol. 562, p. 268

2.4.1709 S.R., vol. 575, p. 48

HYACINTH of S. Augustine

A Frenchman (?).

Born: . . . Prov. in Order: Aquitaine. He arrived at Basra from Shiraz on 4.11.1701, sent by the Prior of Isfahan then acting Vicar Provincial to be companion to Fr. John Athanasius, the Vicar of Basra. But at the end of the year he fell ill and, when better after some days, began to bleed from the nose and spit blood, and this so increased that the Vicar feared he would die; so, though he was extremely weak, when on March 4th 1702 a ship was sailing for Kung and Fr. Hyacinth asked leave to take that opportunity of returning to Isfahan, the Vicar agreed. Fr. Hyacinth himself wrote to the Vicar from Kung that he had safely arrived there.⁴

No further references to this Religious have been noticed.

HYACINTH of the Mother of God (Lay Brother)

A . . .

Born about 1603.⁵ Arrived in Isfahan before November 1643.⁶ “Stricken with a mortal “fever” at Isfahan in 1649.⁷ Died at Isfahan 1647—says *Catalog. Miss.*, doubtless erroneously as to date.

HYACINTH of S. Teresa

A subject of Savoy.

Family name: Piacentini. Born 16.9.1711,⁸ at San Sebastiano,⁹ diocese of Ivrea; elder brother of Fr. Sebastian of S. Margaret, afterwards Bishop of Isfahan. Prov. in Order: Piedmont. Professed 25.9.1727. According to his Brother’s written statement,¹⁰ Fr. Hyacinth had studied dogmatic theology, etc., at Rome, and had been three years at the Seminary of San Pancrazio: had been elected sub-Prior in his province of Piedmont, then Prior, and Substitute ‘Socius’ to the Chapter General, and had also been 16 years ‘Reader’ at Malta. Evidently, when he learnt of his appointment as Bishop of Isfahan, Fr. Sebastian had invited his brother to join him, for Fr. Hyacinth reached Mausil 30.5.1752;¹¹ and even before that, on 16.4.1752, the same day as his consecration as bishop, Fr. Sebastian appointed Fr. Hyacinth Vicar General for his diocese, according to the copies of the document in *S.N.R.*, VI, pp. 246 and 249. In company with his brother Fr. Hyacinth reached Basra from Baghdad 5.7.1752: and on 1.12.1752 was appointed ‘Vicar of Julfa’ by Fr. Cornelius, the Vicar Provincial,¹² but did not proceed to that post.

He had been 10 months at Basra before, in May 1753, he sailed with Bishop Sebastian to

¹ *S.N.R.*, I, pp. 481–2, letter of Fr. Peter Martyr, O.P., Julfa, 12.3.1706.

² *S.R.*, vol. 586, p. 328.

³ Fr. Dionysius of Crown of Thorns, 8.5.1645, O.C.D. 237 c., when he was aged about 42.

⁴ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 9.8.1644, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁵ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, in his *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 1934.

⁶ See *S.N.R.*, VI, pp. 245 and 249, copies of appointment as Vicar General.

⁷ *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 83, letter of Fr. Codileonno, 31.5.1752.

⁸ and ⁹ *Catalog. Miss.*

¹⁰ *Chron. Basra.*

¹¹ Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas, 17.1.1649, O.C.D. 237 g.

¹² *Cont. Basra Chron.*

Bandar Rig in an English vessel, remained there for 40 days "giving a mission" and then went on to Bushire, where they stayed for 5 months, hoping to get to Isfahan.¹ But in October 1753 the news which reached them from Julfa and Isfahan was so unfavourable (raids by Lurs and Afghans, and the levying of fines) that Bishop Sebastian decided to return to Basra, and Fr. Hyacinth accompanied him. They reached Basra 5.10.1753. Fr. Hyacinth signed the baptismal register, Basra, on 28.7.1753 as 'Vicar of Julfa'. On the return of Fr. Cornelius, he received the appointment of Vicar Provincial, 10.9.1755.² After the death of the Vicar Apostolic in the Mogul's dominions, Bishop Sebastian had proposed his brother for the succession,³ but the suggestion was not followed: and, when his was given by the Order as a third name among possible candidates to fill the vacancy of 1755, the Sacr. Cong. noted that any appearance of heredity was always abhorrent to the Holy Sec. Fr. Hyacinth's relations with the Bishop of Baghdad were not good (it was the period of the wars, and racial prejudices were strong), and he left Basra 4.11.1757, intending to proceed to Bombay, but instead was put ashore at Bushire. Thence, after he had been refused permission to stay on Kharg island by the Dutch Company's governor, he sailed—some time after May 1758—for Bombay, together with Fr. Angelus Mary⁴ (q.v.). With sanction from the English authorities he settled, and conducted the mission, in Surat in 1761 (whence he wrote to the Cardinal Prefect in October 1769). Died at Goa, 21.4.1772, when about to return to Europe.⁵

Letters extant:

6.12.[? sic] 1752	Diarbakr	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 180
23.12.1753	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 184
23.6.1755	Basra	<i>O.C.D.</i> 242 b.
30.6.1755	Basra	<i>O.C.D.</i> 242 b.
30.6.1755	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, pp. 246, 250
30.7.1755	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, pp. 244, 255
30.7.1755	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, pp. 253, 260
14.9.1756	Basra	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 773, p. 289
8.11.1756	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 280
23.8.1757	Basra	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 773
8.2.1758	Bushire	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 380
20.10.1769	Surat	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VII, p. 559

IGNATIUS of Jesus

A subject of the Papal States.

Family name: Carlo Leonelli. Born 1596 at Sorbolongo (Pesaro)-Fossombrone near Urbino. Prov. in Order: Roman. After taking degrees in laws, professed at S. Silvestro in Tusculano, 27.2.1623.⁶ (Footnote 20 to *Monumenta Missionaria Carmelitana*, III, 1938, stated that he was sent to Syria in 1627.) Sailed from Naples 19.2.1629, accompanying the Visitor General, Fr. Epiphanius of S. John Baptist, Fr. Philip of the Most Holy Trinity and Fr. John Antony: and arrived at Isfahan 17.8.1629.⁷ A year later, 'though not at all strong, he was 'applying himself to the language and already speaking Persian fairly well'.⁸ His letter of 9.8.1630 contains a protest against a school for Armenian boys being maintained inside the Convent, and the scholars eating and living with the Religious. On 8.11.1634⁹ he was taken by the Vicar Provincial to Shiraz, where they arrived 21.11.1634, and he was left as Vicar of that Residence, now being reopened. While at Shiraz he explored hamlets in Ramjird district of Fars for Circassian Christians—survivors of those transplanted there by Shah 'Abbas many

¹ Fr. Hyacinth, 23.12.1753, in *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 184, Basra; and see also *Cont. Basra Chron.* ² and ⁴ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

³ *Acta of Sacr. Cong.* for 1757, *Relatio* of 8.8.1757. ⁵ *Catalog. Miss.*, and *List Prof. Piedmont.*

⁶ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct. in *MSS. Hist. Miss.*, *O.C.D.* 285-6. It is curious that in his letter of 16.2.1635 he refers to his uncle, Franc. Tonelli (the surname of Fr. Dimas). Both the list of 1663 in *O.C.D.* 235 n. and *Catalog. Miss.* give him sent to missions 1627.

⁷ Fr. Dimas, 18.9.1629, *O.C.D.* 237 b.

⁸ Fr. Dimas, 8.8.1630.

⁹ His letter, 7.11.1634.

years previously, who desired spiritual help.¹ His several letters while in Shiraz are interesting: at first full of hope on account of those survivors, and also from an experimental diversion of Portuguese shipping to a port nearer Shiraz than Kung—unidentified from his spelling, perhaps Rishir or Rig—already after a year he was commenting on the town of Shiraz being half ruined² since the great governor, Imam Quli Khan, and his sons had been put to death, and in consequence less respect to the missionaries being shown by townspeople. He had even had to pay 100 piastres to settle a claim on their premises. So by 1641 he welcomed a permission granted by the Praepositus General for him to return to Italy; although, owing to the departure of other Religious, he had been begged by the Provincial and Visitor to put off his own, and was remaining so that the missions might not become depleted.³ Transferred to Basra at the end of 1641 (or early 1642)⁴ after the departure of Fr. Basil, Fr. Ignatius remained Vicar there till the end of May 1649.⁵ His work at Basra is made vivid in some forty letters that have been preserved—a mine of information regarding the missionaries of the period and events round the Persian Gulf—and is particularly interesting because of his efforts on behalf of the Mandaean (pseudo-Sabaeans, commonly but erroneously termed 'Christians of S. John Baptist'). His equable temper may be gauged by the remark in a letter of 10.7.1751—"in over 20 years in the missions for the first time I have had to complain of "anyone. . . ." He continued to have the confidence and esteem of the East India Company's representatives in India which Fr. Basil had enjoyed, serving as a transmitting agent for their correspondence with Europe, e.g. in an intimation by the President at Swally 2.15.1650 to the Company:

"Any letters overland may be directed to Basra for the care of a Carmelite Padre, one "Ignatio an Italian, whoe hath a good report as a lover of our nation."

On 12.10.1652 he went on board a river-boat and left Basra by way of Baghdad for Rome;⁶ but in 1656 he is to be found again in the East, as Vicar of the missions in Mt. Libanon, from 1658 to 1663 being stationed at Tripoli, where the writer of a report on the missions found him in 1658 'decrepit'.⁷ On 21.6.1663 the Definitory General directed him to transfer to Italy (see *Regesta*, vol. V, p. 192). By 1664 he had returned to his province of Rome, and in March 1665⁸ was petitioning the Sacr. Cong. for a number of printed copies of his book on the ('Sabaeans') Christians of S. John to be given to the Procurator of the Order, and also of a Persian grammar which he had compiled by instructions of the Sacr. Cong. He was, for that age, exceptionally proficient in the Oriental tongues, and there is preserved in the National Library (Vittorio Emanuele), Rome, a manuscript translation in Persian script of S. Robert Bellermino's *Christian Doctrine*, the work of Fr. Ignatius; but his *magnus opus* was the treatise of the *Origin, Rites and Errors of the Christians of S. John*, printed and published 1652 by the Sacr. Cong., which contains useful information on their customs, habitat and condition, as well as of their attitude towards the true Christian Faith at that period (although Fr. Ignatius was naturally without the means of making the scientific research into the subject which has since been made). Other works of his, in addition to the *Christian Doctrine* and *Grammar*, also printed by the Sacr. Cong., were a Latin-Persian dictionary and grammar of the Arabic language, both dated 1651, Rome, according to Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus.

He died in Rome at S. Maria d. Scala, 21.2.1667, "mighty in speech—he wrote many "things in the Persian tongue" (*Catalog. Miss.*).

Letters extant:

22.4.1629 Aleppo O.C.D. 237 l.
(jointly) 22.9.1629 Isfahan O.C.D. 237 b.

¹ Fr. Dimas, 12.8.1636, O.C.D. 237 b.

² O.C.D. 238 r., 7.11.1636.

³ His letter of 28.6.1644, *S.R.*, vol. 62, p. 212.

⁴ His letter, 18.8.1652, O.C.D. 241 m., and Fr. Barnabas, 12.10.1652, O.C.D. 241 f.

⁵ *S.N.R.*, I, p. 252.

⁶ 21.5.1641, O.C.D. 238 r.

⁷ *Chron. Basra.*

⁸ *S.R.*, vol. 238, p. 47.

19.2.1630	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 l.
12.6.1630	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 l.
9.8.1630	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 l.
7.11.1634	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 l.
30.11.1634	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 r.
19.12.1634	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 r.
16.2.1635	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 r.
7.11.1636	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 r.
7.11.1636	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 r.
27.11.1636	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 r.
29.11.1638	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 r.
21.5.1641	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 r.
29.8.1643	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
11.10.1643	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
10.1.1644	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
25.1.1644	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
30.1.1644	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
28.6.1644	Basra	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 62, p. 212
11.1.1645	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
20.1.1645	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
15.5.1645	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
11.8.1645	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
20.1.1646	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
17.3.1646	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
20.7.1646	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
25.7.1646	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
10.8.1646	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
31.8.1646	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
16.10.1646	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
17.12.1646	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
19.12.1646	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
19.12.1646	Basra	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 209, p. 88
15.2.1647	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
12.6.1647	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
6.7.1647	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
5.10.1647	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
18.12.1647	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
26.8.1648	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
15.2.1649	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
15.2.1649	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
16.5.1649	Basra	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 135, p. 219
4.8.1649	Basra	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 135, p. 163
20.8.1649	Basra	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 135, p. 151
20.10.1650	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
10.11.1650	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
30.4.1651	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
17.6.1651	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
10.7.1651	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
25.2.1652	Basra	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 135, p. 164
26.2.1652	Basra	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 135, p. 165
18.8.1652	Basra	O.C.D. 241 m.
10.4.1659	Tripoli	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 236, p. 237
2.3.1665	Rome	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 238, p. 47

ISIDORE of S. Michael

A subject of Savoy.

Family name: Antonino Teani. Born 14.8.1717 at Entragne. Prov. in Order: Piedmont. Professed 26.10.1735.¹ Arrived from Europe at Basra 20.4.1752 on his way to the mission in Bombay. Left Basra for Bandar 'Abbas 24.1.1753. Fell ill, and died at Bandar 'Abbas in that same year, 1753.²

JAMES of S. Teresa

A subject of the Duchy of Savoy.

Family name: Giacomo Penneto. Born 20.3.1594 at Annecy (Savoy). Prov. in Order: Fland-Belg. Professed at Brussels, 12.10.1616.

According to the *Enchiridion Chronologicum* compiled by Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanctis, Rome, 1737, pp. 288–90, on the authority of Fr. Isidore, who had personally known Fr. James, the latter from his youth had been in friendly relations with S. François de Sales, Bishop of Geneva, who sent the young man with recommendations to his friend the Bishop of Louvain in Belgium for study at the 'Gymnasium' there; in Louvain Giacomo Penneto got to know the Carmelites and entered the Order, making his noviciate at Brussels. He became in due course sub-Prior of the hermitage at Marlaigne in Belgium, 1622–5, and was then chosen Prior of Salines, 1625–8. In 1632 he went to Rome and became Prior at the Convent of La Scala and seconded to the Roman Province: doubtless the Religious indicated in the 'Liber funeralis religiosorum nostrorum qui Romae decesserunt, 1600–50 (O.C.D. 83 d.) under No. 41:

" . . . die 17 novembris 1633, existente Praeposito Generali R.A.P.N. Fr. Paulo Simone a 'Jesu Maria, Priore P. F. Jacobo a S. Teresia. . . ."³

The Definitory General, 12.6.1634, directed that Fr. James of S. Teresa, the "Savoyard", should be sent to Persia as Vicar Provincial (see *Regesta*, vol. II, p. 124). News of his arrival in Aleppo as Visitor General and Vicar Provincial for the Persian mission had reached Isfahan by 28.10.1634.⁴ A letter of his predecessor as Visitor General, Fr. Epiphanius, dated 28.5.1635⁵ stated that, when he was two days' distance from Baghdad, he had met Fr. James, who after eight days in his company went on to Basra, as it seemed to him more urgent to make a visitation in India than Persia. As 'parish priest' he signed the baptismal register at Basra on 23.9.1635, and he was still at Basra, 31.10.1635.⁶ Then he made his way to Isfahan, where he was staying before 16.5.1636⁷ and where he was elected Prior; but he had left again in June 1636⁸ for the South. He made his executive visitation of the mission at Basra, 24.9.1636,⁹ and then went on to India. He had left Tatta in Sind for Goa in March 1637.¹⁰ On 12.5.1638 he was at Shiraz on his return from India (see Fr. Dimas' letter from Isfahan of that date): and on 5.6.1638 he was elected or nominated "Prior of the Convent of Isfahan for the year 1640" (according to the entry in the *Book in which are to be noted elections of Superiors in the missions*—see archives, O.C.D. 235 c.). At the election on 9.1.1642 he was again chosen. Present at the Congress of missionaries in 1641 at Shiraz, when he was chosen Procurator¹¹ to represent the Mission at the Chapter General (in Rome in 1644), he had left Isfahan for Europe before 4.5.1642.¹² In 1653–6 he was Novice-Master at the Convent of La Scala, and a second period in 1647: the *Acta* of the Chapter General of 1647 show him as appointed again Prior of La Scala. Delegated as Prefect of the Mission in the island of Madagascar, 26.11.1647, he

¹ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia in footnote to p. 34, *Cont. Basra Chron.*

² *Cont. Basra Chron.*

³ *Series Professionum* at S. Maria d. Scala, by Fr. Marcellinus a S. Theresia, printed 1935, No. XIX, part 2.

⁴ Fr. Dimas, 31.10.1634, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁵ O.C.D. 242 c.

⁶ and ⁹ *Chron. Basra.*

⁷ Fr. Dimas, writing on that date.

⁸ Fr. Dimas, 13.8.1636, and Fr. Melchior, 18.8.1636, O.C.D. 238 b.

¹⁰ Fr. Dimas, 1.1.1638.

¹¹ Fr. Ignatius, Shiraz, 21.5.1641, O.C.D. 238 r.

¹² Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary, that date, O.C.D. 236 b.

travelled to Paris in 1648 in order to negotiate with the French Government about taking over that mission; but, as that government had already dispatched Fathers of S. Vincent de Paul to the island, and the latter contrary to the demands of the Cong. de Prop. Fide would not withdraw, Fr. James was recalled to Rome. In 1646 he is mentioned as having written out to the missionaries at Isfahan

‘that next year’ (i.e. 1647) ‘after the election for Prior of Isfahan the two Priors of Goa and Isfahan together with their companions had to meet to choose a Procurator and Substitute’

for the Chapter General.¹ Still Prior at La Scala in 1649, when Fr. Augustine of S. Teresa, captive in the hands of the Barbary Moors, was writing from Tunis, 14.6.1649, that he had received one letter from Fr. James of S. Teresa, *Prior at La Scala*.² Chosen at the Chapter General of 1656 a Definitor General for the period 1656–9, it was the former Vicar Provincial in Persia who had to make a further communication to the missionaries in Persia, when, 26.2.1656, on behalf of the Praepositus General he notified them that the administration of the Missions was no longer in the hands of the Order but had been assumed by the Sacr. Cong.³ He died at the Convent of La Scala, Rome, 14.10.1664.

(N.B.—This is not that Fr. James of S. Teresa mentioned in *Catal. Miss.* who died at Goa in 1666 and who was a Goanese professed at Goa in 1657—see list of 1641–2, O.C.D. 235 n.: nor the other Fr. James of S. Teresa, whose family name was Guido Benedetti, born at Urbino in 1600, professed 25.11.1624, at Montecompatri, died Rome 20.6.1673.)

JEROME FRANCIS of S. Joseph

A Frenchman.

Born: . . . Prov. in Order: Avignon. Arrived in Persia 26.9.1709 (see *Chron. Basra*), having travelled via Mausil,⁴ where he and his companion Fr. Paul Augustine (see *Chron. Basra*) received treatment from the Capuchins of which he made complaint to Rome. Some time in 1713, probably, he became Vicar Provincial: he signed himself as such in letters of 10.5.1714 treating of the reopening of the mission at Basra, and 18.9.1714. Still signed “Vicar Provincial” there is a further letter of his dated 21.1.1716, where he mentioned that he was residing at Julfa, and was preaching in Armenian on Sundays in the church of the Sharimans; but by February 1717 Fr. Faustin had arrived at Basra to succeed him as Vicar Provincial. In his letter of October 4th of that year Fr. Jerome Francis asserted that he alone of the missionaries of that time knew Armenian, an essential for work in Julfa, in which Residence he asked the Sacr. Cong. to make him a ‘conventual’ so that he might not be transferred by his superiors in the Order to another post: otherwise, he wrote, he would wish to be allowed to return to his province. From 1717—by his own statement of 1725 (in O.C.D. 238 u.) in French—he remained Vicar of Julfa (and titular Prior of the Convent in Isfahan city): was confirmed as Vicar on 4.10.1719⁵ (after Fr. Faustin had received his own letters patent from Rome for continuance as Vicar Provincial): until he left for Europe “sent by his superiors for the business of the mission with letters to the Emperor”, etc., on 16.10.1719.

Fr. Faustin’s letter of 1719,⁶ while mentioning that

“Fr. Jerome Francis had been working hard for the mission at Julfa, possessing the Persian “and Armenian languages perfectly, and preaching in the latter every Sunday in the “Catholic church of the Armenian rite”,

added that in view of the financial and other difficulties of the Mission, after consultation with the missionaries and French consul, it had been deemed necessary to send a Religious

¹ Fr. Dionysius of Crown of Thorns, 8.5.1645, O.C.D. 237 c.

² Fr. Dionysius, O.C.D. 237 c., 22.2.1657.

³ Fr. Philip Mary, 20.6.1725, O.C.D. 238 u.

⁴ O.C.D. 270 m.

⁵ His letter of 11.10.1709, *S.M.R.*, III, p. 364.

⁶ Undated, in O.C.D. 242 b.

to the French Court in Paris, and Fr. Jerome Francis had expressed readiness to go. From Paris he wrote on 13.10.1720 to the Cardinal Prefect that he had come to seek the protection of the French Court for the mission on account of the great persecution and damage inflicted by schismatic Armenians and Muslims: he had been much aided by the Comte de Toulouse (the natural son of Louis Quatorze): and was about to return. He reached Isfahan on 17.12.1721:¹

“He has obtained two doubloons of maintenance allowance, according to the liberal “habits of this Sovereign with guests coming from foreign princes. This Father has gone “to no expenditure on his journey, coming here with one sole companion, i.e. a lay brother “of his own Order² and two or three servants. But he entered the city with pomp and “circumstance and a *cortège* of familiars and servants of the French and English consuls. “A missionary or two also kept him company at the entry to the city and when he presented “his letter to the king at his first audience . . .”

A few months later Bishop Barnabas of Isfahan gives further details:³ this was just before the Afghan invasion and capture of Isfahan brought to an end the ceremonial and state and etiquette, which had made the Safawi Court for near a century and a half so noted in Europe.

“The Carmelite Father, of whom I had written formerly as having entered the city “amid applause, and that he had brought a very polite letter, with its superscription in “letters of gold, and inside it two medallions, one also of gold, the other full of diamonds “with a portrait of the Emperor, remains as it were confined to his house⁴ for the past two “months, and has never been able to obtain his second audience of the ‘Itimad-ud-Daulah “in order to discuss his business, which, as all say, is advantageous to this Court. In the “audience which he had of the king, when he presented the letters, he was given a position “lower than mine—there, where the English, by giving 2,000 scudi in presents distributed “among many of these junior officials, managed to get the position, which had been “assigned for me; by giving further sums of money they have been able to get into their “hands the very letter of the Emperor in order to learn the business of which it treated, “and had the time to make a copy of it. That’s the state of affairs in this Court! . . .”

It was a strange period, when in Europe no few prelates and ecclesiastics left diocese and cloister and became politicians: and Fr. Jerome Francis evidently considered the attributes of an ambassador so important because of the status conferred and the objects which he was commissioned to seek, that he lived on in Isfahan city for years in secular dress, an inmate of the house of the consul of France, his compatriot, to the pain of his fellow missionaries and even though with the ruin of the Safawi dynasty his embassy must have lost all likelihood of bearing fruit. He himself asserted⁵ that he had

“been honoured by a letter of an Emperor, of which he had only consented to be the “bearer for the good of these Missions”;

but he claimed also that he was the rightful Vicar of Julfa “designated by the (*Praepositus*) “General” up to the day of his departure from Europe on this business of the mission, and again from his return; and it may be that because he considered himself deprived unfairly of his rightful position—in that Julfa mission, to which he had been so much attached because of his skill in Armenian—Fr. Jerome Francis held back from rejoining the Carmelite community there. He himself wrote that he was residing with the consul of France and in secular dress

¹ Bishop Barnabas, O.P., 14.1.1722 and 10.1.1722, *S.N.R.*, III, pp. 518, 520.

² Doubtless Lay Brother Ferdinand of S. Teresa, q.v.

³ Envoys were not supposed to appear in public till their audiences were granted.

⁴ 12.2.1722 in *S.N.R.*, III, p. 530.

⁵ His argument in French, and the reply to and by Fr. Philip Mary, in O.C.D. 238 u.

"in accordance with the permission (blessing) given by the late Vicar Provincial", both as to dress and residence, averring at the same time that a verbal declaration by the late Fr. Faustin just before the latter's death in February 1723, by which Fr. Philip Mary was appointed Vicar of Julfa, was invalid because not made before witnesses of the Order: and so (writing in 1725) he would betake himself as soon as he could to our Residence in Julfa to enter into his rights

"in accordance with the orders of our Father General . . . notwithstanding the misery "prevailing at the time" (i.e. owing to the famine after the siege by the Afghans) "which "has obliged him to remain up till then in the house of M. the consul. . . ."

Those were strange times indeed when a consul of France could object to an 'Oremus pro Pontefice', or any other than an 'Oremus pro Rege' Louis XV being sung at Benediction in a Jesuit chapel at Julfa (which he had adopted as his official consular chapel) on a feast though the Bishop of the diocese was present, and should continue to claim his privileges as a royal representative, while the chapel lay under an episcopal interdict.¹ With such relations between the French consul and the then Bishop of Isfahan (a Dominican from Milan) it is perhaps not surprising that the prelate obtained no more satisfaction than the Carmelites from Fr. Jerome Francis:

" . . . After the entry of the Afghans into Isfahan, and their peaceful occupation of it, "Fr. Jerome with his hopes rendered vain of being able to obtain from the Afghans what "he had been unable to obtain a year previously from the Persians, i.e. a reply to the letter "from the Emperor, remained idle and in secular habit in the house of M. the Consul of "France to the wonder and scant edification of those who had already known him as a "missionary in Julfa, where he had been many years. So I deemed it well in a courteous "and charitable letter to advise him to put on the Religious habit, and give some assistance "to the Mission of his Order, which had such need of it at the time. . . . He gave no "reply. Three months later, on Easter approaching and the needs of the mission being "increased . . . I sent a missionary Father to renew my requests. . . . The reply brought "me was to this effect: 'If the Bishop should send me any letter I shall put it on the table "'and there it will stay. I am an Ambassador of the Emperor: I have my privileges given "'me by my superiors and recognize no superior here in Persia.' . . ."²

This strange character had apparently ceased to reside in Isfahan, and gone to Europe before 1730, when Fr. Urban sent through the Order in Rome an enclosure to be forwarded to Fr. Jerome Francis.³

Letters extant:

11.10.1709	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 364
7.9.1710	Isfahan	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 579, p. 105, and <i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 374
31.10.1711	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 384
10.5.1714	Isfahan	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 600, p. 39
18.9.1714	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 70
21.1.1716	Julfa	O.C.D. 238 u.
4.10.1717	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 464
20.11.1717	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 463
13.10.1720	Paris	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 504
1.12.1726	Isfahan	O.C.D. 242 m.

¹ Bishop Barnabas Fedeli, O.P., *S.R.*, vol. 634, p. 305, 25.5.1725.

² *S.N.R.*, III, p. 540: Bishop Barnabas, Julfa, 2.5.1726, to the Sac. Cong.

³ 20.8.1730, O.C.D. 242 h.

JEROME of Jesus Mary

A Pole.

Family name: John Ciolek-Drzewicki, son of George C.-D., of a knightly order, castellan of Janok (chief place of a district in Carpathian Galicia, 155 kilometres SW. of Lwow) and of Anna Balowna. Born in 1625 in the palatinate of Lublin, 100 kilometres SE. of Warsaw. When his studies were finished he entered the army, where he remained 7 years, fighting against the Tatars then harrying the palatinate of his native province and, taken prisoner, for 3 years he suffered hardship in captivity,¹ during which he resolved to enter the Religious life. When he succeeded in escaping, he asked to be admitted to the Carmelite Order and became a novice at Cracow 14.5.1651, making his solemn profession at Pentecost 22.5.1652. Prov. in Order: Poland. Sent to Lublin he there received priest's orders, and celebrated his first Mass 1659, almost at once applying to be sent to the missions. Took the vows as a missionary 18.5.1662, and with the blessing of Pope Clement left—the writer of the biographical notice of his work in Poland goes on to say—"first for India, where he became Prior of Goa". (It is difficult to reconcile this statement with such data as exist in his own and contemporary letters, where not a word is mentioned of his ever being in India.) On 27.10.1662 the Definitory General appointed him, a student at the Seminary of San Pancrazio, to the missions (see *Regesta*, vol. V, p. 172) and, 27.11.1662, the Procurator of the Order in Rome asked the Sac. Cong. for the usual faculties to be issued for Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary, leaving with other missionaries for *Persia*,² so that he arrived out presumably during that year at the earliest: his name is given as at Isfahan in two lists of Carmelites for 1663³ and as having been two years in the missions: he left Isfahan for Poland with the ambassador in April 1670 and only landed at Basra on 3.2.1671; while in his own letter from Basra, dated 30.8.1673,⁴ speaking of his experience of the Convent in Isfahan, he used the words "in which I remained more than seven years". That is precisely the period from 1663 till mid-1670, and leaves no time for him to have spent in India. Admittedly there are no mentions of him at all between 1663 and 31.5.1668, when Fr. Dionysius refers in a letter,⁵ written at Isfahan to the Visitor General then at Shiraz, to Fr. Jerome having arrived—whence it was not stated. He is mentioned as at Isfahan in August 1669⁶ in a detailed list of the Procurator Fr. Valerius: shortly before Fr. Valerius had arrived there, Fr. Jerome had been summoned to the house of

' 'Itimad-ud-Dauleh, grand Wazir and first person after the king, in order to read the Gospel 'and offer prayers for a son of the Wazir who was ill'.

Another and earlier communication of Fr. Valerius from Isfahan⁷ gives the additional information that Fr. Jerome was then Vicar at the Convent in Isfahan:

"... a few days ago the Viceroy (Daruga?) sent to see our house, having orders from "the new 'Itimad-ud-Dauleh to sell the house of the king who was in need of money. "We judged it well on such an occasion to present the letter from the king of Poland in "order to liberate this house from any misadventure. So today we went to the house of " 'Itimad-ud-Dauleh: the Fr. Vicar showed him the writings and orders of the former "sovereigns together with the letter of the king" (of Poland); "and we made no mistake "because the said 'Itimad-ud-Dauleh has ordered that confirmation" (of occupation) "of "the house, and our other privileges from the former kings be granted us, saying that he "would notify us when it would be time to present the letter to the Shah. . . ."

As Vicar of Isfahan, he convoked the chapter for election of Prior early in 1670, and the election was still undecided (owing to Fr. Felix declining to accept the office) when a Polish

¹ Biographical article by Robert Chabré in *Études Carmelitaines*, 1925, p. 190 *et seq.*

² *S.R.*, vol. 238, p. 41.

³ *Idem*, 237 d.

⁴ O.C.D. 235 n. and *S.R.*, vol. 238, p. 85.

⁵ *S.N.R.*, I, p. 252.

⁶ O.C.D. 241 l.

⁷ O.C.D. 236 b.

ambassador (a Georgian—so perhaps ‘ambassador to Poland’) pressed the Persian Court to obtain or allow him Fr. Jerome’s company on the journey to Muscovy and Poland, and by orders of the royal officials Fr. Jerome had to go in April of that year,¹ despite all that Fr. Felix could do to dissuade them.

Returning from Poland he reached Basra 3.2.1671,² and was appointed vicar there. His health was suffering, see his letter of 14.4.1672:

“I am much troubled by very acute pains in my foot, which I crippled more than “20 years ago . . . here in Basra in this hot weather . . . I am frightened . . . lest I “risk losing both my foot and my life all together.”

So he begged the Praepositus General to allow him to return to Europe, to some hermitage for preference:

“I think that not much more life lies ahead of me, by the token that ordinarily the lives “of my family do not exceed 50 years.”

His first letters³ from Basra clamoured for the dispatch of a companion—two Religious had recently died without the assistance of a priest:

‘Our Lord himself “binos misit” his first missionaries into the world. If only his correspondent knew how ill the mission in Persia was going owing to lack of Religious!’

On 11.1.1674 letters patent for him to be Vicar Provincial of the Missions in Persia and the Indies were brought to him:⁴ he made a visitation of the Residence at Basra 17.2.1674 and left for Persia 23.2.1674. For most of 1675 he appears to have remained at Shiraz: his letter of 5.9.1675, *inter alia*, recommended a modification by the Definitory General of its rules governing elections in the Persian mission, which so disturbed the consciences and parochial work of the missionaries now sorely depleted in numbers: that of 31.8.1675 gave an account in lively language of the qualities and temperaments of all other missionaries under his charge, and he labelled himself “the most miserable and useless of all”. While still Vicar Provincial he was elected Prior of Isfahan.⁵ According to his biographer in the article of *Études Carmelitaines* he was recalled by his province of Poland so insistently that finally the Praepositus General consented, and Fr. Jerome returned to Europe before 21.3.1678⁶ (*vide* Fr. John Baptist’s letter: “. . . has left for his province of Poland: I think he has decided to travel by “Rome”). While he was still on the journey at Venice, the chapter of S. Michael at Cracow elected him Prior at the noviciate in that city 15.4.1679. In 1682 at a chapter in Lublin he was chosen Provincial for the province of Poland, and in 1683, at the Chapter General in Rome, third Definitory General of the Order. At the end of his term of three years he returned to Poland as Visitor General. At the provincial chapter held at Wisniez in 1688 he became first Definitory for the province and continued to hold the office after the chapter of 1691. Suffering from gout and often ailing in his latter years, he died, after making an edifying end, on 5.7.1695 at the Convent of Lublin.⁷

Letters extant:

31.7.1669	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 n.
17.2.1671	Basra	O.C.D. 241 l.
17.2.1671	Basra	O.C.D. 241 l.

¹ Fr. Felix, 4.8.1670, O.C.D. 238 p., and Fr. Angelus, 2.9.1670, O.C.D. 236 i.

² *Chron. Basra*: he had gone to Basra by instructions of the Substitute to the Vicar Provincial, *vide* Fr. Jerome’s own letter, 16.3.1671, O.C.D. 241 l.

³ 14.11.1672.

⁴ *Chron. Basra*.

⁵ Fr. Agathangelus, 8.8.1676, O.C.D. 241 c.

⁶ Fr. Aurelius, 29.3.1678, O.C.D. 241 e., and Fr. John Baptist, 21.3.1678, O.C.D. 242 a.

⁷ *Études Carmelitaines*, 1925, p. 190 *et seq.*

16.3.1671	Basra	O.C.D. 241 l.
7.6.1672	Basra	O.C.D. 241 l.
14.11.1672	Basra	O.C.D. 241 l.
28.1.1673	Basra	O.C.D. 241 l.
10.8.1673	Basra	S.R., vol. 449, p. 211
30.8.1673	Basra	O.C.D. 241 l.
17.2.1675	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 q.
31.8.1675	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 q.
31.8.1675	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 q.
3.9.1675	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 q.
3.9.1675	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 q.
5.9.1675	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 q.

JOACHIM MARY of S. Joseph

A Sicilian.¹

Born . . . Prov. in Order: (?). At Goa already in 1661² when he was elected Substitute to the Procurator (Fr. Francis of the Passion),³ and his departure as such for Rome is mentioned in a letter written in Baghdad, of which Fr. Joachim Mary himself was to be the carrier,⁴ so that he must have passed through Baghdad onwards towards Rome about the end of November 1661.

At the end of 1667 or in the first days of 1668 he must have left Europe to return to the mission, for he himself relates that, setting out from Sicily as companion to the Visitor General, Fr. Francis of Jesus, by way of Malta he arrived in Isfahan early in April on Easter Tuesday, 1668. It had been intended that he should go on to India; but, owing to the insufficient numbers of Religious in Persia, the Visitor General, pushing on to Shiraz and Goa within a month himself, left behind in Isfahan Fr. Joachim Mary. In October 1668, at the request of the Vicar Provincial⁵ and by letter of the Visitor General, Fr. Joachim Mary left Isfahan for Basra, where he arrived in December,⁶ to be companion to Fr. Severin of S. Maurice. (For a detailed account of his experiences in the next few months, see the biographical notice of Fr. Severin.) Fr. Joachim Mary's letter briefly related at the end of August 1669:

" . . . but God willed that there should be stirred up a revolt against the Turks, and for
 "six months now we are in the midst of a furnace. We were put in gaol with irons on
 "our feet by the Turks, who were then in power, they demanding gunpowder and shot
 "from us or else the payment of 2,000 piastres. In the end, by the intermediary of friends
 "we were released and paid no more than 20 piastres. Within a few days the town was
 "taken by the Arabs and, the Turks having been put to flight, was sacked and they took
 "off from our House what little there was there. For fear of the Arabs for three days we
 "were outside" (the town). "Having come back at the end of them, we have not lacked
 "till now for trials and misery. They are still fighting, and there is no telling how matters
 "will end. Let us try to get away safely from here and transfer ourselves to Kung, a place
 "in Persia, with the ships of the French Company which have arrived here. We shall try
 "to embark, and already there has been taken on board all those few poor effects that
 "we had in the House. All the Turkish or Armenian merchants, though there are few of
 "them, who have remained here at the peril of their lives, seek to flee, and the Arabs
 "themselves are daily running away from this place. The misery, killing and robbery
 "seen here are beyond recital: and rumour says that, if the Turk succeeds in recapturing
 "the city, he will not leave a soul alive in it and such is the hatred of the Arabs for the

¹ Fr. Barnabas, 29.8.1661, O.C.D. 242 e., and 23.11.1661.

² Fr. Felix, Shiraz, 8.9.1661, O.C.D. 238 p.

³ Fr. Barnabas, Baghdad, 29.8.1661, O.C.D. 242 e. and Fr. Felix, 8.9.1661.

⁴ Fr. Barnabas, Baghdad, 23.11.1661, O.C.D. 242 e.

⁵ Fr. Joachim Mary, 31.8.1669, to Praepositus General, Fr. Philip of Most Holy Trinity, O.C.D. 242 a.

⁶ See also Fr. Severin, 31.8.1669, O.C.D. 242 a.

"Turks that every day they are to be seen practising the greatest cruelties and inhumanity
 "on some poor Turk taken prisoner, so that even the very stones that have no feelings are
 "dumbfounded. I am awaiting the return of the Fr. Visitor, which I hope will be shortly,
 "and then with God's help together with him to return to see once more Your Reverence . . ."

He does not mention that with Fr. Severin he was at first condemned by the Turks to be beheaded, a penalty commuted to the fine.

It was not to Kung, but to Bandar Rig that the two Religious went for safety on 6.9.1669—*Chron. Basra* adds that they returned, when peace had been made by the Turkish Kara Mustafa Pasha, on 17.10.1669. It would seem as if Fr. Joachim Mary had in October 1669 or early 1670 gone on to Shiraz, for a letter of Fr. Athanasius dated Shiraz, 5.8.1670,¹ is countersigned by him as 'companion'. The Visitor General, Fr. Francis, however, who had reached Basra by August 1670, died there on 23.10.1670² and by then Fr. Joachim Mary was in Basra, for he took off all the papers and money of the dead Religious and set off via Baghdad and Aleppo for Europe³ between that date and the beginning of December 1670.

Letters extant:

	31.8.1669	Basra	O.C.D. 242 a.
(jointly)	5.8.1670	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 m.

JOHN ANTONY of S. Elias

A subject of the kingdom of Naples.

Family name: Antonio Rodi. Born 1599 at Locorotondo (Apulia). Prov. in Order: Naples. Professed at Rome, 22.11.1620. Selected, 7.12.1628, by the Definitory General for Persia (see *Regesta*, vol. II, p. 23). Accompanying the Visitor General, Fr. Epiphanius of S. John Baptist, Frs. Ignatius and Philip of the Most Holy Trinity, he left Naples 19.2.1629 and arrived at Isfahan, ailing and suffering from a rupture, 17.8.1629.⁴ On 20.2.1630 Fr. Basil, writing from Basra, was "expecting Fr. John Antony every day, to assist in this House".⁵ He is mentioned as already at Basra in a list of August of that year.⁶ Then, about the middle of December,⁷ he arrived to take charge of the Hospice at Shiraz: and on 2nd February 1631⁸ is cited as 'Vicar of Shiraz—a very good Religious'. A letter of Fr. John Antony himself from Shiraz, dated 1.8.1631, mentioned that he had learnt that the Visitor General had ordered the hospice there to be abandoned: and Fr John Antony left for Basra. His death is given in the register book of baptisms, deaths, etc., at Basra as having occurred 20.11.1631.⁹

Letter extant: 1.8.1631 Shiraz O.C.D. 236 b.

JOHN ATHANASIOS of S. Antony

A Lombard¹⁰ (subject of the Duchy of Milan).

Born 1671 at Cremona. Prov. in Order: Lombardy. Sent to Persian mission 1697,¹¹ but exact date of his arrival not on record—probably 1698. In November 1698 the Residence at Basra had been left without any Religious: so, in company of Fr. Peter of Alcantara the Vicar designate, he was sent from Isfahan and reached Basra on Trinity Sunday, 14.6.1699, "after enduring intolerable suffering owing to the incessant heat". The Vicar, Fr. Peter of Alcantara, left for Kung and thence Isfahan on 14.2.1700, and afterwards Fr. John Athanasios

¹ O.C.D. 238 m.

² Fr. Angelus, 14.1.1671, O.C.D. 236 i., and Fr. Jerome of Jesus, 17.2.1671, O.C.D. 241 l.

³ Fr. Dimas, 18.9.1629, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁴ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 15.1.1631, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁵ O.C.D. 241 g.

⁶ Fr. Basil, 24.8.1630, O.C.D. 241 g.

⁷ Fr. Dimas, 14.2.1631, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁸ Fr. Dimas, 14.2.1631, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁹ The notice in the *Series Professionum* at S. Maria d. Scala, Rome, "died in Persia, at the gate of India, 17.11.1633", would seem incorrect.

¹⁰ *Cat. Def. Lomb.*

¹¹ *Catalog. Miss.*

remained alone (except for eight months) the whole seven years till his death in March 1707. At the provincial chapter in May 1700 he was appointed Vicar of Basra.¹

No less than 194 out of 447 pages of the manuscript *Chronicle of Basra* in the original (or 122 out of 311 in the English translation—under the title *Settlement of the Carmelites in Mesopotamia XVII & XVIII centuries*, by the late Sir H. Gollancz)—two-fifths of the whole—are the production of this Religious in his seven years of solitude: and they merit being read with lively sympathy, for they show the stress upon his mind of a critical, harassing period for the mission. When he first arrived Persian governors were still ruling Basra by right of conquest—the Arabs having risen against, and expelled the Turks in 1694, only to be deprived of possession by a Persian force under Mullah Farajullah in March 1697. After abortive assaults under Shaikh Mān'a in January and March and June 1700, the Arabs besieged the town: there was a siege in September 1700. In December Arabs from Masqat seized in the river a French ship, the *Volcan*, bringing corn for the Persian troops, and the Carmelite missionary had to tend the wounded off her in his Residence. Though the Persian soldiers in Basra numbered 6,000 in February 1701, they were unpaid and not fed, the governor Daud Khan incompetent; and, learning that a large Turkish force had left Baghdad to regain Basra, these Persians destroyed as many as 1,400 houses:

“ . . . sparing no one, not even myself; for we had a little house still in fairly good condition, which they entered one night, pulling down the roof and carrying away the beams. In the same manner they destroyed a large house adjoining our caravansarai, the walls of which fell upon our roof causing great damage, and it had to be built at great expense and inconvenience. On the 9th March there arrived a herald from the Turks who demanded the keys of the town from Daud Khan (the Persian governor). In fear and trembling he handed them over to him, and on the same day all the Persian soldiers went on board the ships held ready for this purpose and fled. On the 10th March (1701) 'Ali Pasha made his solemn entry into the town (up to the present day he has governed it happily and wisely) and may God preserve him for his kindness towards Christians. Mustafa Daldaban Pasha of Baghdad; Karakulagh (?) Pasha of Sivas, generalissimo of the Turkish forces; and Yusuf Topal Pasha of Kirkuk also took part in the solemn entry. Those four Pashas were accompanied by 30,000 soldiers, all of whom passed along the street by the gate of our House. . . . The four Pashas with their soldiery remained here for 10 days until Ramazan, after which three departed and 'Ali Pasha remained alone with sufficient forces to guard the town: the rest went to Hillah, where there were 60,000 soldiers to keep the Arabs in check, but they did little or nothing. . . . ”

In May and June 1701 Fr. John Athanasius was seriously ill: on the 14th of the latter month an English ship named the *Sedgwick* put in from Bandar 'Abbas: its captain, Henry Harnett, and owner Henry Griffith, a merchant of the English (i.e. East India) Company stayed with the Carmelite “and their agreeable conversation relieved him . . . till they sold their wares, and left for Bandar 'Abbas in September”. Next, in August, Fr. John Athanasius was brought to act as interpreter and agent for a Portuguese man-o'-war, which

“had come to collect 15,000 scudi from the merchants of this city and three horses, because “ . . . Khalil Pasha had agreed with the Portuguese to give them every year 5,500 silver scudi and a horse on condition that the Portuguese should *conducerent Monsonem*” (? bring their trade every monsoon) “to this port from the Indies each year . . . they, the Portuguese, had received nothing for the space of 3 years, so they came to exact this sum. . . . ”

On 21.4.1702 the Qadhi (judge) began to be troublesome, having demanded to be shown the original licence for the building and existence of the Carmelite church: in this connection it is worth note that *Chron. Basra* relates how a merchant, remonstrating with the Qadhi, used the expression:

¹ *Chron. Basra*.

"do you not know that all the Pashas . . . have the greatest respect for the Fathers: do
 "you not know that the Fathers are here consuls of the king of France?"

and how Fr. John Athanasius, a Lombard, the duchy of Milan being then joined to the Crown of France, speaks of writing about the matter: ". . . to *our* most illustrious ambassador in "Constantinople . . .", i.e. of France. The position had grown worse for all missionaries in Turkey by the next year:

"On 3.3.1703, while I was entirely occupied in composing sermons in Turkish for the "Sundays in Lent, a letter-carrier arrived from Baghdad. The Capuchin Fathers there "had sent him to me expressly to inform me that they had been expelled from Baghdad "by order of Daldaban, the grand vizir, and that an extraordinary delegate was on his "way with the same mandate that our church at Basra should be razed to the ground and "we ourselves turned out of doors. On the 14th March a Tatar arrived from Baghdad "with the imperial mandate for our destruction. . . ."

'Ali Pasha, the governor, when he had read it, summoned Fr. John Athanasius at a late hour and advised him, with the greatest goodwill, to evacuate house and church that very night, and depart from the territory at the first opportunity: Fr. John Athanasius pressed him to know whether the orders were directed against the consul of France, or against the Religious: and the reply was

'against the Frank Fathers and their church . . . although it was known to him (the 'Pasha) that the Religious was both Father and consul, yet the people generally knew the 'Religious as Father, and did not know of his being consul. . . .'

After litanies had been said by all Christians in great tribulation, and from the altar the image of Our Lady of Ransom ('de Remediis') had been removed together with other images to the house of a Catholic Syrian, the last Mass was said on 15.3.1703 and on the 16th Fr. John Athanasius was having all movables put in a boat for Kung when the Shahbandar (primed by the friendly governor 'Ali Pasha) demanded the keys of the Residence, claiming it for the Revenue and exchequer: this had been contrived by 'Ali Pasha to save the premises from being razed to the ground in accordance with the grand vizir's orders. A Qaus (south-east) wind kept back the boat from sailing for 10 days and meanwhile providentially the Capuchin Fathers wrote from Baghdad to announce that their own departure had been suspended by the governor of Baghdad, whether from fear of trouble resulting between the Porte and France or on account of rumours of the death of the Grand Vizir. In this way, and next thanks to the influence of Muhammad Pasha, commander of the river fleet (who had been operating against the Muntafiq Arabs), the mandate against the church in Basra was also stayed, Fr. John Athanasius being allowed by the Pasha to lodge outside the town in an Arab stable and in Arab dress; but during that time through a kindly keeper of the gate the Father was able to have all the boxes containing effects of the church and hospice conveyed unnoticed into the town to the house of Khwajeh Safar the Syrian Christian. Another Arab march on Basra and rebellion lasted from early April till the end of September 1703. Then on 11.2.1703, when Fr. John Athanasius was in sore straits, Fr. Peter of Alcantara arrived from Isfahan to keep him company and found horses stabled in the empty church and Turks holding revelry, who answered his pained surprise by saying that long before Fr. John Athanasius had been turned out of doors. 'Ali Pasha that September had bidden Fr. John Athanasius await the result of his representations to the Porte, and directed the Fathers not to leave. On the other hand, the Vicar Provincial from Isfahan, having learnt of the previous position, wrote that all effects should be sold and the Religious remove to Bandar 'Abbas. Further, on 9.10.1703 in reply to the Father's petition to be allowed to reside in Basra under the title and guise of 'consul of France', Muhammad Pasha, then governor for some months, wrote: "I have given

"permission for the present consul of the French to reside in Basra. . . ." Fr. Peter of Alcantara left on 12.11.1703 for Bandar 'Abbas, taking away all the portable effects of the mission, according to inventory—that was in obedience to the instructions from Isfahan. On 25.11.1703 Muhammad Pasha granted a petition that "the consul of the French may reside 'in his caravansarai'" (this was a stratagem so that the mission premises might not be abandoned altogether): and at the same time Fr. John Athanasius wrote to the French ambassador in Constantinople, asking that the church be restored to the Carmelites, but received no reply: not that he was idle, for Lay Brother Francis Mary of S. Sirus in his manuscript account of his journey to Persia in 1693 and subsequent events mentioned that the Marquis de Feriol, French ambassador, had told him at Constantinople in 1702 that Fr. John Athanasius, Vicar of Basra, had written to the embassy complaining that the Qadhi of Basra threatened to pull down the church, and mentioned steps taken. A further relaxation, cautiously but readily allowed, took place when 'Ali Pasha, who had once more succeeded to the government, on 14.9.1704 granted a petition that Father John Athanasius for his subsistence might repair a 'cell' in the church for his habitation, so that he might let on hire the 'caravansarai' of the Carmelites: on this occasion 'Ali Pasha sent bricklayers to have opened up the doors of house and church. "The restoration of our house and church took place on 16.9.1704."

At the beginning of October the

"citizens of Basra began to be taken ill and died of the plague. Nearly all our Christians 'were sick, ten of them in our caravansarai, whom I alone served with food and drink, 'for there was no one to help. At last on the 22nd of the month . . . I was attacked by 'the same disease and after 3 days I was at the gate of death and left alone by all. Never-
"theless the Dutch kindly and charitably visited me 2 or 3 times a week and sent me
"barley meal every day. . . . Every day 400 or more were buried. . . . For 64 days
"together I suffered from a pestilent bubo under my left arm, which was extremely painful.
". . . This mortality lasted till the end of November, and it was reckoned that 8,000
"people died. . . ."

Next Fr. John Athanasius had to suffer trials of mind and loyalty, because the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Basil, who on 15.8.1704 had written permitting Fr. John Athanasius to remain on in Basra in the hope that the French ambassador would obtain the necessary decrees from the Sultan, on 10.2.1705 refused to be responsible for debts incurred at Basra and directed Fr. John Athanasius, the 'captain' of the Dutch company and others to sell the premises, and the first-named to withdraw to Persia: but finally, after being informed of the changing situation, left matters on 15.7.1705 to the discretion of the perplexed Vicar.

On 4.11.1705 Shaikh Mughamis, son of Shaikh Man'a, attacked Basra and got control of the town and on the 12th November gave confirmation of privileges hitherto enjoyed by the Carmelites: the Turkish forces from Baghdad, however, regained the town on November 20th (256 Arabs being killed), and the new governor, Khalil Pasha, on 24.1.1706 finally gave a mandate to the Qadhi of Basra, bidding him write a judicial instrument which would authorize the reopening of the Carmelite church.

Chron. Basra breaks off here, in January 1706, and another and later writer continues, recording that Fr. John Athanasius after this had to take to his bed and, "that he might not "witness a worse tragedy, was carried up to Heaven about the 1st March 1707" (after whose death there came a Tatar with an imperial command that the church should be destroyed and the Fathers expelled, as was done elsewhere, where there were no secular consuls, e.g. at Baghdad, Diarbakr).

The register at Basra gives 26.3.1707 as the approximate date: no other missionary was present when he died, and the entry was made on the reopening of the mission in 1714. The death is recorded by the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Hugo of S. Dionysius, in a letter from Julfa dated 28.7.1707,¹ speaking of Fr. John Athanasius:

¹ *S.R.*, vol. 561, p. 258.

"a gifted, zealous and affable man, who had the talent of winning everyone: the poor
"Father was alone, and working well".

Fr. Basil of S. Charles in a letter of 20.5.1708 also states that the death had occurred fifteen months earlier.

Letter extant: 30.5.1705 Basra See *Chron. Basra* (pp. 273-94)

JOHN BAPTIST (Lay Brother)

A Portuguese, from Goa (?).

Born . . . Given the habit in 1611—perhaps when Fr. Vincent of S. Francis was in Goa. In 1612 accompanied the latter from Isfahan to Hurmuz, and in a letter of 1613¹ Fr. Vincent applied to the Praepositus General for a dispensation so that Brother John might make his profession "as he is a good Religious, well tried when I left him alone here to guard the "Oratory". Sent to Tatta in Sind in company of Fr. Louis Francis in the spring of 1613.² Perhaps he was the lay brother, who had died at Tatta, mentioned by Fr. John Thaddeus' letter of 25.6.1619: for his name does not appear in the list of 1620-1 in O.C.D. 235 n.

JOHN BAPTIST of S. Elias

A subject of the Republic of Genoa.

Family name: Antonio Paggi. Born 1707 at Genoa. Prov. in Order: Genoa. Professed 7.3.1729. Sent to the missions 1737.³ Arrived Basra 29.5.1738, but after some months sent by the Vicar Provincial to Julfa. Thence, having failed to learn the Armenian language, he returned to Basra, 29.10.1741, and, having been given permission to return to Europe, sailed from Basra 11.12.1741, but died, while still on board ship, at Marseilles.⁴

JOHN BAPTIST of S. Joseph

A Lombard, subject of the Duchy of Milan.

Family name: Federico Antoniano. Born about 1644⁵ at Milan. Prov. in Order: Lombardy. Professed 23.2.1659 (aged 15). A communication from the Procurator General of the Order⁶ was read in the session of the Sacr. Cong. 15.12.1676 and approved, that Fr. John Baptist (as senior) with four other choir-priests (including Fr. Elias) and a lay brother was being dispatched to the Persian mission. After being detained at Corfu and Zante,⁷ waiting to embark, he arrived at Basra 23.5.1677 as

"Visitor General (and Vicar Provincial) of Persia and the Indies . . . but because they
"did not arrive before the celebration of the Chapter General, the Fr. Visitor did not read
"his letters patent, nor although pressed to do so would he accept the position, but after
"a month left for Shiraz",⁸

i.e. about 20.6.1677.

He returned to Basra on Ash Wednesday, 23.2.1678, made his visitation 6.3.1678 and again left for Persia 21.3.1678, arriving at Shiraz 27.4.1678⁹ (having received 30 piastres from

¹ O.C.D. 239 b.

² *Catalog. Miss.*

³ *S.R.*, vol. 461, p. 141.

⁴ *Cont. Chron. Basra.*

⁵ See also undated (1615) report of Fr. Leander, O.C.D. 239 e.

⁶ So *Cat. Def. Lomb.*, but *Catalog. Miss.* gives 1642.

⁷ *Idem*, vol. 466, p. 83.

⁸ and ⁹ *Chron. Basra.*

Basra funds for his journey).¹ His letter from Basra of 21.3.1678 spoke of “having just had laid on him the burden of Vicar Provincial in addition to that of Visitor General”. On 11.9.1678 he wrote from Shiraz his licence for the reconstruction of the Carmelite church at Basra.²

One of his letters from Shiraz—dated 11.9.1678—mentioned his hope to sail for India by the first ship: and evidently he must have left Shiraz for Kung during that month, because there had been received at Basra from him a letter, written already on 3.11.1678, with the news that

“after having received the Viaticum, and being very near to death, the fever which had held him for 40 days began to mend”.³

Further, another Religious from Gāmburūn on 25.1.1679 wrote of having remained at Kung to nurse

“in his very serious illness the Visitor General, who, when a little better, though he could not stand upright on his feet, had left for India on 1st January 1679”.⁴

From India he was back again in Bandar 'Abbas in February 1680, and his letter of 15th February stated that on 15.8.1679 he had written to the Cardinal Prefect a long account of the mission in Persia (which perhaps did not reach its destination, for it has not been observed in the archives). Fr. John Baptist died at Shiraz—sometime in 1681 presumably, because a letter of one of the missionaries in Isfahan⁵ written 25.9.1681 alluded to Fr. John Baptist having died at Shiraz, without specifying the date: and *Catalog. Miss.* (although often inaccurately reconstructed) gives the date 1681. That in *Cat. Def. Lomb.*—“died at Shiraz in Persia on 7.1.1682, aged 41”—must therefore be incorrect, and perhaps should read ‘1681’.

Letters extant:

21.3.1678	Basra	O.C.D. 242 a.
13.8.1678	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 k.
15.8.1678	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 k.
11.9.1678	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 k.
15.2.1680	Bandar 'Abbas	<i>S.N.R.</i> , I, p. 471

JOHN of the Cross

A Sicilian.⁶

Family name: Acurzio Inueges. Born 1600, at Lagevento. Prov. in Order: Sicily. Doctor of Laws. Professed 25.3.1624 [*? sic*] at Baida. Appointed by Definitory General to “the Mission in the East”, 1.4.1633 (see *Regesta*, vol. II, p. 107), and according to the MSS. *History of the Missions* by Fr. Eusebius ab. Omn. Sancti. he was sent out to the missions in 1633 at the same time as Frs. Stephen of Jesus and Columban (who reached Isfahan in October 1634); but he is not mentioned by name in the letter regarding their journey written by Fr. Stephen.⁷ The latter, however, in his *Brief Narrative*⁸ does convey the impression that Fr. John of the Cross was brought out during the period of the visitation of Fr. Charles Mary, i.e. 1639–42, and states that Fr. John of the Cross was first a missionary at Mt. Carmel, but “afterwards passed into Persia”. In any case in 1643 he had arrived in Isfahan from Aleppo:⁹ he volunteered to accompany Fr. Stephen of Jesus, when the latter was appointed to leave India for

¹ Fr. Aurelius, 7.8.1678, O.C.D. 241 c.

² *Chron. Basra.*

³ Fr. Amandus of S. Elias, Basra, 2.2.1679, O.C.D. 242 a.

⁴ Fr. Agnellus, O.C.D. 242 a.

⁵ Fr. Fortunatus, O.C.D. k.

⁶ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 18.6.1645, O.C.D. 237 f.; and see *Brief Narrative* by Fr. Stephen, in O.C.D. 236 a.

⁷ Fr. Stephen, Erzerum, O.C.D. 238 s. ⁸ O.C.D. 236 a. ⁹ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 9.8.1644, O.C.D. 237 f.

missionary work in Japan, and was sent with this object from Isfahan before 5.9.1644.¹ But because Fr. Stephen, when already at Surat, was desired by the Archbishop of Goa to restore things in the Convent at Goa, as they had been before the measures taken by the Apostolic Visitor from Portugal, and secondly to explain the position in Rome, in company of Fr. Stephen he left Surat for Goa, and then in February–March 1645 Goa for Persia.² Fr. John of the Cross together with Fr. Stephen reached Isfahan via Shiraz 17.6.1645,³ and, orders from the Definitory General, 24.3.1645 (see *Regesta*, vol. IV, p. 59) having directed his return to Europe, he left Isfahan shortly afterwards for Rome, i.e. in the summer of 1645.⁴ Died at Palermo, 30.11.1665 (see Chronol. List for Prov. of Sicily).

Letter extant: 29.1.1645 Surat O.C.D. 236 a.

JOHN of the Cross (Lay Brother)

A Portuguese (from India or Hurmuz) ?

Born . . . Named as being at Hurmuz in the list of 1620–1 (O.C.D. 235 n.). Whether the same is uncertain, but a lay brother of that name, who had been 'faithful and suffered at Goa', i.e. in the dissensions from 1634 onwards, is mentioned in a letter of 1636.⁵ A Father of that name,

"expelled by Fr. John Stephen, re-clothed by the Visitor General Fr. Charles of Jesus "Mary (i.e. in 1639–40), now a follower of Fr. Matthew, was made Vicar of Diu by the "Apostolic Visitor from Portugal":⁶

and the same writer mentions in a later letter, of 18.8.1652, that "Fr. John of the Cross, a "Portuguese, had died at Goa of an abdominal rupture".

JOHN FRANCIS of S. Hermengild

A Spaniard.

Family name: Antonio Suarez. Born 1644 in Piedmont (Lodi). Professed 4.10.1662 at Milan.⁷ Prov. in Order: Lombardy. First arrived in the mission at Basra, 22.9.1681.⁸ Signed baptismal register, Basra, July 1682. On 28.7.1682 he left Basra for Kung, sent to negotiate with the Portuguese there by the Vicar at the request of the Pasha of Basra, who wished to settle with the Portuguese authorities at Kung a dispute which deterred Portuguese ships from visiting Basra: and he returned to Basra with the Portuguese delegate in order to discuss the business, 30.8.1682.⁹ Present in Isfahan in spring of 1683 at the election for Prior, when there were doubts among the Religious as to the validity of the election of Fr. Elias of S. Albert, and Fr. John Francis was almost alone in upholding it.¹⁰ Later in 1683 made Vicar of Shiraz, "immediately after his arrival in the East, and not knowing the language".¹¹ The Visitor General, Fr. Agnellus, had recommended that he should be sent home to Europe with the letter to the Emperor, and spoke also of thinking to take Fr. John Francis with himself to Goa. In any case, it seems from *Chron. Basra* that he arrived in Basra on 20.1.1685 and on 19.2.1685 set out for Persia again, accompanying the Vicar Provincial Substitute. He was still at Shiraz in autumn 1688, when he "diligently nursed" the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Elias, through an illness. There had been a proposal that, as Procurator, he should be sent to Rome on the business of the missions; but Fr. John Francis was unwilling: and the Vicar Provincial decided

¹ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 8.5.1645; Fr. Ignatius, Basra, 20.1.1645, O.C.D. 241 m., "Fr. John the Sicilian had gone with Fr. Felix to Surat", and see Fr. John's own letter.

² Fr. Dominic, 18.6.1645. ³ Fr. Dionysius, 22.6.1645, O.C.D. 237 c. ⁴ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 7.3.1646.

⁵ Fr. Dimas, 3.12.1636, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁶ Fr. Ignatius, 25.1.1644, and 18.8.1652, in O.C.D. 241 m.

⁷ Fr. Agnellus—report of 26.10.1684 to Praepositus General, Rome, O.C.D. 238 k.

⁸ *Chron. Basra*.

⁹ Fr. Agathangelus, 8.8.1684, O.C.D. 241 c.

¹⁰ Fr. Elias, 14.7.1683, O.C.D. 237 h., and Fr. Agnellus' letter, cited. ¹¹ Fr. Fortunatus, 10.6.1684, O.C.D. 237 k.

that it was in the interests of all that he should make a visitation of the mission at Basra, in view of Fr. Elias' own poor health, and thence to go on to Surat in order to attempt to found a mission at Surat desired by the Definitory General.¹ He arrived 24.12.1688, made his visitation at Basra on 31st December 1688, and left about the end of January 1689.² Thence he went to Kung and Bandar 'Abbas to carry out the annual missionary visit to the Europeans stationed there and to obtain recommendations from the Portuguese officials. He received a donation of 300 rupees from the superintendent, Senhor Gonzales Simon. On 18.5.1689 he had written to the Vicar Provincial that he expected to sail by first opportunity for India.³

Before August 1693 Fr. John Francis was back in Isfahan, residing in the Convent in the City as Vicar:⁴ and, when Fr. Elias of S. Albert was consecrated Bishop of Isfahan on 30.12.1696 it was as Prior⁵ of the Carmelite Convent that Fr. John Francis delivered a great oration. On 24.1.1701 he was on board the flagship of the Portuguese squadron off Surat, having been appointed 'Visitor for Goa and Diu' by the Archbishop of Ancyra, and then on his way from Goa (where there had been an incident with two Religious there) to make his visitation at Diu: "from Diu he will return to Persia".⁶ There is no indication that he did. "Died in India, 22.3.1707."⁷

JOHN of Jesus Mary

A Spaniard.

Family name: Juan de Iniesta. Born 1597 at Corunna (La Coruña). Prov. in Order: Roman. "Coming to Rome, attracted by the Missions, he received the habit, 19.1.1619, at "S. Silvestro in Tuscolano. Professed 26.2.1620" (see *Analecta*, Jan. 1937). He was one of four Carmelites named in the dimissory commission, or 'letters patent' given by the Sacr. Cong. on 22.1.1624 (signed by Cardinal Ludovisi, and the secretary, Mgr Ingoli, and now preserved in O.C.D. 241 a.), as missionaries for Basra and Mesopotamia, as the Sovereign Pontiff himself attached importance to the new creation under Fr. Basil—see the instructions of the Praepositus General, Fr. Paul Simon, to the Visitor General, Fr. Eugenius,⁸ "... missione "di Bassora, commandatoci da Sua Santità. . . ." Still a choir-brother ('corista') he left Rome in 1624, and via Genoa and Alexandretta, in company of the Visitor General named, Fr. Elisaeus and Brother Eustace, he reached Aleppo (whence Brother John of Jesus Mary had already written to the Praepositus General), and after a delay owing to the wars they left Aleppo on 12.11.1624 direct for Basra—a march of 50 days across the desert, during which they passed Christmas—arriving at Basra 3.1.1625.⁹ In his letter of 16.1.1625¹⁰ from Basra the Visitor General wrote:

"... I left in the company of Fr. Basil Brother John, whom I had been unable to send "to Isfahan from Aleppo . . . he can go to Isfahan or Goa, where he can be ordained, "and serve for something. . . ."

Fr. Basil confirms on 11th April 1625 with the words:

"Brother John (who remained as our companion) I am sending now by a good opportunity to Goa, to finish being ordained, and be more suited to serve the Order: those "were the instructions of the Visitor General, that I should send him as soon as I had "another companion . . .":

and a postscript of the 14th April added:

"Brother John of Jesus Mary left the other day for India to be ordained. . . ."

¹ and ³ Fr. Elias, 18.6.1689, O.C.D. 237 h.

⁴ Lay Brother Francis Mary of S. Sirus in his *Vita P. F. Elia*, MSS. in O.C.D. 320 c.

⁵ *S.N.R.*, III, p. 171, letter of a Dominican Religious, 5.10.1696.

⁶ Francis Mary of S. Sirus, Shiraz, 13.5.1701, O.C.D. 238 g.

⁸ O.C.D. 284 g. ⁹ See his own letter of 14.1.1625 and Fr. Basil, 25.3.1625, O.C.D. 241 g.

² *Basra Chron.*

⁷ *Cat. Def. Lomb.*

¹⁰ O.C.D. 241 i.

Catalog. Miss. states: "died at Diu, 17.11.1633" (see *Series Professionum*).

Letter extant: 14.1.1625 Basra O.C.D. 242 a.

JOHN JOSEPH of S. Antony

A Frenchman.

Born 1690 at Avignon. Prov. in Order: Avignon.

"I clothed him last year, i.e. 1718, before Christmas in virtue of a licence from our "Father Praepositus General . . .",

wrote¹ Fr. Faustin, Vicar Provincial ("14 or 15 years ago"—confirms Fr. Urban in a letter of 13.6.1733). He was present in the Convent at Isfahan when the Vicar Provincial made the appointment of Vicar of Julfa, 4.10.1719, and is styled "*Father John Joseph*" according to the 'responsio' of Fr. Philip Mary.² At Hamadan (as a Discalced Carmelite) from August 1720, when he joined Fr. Faustin³—

"a Religious of great virtue who had previously remained there several years with Mgr "Pidou, and afterwards . . .",

i.e. before November 1717 as well as between 1717–9. He had been one of the French seculars from the Seminary for Foreign Missions, Paris, and others who formed the staff of the Bishop of Baghdad in Hamadan and Isfahan:

"a native of Avignon, who had been secretary to the late Mgr Pidou, Bishop of Babylon. ". . . He assisted in the mission at Hamadan with Fr. Paul Augustine, now Vicar of Basra, "in the place of Mgr Pidou. He knows Armenian and Turkish well and Persian sufficiently. "When he has been professed and received priest's orders, I shall send him to Shiraz to "teach Armenian to our Fathers there. . . ."⁴

He was obliged to quit Hamadan on account of the disturbances following the Afghan invasion, and arrived at Basra 26.2.1723.⁵

"Meus socius cum Amadan discedere coactus fuisset propter bella Persidis huc venit et "in transitu Babyloniae mansit 3 mensibus. Illuc illum provisi cum pecuniis quae mihi "supererant ut vacet missioni quia non est parum versatus in linguis orientalibus . . .",

wrote the Vicar Apostolic for the diocese of Baghdad, Fr. Joseph Mary on 1st July 1723;⁶ and a later letter⁷ shows that in fact from May till 27.11.1723 Fr. John Joseph had been in Baghdad, and then left for Hamadan.

Fr. John Joseph himself in his letter from Baghdad at this period gives the information that he had served in Hamadan for 13 years (presumably, therefore, since 1710) with Mgr Pidou: that he was returning to Hamadan, although the visible results of missionary work there were small. After 6 months that he had remained in Baghdad by instructions of the Vicar Apostolic, neither of them was able to stay any longer because of the evident risk, seeing that they possessed no documents, nor had any protector against their enemies. 'That was the reason for the delay in re-establishing the mission in Baghdad, so promising.' (In 1722 he had also been 4 months in Baghdad.) But Fr. John Joseph

¹ O.C.D. 242 b. (undated letter of 1719 by its context).

² Fr. Faustin, 26.5.1721, O.C.D. 238 g.

³ *Chron. Basra*.

⁶ *S.N.R.*, III, p. 564.

² 20.6.1725, O.C.D. 238 u.

⁴ Fr. Faustin, O.C.D. 242 b., 1719.

⁷ *Idem*, p. 574.

"had to halt at Kirmanshah, unable to progress as the Pasha of Baghdad had invaded Persia, and occupied Kirmanshah, and after the winter would march on Hamadan";¹

so he remained there 3 months. Shortly before another of the Vicar Apostolic's letters (28.9.1724) the

"Turks had captured Hamadan after great bloodshed on their side among the inhabitants. They had spared no one, not even Christians. Fr. John Joseph had been among the few made and kept as prisoners. . . .² Fr. John Joseph had written . . . that the invading Turkish army had looted the episcopal residence."³

In his *Second Journey*⁴ Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia, who a few years afterwards resided in Hamadan for some time, has left the following graphic details:

" . . . Ahmad Pasha . . . left 30,000 Turks dead in the siege, although the town was unprovided with cannon, and girt with walls of recent construction. There was at that time in our house, which had been built by Monsignor Picquet, Fr. John Joseph, a famous missionary, greatly respected by all Persians: and they betook themselves to him in order to request that he would found for them a bronze cannon. He excused himself saying that he did not know how; but, as those fellows began to use him harshly and cruelly, he was constrained to undertake the work as best he knew. So he had a great bar of iron made, wrapped it up well in paper, and having made a mould from beaten clay fitted the bar inside and, when the molten metal was ready, had it poured inside. From the outside the cannon seemed very well made; but they could never extract the bar from the inside, although they worked on it for days; and then, the paper catching fire, the metal became fused to the iron, so that it could never be extracted. If this operation had succeeded, perhaps the Turks would not have taken the town, seeing that when about that time there was fired against them one single grape-shot from a wooden cannon, which was well hooped with iron, but burst into a hundred pieces, it caused the whole Turkish army to retire a distance of more than an hour from the walls they were besieging. But the work of the Religious, who knew nothing of the trade, having proved futile, shortly afterwards the city was taken by assault and for the space of two days continuously Turks and Persians were occupied in killing each other, the latter yielding to the former yard by yard only, so that the streets ran with blood. Finally the Pasha had the gates opened, giving orders for an end to be put to the looting, and that whoever wished should be allowed to flee as he listed, and thus hostilities ceased and the Turks remained masters of the town. Fr. John Joseph, who during the siege had remained hidden in a cellar of the house, on coming out was made captive by a Turk, by whom however he was released through the instrumentality of a Catholic Christian, who by exchanging a horse for him set him at liberty: and he was given such assistance at general headquarters that the Pasha gave express command to all his soldiers to give back to him everything they had had from his house, so that he was once more put in possession of his house and church. . . ."

Fr. Philip Mary's letter of November 1724⁵ completes this part of the story:

"A few days ago there reached us a letter from Fr. John Joseph at Hamadan, in which he wrote that the Turks looted the house at Hamadan of everything there was in it, not having left there even a holy picture, or breviary for the poor Father, and that they had made him a slave, and he had been ransomed by an Armenian for two tumans, and that he was at present the slave of the Armenian, and begged us to be so charitable as to have him set at liberty. We shall do everything possible to do it by selling, pawning, or by

¹ and ² Fr. Joseph Mary, Basra, 8.2.1724, *S.N.R.*, II, p. 580, and 29.6.1724, *S.N.R.*, III, p. 582.

³ and ⁵ Fr. Philip Mary, Isfahan, 17.11.1724, *O.C.D.* 238 u.

⁴ Printed Rome, 1758.

"taking a loan, as may be possible. The difficulty is that the passes are not open, and it
"will be difficult to get letters to him. . . ."

In November 1725 the Apostolic Vicar claimed to have repaired house and church at Hamadan, put in furniture and left it in good condition: between 1726-9 the schismatic Armenians, however, gave trouble, trying to get the house taken away from the missionaries. Fr. John Joseph had remained fast in Hamadan all those years of the Turkish occupation—"still custodian of that house,"¹ he is mentioned in a letter of 20.7.1730;² though the Persians regained possession and the house was plundered again in 1730.³ With the third assault on the town Fr. John Joseph had at last to go, after some 20 years of residence there. "Today," wrote Fr. Emmanuel from Baghdad on 1.10.1731,⁴

"there has arrived a courier from Persia bringing the news of the total destruction of the
"Persian army, 30,000 being dead on the field of battle, together with that of the taking
"of Hamadan by the Turks. Thus for the third time the poor mission of Hamadan is
"ruined. Fr. John Joseph, who was there, has fled to Isfahan. . . ."

At the end of 1732 he was sent to Bandar 'Abbas by the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Placid, in order to make a small establishment for the mission, but he died there on 2.4.1733.⁵

Letter extant: 2.11.1723 Baghdad *S.N.R.*, III, p. 576.

JOHN MARY of Jesus

A subject of the Republic of Genoa.

Family name: Francesco Ambrosi. Born at Avenzano (Genoa) 1645. Prov. in Order: Roman. Professed at Rome, 16.11.1663. Left Rome 21.5.1671 with the Procurator Fr. Valerius and Fr. Toussaint, via Ancona and Venice, whence they travelled with the Venetian consul at Aleppo.⁶ They reached Basra on the night of Ascension Day 1672, after 60 days of travelling and a terrible storm on the Tigris, and suffering from the rigour of the fast of the Eastern rites, which they had observed out of respect. Near Nisibis, relates Fr. John Mary, they had met the chief of the Yazidis (or Kurds) with a great multitude of his followers going to pass the summer in the hills. The Vicar Provincial had written to Fr. John Mary that he was to go with Fr. Valerius to Goa.⁷ In another letter he gives the information that he left Kung on 22.11.1672 and was to teach philosophy at Goa to seven or eight Religious.

Mentioned as being at Goa in 1675, with Fr. Felician of S. Roch the only European Religious left in the Convent,⁸ and there is a further reference to him in the Vicar Provincial's comments on the qualities of the Religious under his charge.⁹ He put in at Basra (together with Fr. Clement of the Ascension) on 22.8.1686, and left for Baghdad to return to Europe at the end of that month.¹⁰ Died at S. Maria d. Scala, Rome, 4.11.1724 (see *Series Professionum*, bk. III, No. 141).

Letters extant:

27.7.1672 Basra O.C.D. 242 a.
22.11.1672 Kung O.C.D. 238 s.

¹ and ³ Fr. Joseph Mary, 15.11.1730, *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 544.

² Fr. Urban, O.C.D. 242 h.

³ 13.6.1733, O.C.D. 242 h.: Fr. Urban (who mentions that Fr. John Joseph was deficient in education and training—not strange, perhaps, as he was ordained in Persia).

⁶ Fr. Valerius, 6.6.1671, *S.N.R.*, vol. 238, p. 378.

⁸ Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary, 17.2.1675, O.C.D. 238 q.

⁷ Fr. John Mary, 27.7.1672, to First Definitor General.

⁹ *Idem*, 31.8.1675.

¹⁰ *Chron. Basra.*

⁴ *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 548.

JOHN MARY of S. Joseph

A (? Frenchman).

Born (? 1656).¹ Prov. in Order: Avignon.² He arrived at Isfahan from Europe 12.5.1689, having travelled via Aleppo with Frs. Gaspar Joseph and Xavier as far as Erzerum, where he was left behind ill: and still suffering from quartan fever a month later.³ With the Religious named above and others on 19.6.1689 he signed a document in Latin.⁴ Still at the Convent in Isfahan city in July 1691, and had for the past two years suffered from fever almost continuously.⁵ In the list of Religious distributed between the Convent in Isfahan and hospice at Julfa, cited in *Vita P. F. Elia a S. Alberto*, his name is not mentioned: the presumption is that he had either been transferred elsewhere in Persia or India, or had been sent back to Europe, or had died in the interval.

Perhaps he is that "Fr. John of S. Joseph of the province of Avignon, born 1656, sent to "Persian missions 1688, died there 1692", who appears in *Catalog. Miss.*

Writing extant: (jointly) 19.6.1689 Isfahan O.C.D. 236 b.

JOHN PETER of the Mother of God

A . . .

Born 1619. Prov. in Order: Avignon. Sent to Persia 1648. Died at Aleppo 1669.⁶

JOHN STEPHEN of S. Teresa

A subject⁷ of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.

Family name: Gherardo Lopesini. Born at Pisa, 18.3.1579. Prov. in Order: Genoa. From the Calced Carmelites he crossed over to the Discalced Carmelites. Professed at Genoa, 6.11.1624. Appointed to Aleppo in 1628. From Aleppo the Definitory General designated him, 13.11.1637 (see *Regesta*, vol. III, p. 58) "Visitor General of the convent of Goa and mission "at Tatta", which in later entries, 7.6.1638 and 3.7.1638, was altered to "Commissary of the "Definitory General", he being assigned journey-money of 50 scudi; but on the later date the Definitory General directed that, should Fr. John Stephen learn before leaving Basra for Goa of the appointment of Fr. James of S. Teresa as Visitor General for Persia and the East and of the latter being already at Goa, his own jurisdiction should expire, and in any case within 4 months from date of the decision.

One of the Instructions given by the Definitory General in Rome to the Visitor General,⁸ Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary, when he left for the East in 1638 was to "take entire cognizance" of the incidents at Goa, and

"together with the Vicar Provincial to . . . put an end to them in an exemplary manner, "if they have not already been brought to an end by Fr. James and *Fr. John Stephen*. . . ."

Before May 1639 he had reached Shiraz:

"Fr. John Stephen . . . is now in Shiraz and did not go on to India in the August "monsoon, having been delayed by the wars for 3 months on the road to Baghdad. But "Our Lord disposes all (for the best) because, had he come then, he might have been lost, "seeing that of 8 Portuguese ships which left (Basra) three only arrived safely in Masqat, "and five were lost in a very great storm which struck them near Kharg. . . ."⁹

¹ and ² Possibly as given in *Catalog. Miss.* under "John of S. Joseph".

⁴ O.C.D. 236 b.

⁶ *Catalog. Miss.*

⁸ O.C.D. 284 g.

³ Fr. Elias, 18.6.1689, O.C.D. 237 h.

⁵ Fr. Gaspar Joseph, 23.7.1691, O.C.D. 236 b.

⁷ Cf. letter, unsigned but in handwriting of Fr. Dominic of Christ, in O.C.D. 236 b.

⁹ Fr. Stephen of Jesus, Basra, 6.5.1639, O.C.D. 241 p.

Arrived in Goa, however, Fr. John Stephen took a like view of the situation to Frs. Philip of the Most Holy Trinity, Eustace and others, as can be gathered from a letter of 23.3.1640:¹

"Affairs of our house in Goa are not yet adjusted, because Fr. John Stephen has joined
"Fr. Matthew of the Cross in such a manner that he is doing everything he wants to expel
"the Order":

sent by the heads of the Order, he had "even confirmed Fr. Matthew in his Priorship for
"another three years". On 20.5.1640² he arrived from India at Isfahan, very indisposed, and
in June he left Isfahan on the way to Europe, in company of Fr. Philip of the Most Holy Trinity,

"who gave it to be understood that they were going there to defend and champion Fr.
"Matthew and his adherents, and all they did against the Visitor".³

Paragraph 6 of the Annex to the Instructions given by the Definitory General, Rome, on
2.4.1642⁴ to Fr. Augustine of S. Joseph [*? sic*], Visitor to the Missions in the East, refers to Fr.
John Stephen as being then Vicar of Aleppo. Died at Aleppo, 9.2.1644 (see List for Prov.
of Genoa).

JOHN THADDEUS of S. Eliseus (later Bishop of Isfahan)

A Spaniard.

Family name: Juan Roldán y Ibañez, son of Juan R. and Catalina Ibañez.⁵ Baptized
17.8.1574 at Calahorra, Spain. Took the habit at the Convent, Valladolid, 1596, and pro-
fessed there 1.5.1597. Transferred to Rome 1600 on the creation of a separate Congregation
of the Order for Italy by the Papal decree of 13.11.1600: and in 1601 sent to the Convent at
Naples recently founded. Among his penitents there was Francesco Cimini, Baron di Cacurri,
who desired to endow a seminary for missionary work among Muslims and pagans held as
slaves in Christendom—an idea subsequently abandoned for practical motives and changed
to that of redeeming from the Turks by purchase Mt. Carmel, whence the Carmelites should
preach the Gospel to Muslims. Fr. John's enthusiasm for missionary work in a Muslim land
to be taken up by the Congregation in Italy met first with rebuke from his superiors (one
reason which had influenced the division, that had been made in the Order, and the dispatch
of a number of Spanish Religious to establish it in Italy, had been in fact the absolute prohibi-
tion by the General of the Spanish Congregation against any missionary enterprise being
sanctioned); but gradually important elements in the Congregation in Italy became convinced
that that Congregation should have a missionary side to its activities. In 1604 Pope Clement
VIII desired to send Religious to Shah 'Abbas I of Persia in the guise of apostolic ambassadors
—it was a period when the Pontiffs wished to profit by the enmity and hostilities between the
rulers of Turkey and Persia in order to bring about combined action with the princes of
Christendom for the crushing of the Turks: finding the Carmelites of Italy contemplating
missionary work in Palestine, the Pope persuaded them to take up instead his mission and aim
in Persia.⁶ When he received in audience the three missionaries first selected to proceed to
Persia, His Holiness bestowed on Fr. John the additional name of 'Thaddeus', in memory of
one of the two Apostles who by tradition had taken the Gospel to the Persians. Besides the
missionary seminary founded subsequently the money of the Baron di Cacurri served to pay

¹ Fr. Stephen of Jesus to Fr. Paul Simon, Definitory General, Rome, O.C.D. 241 p., and see also his *Brief Narrative*, O.C.D. 236 a.: "In Goa he joined the adherents of Fr. Matthew of the Cross."

² Fr. Dominic of Christ, 24.5.1640, O.C.D. 237 c.

³ *Idem*, 30.7.1641, O.C.D. 236 b., unsigned, but his handwriting.

⁴ O.C.D. 284 g.

⁵ Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus, *En Persia*, Pamplona, 1929, vol. II, p. 8, gives a copy of the extract from the baptismal register.

⁶ For the origins of the mission, and the first journey, see: Fr. Berthold Ignace, *Histoire de la Mission de Perse*, Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus, *En Persia* and *La Orden de Santa Teresa*; and Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, in *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 1934.

a considerable part of the requirements of the Mission in later years: Fr. John Thaddeus was therefore to a great extent its prime mover.

The route chosen for the missionaries proved disastrous: years of delay, losses by death, obstacles beset the party in Muscovy, and might well have been avoided, had that via Aleppo been followed. On 6.7.1604 Fr. John Thaddeus and his companions left Rome, Venice the 17th July, Prague 15th August (after having had an audience of the Emperor Rudolph II and received letters from him for the Grand Duke of Muscovy and the Shah). They left Cracow only on 25.4.1605, owing to the death of Clement VIII and difficulties of arranging for their passage via Smolensk instead of Archangel: they had to stay at Smolensk till December 1605, and reached Moscow in January 1606, Kazan on 2.4.1606. The murder in May of the Grand Duke Dmitri, regarded as friendly to Catholics, led to many obstacles being put in the way of their onward progress, the new despot of Muscovy, Basil Shuiski, being hostile, so that Fr. John Thaddeus and his companions after leaving Kazan on 24.7.1606 were detained all the winter of 1606-7 in Tzaritzin, suffering from semi-starvation, ill-treatment, and an epidemic, which carried off two of the party. Finally on 24.7.1607 they got away from Tzaritzin and, after trouble in Astrakhan, on 27.9.1607 landed in Persian territory some ten miles north of Baku. They arrived at Qazwin 19.11.1607 and at Isfahan 2.12.1607. The first audience with Shah 'Abbas I took place in the Chaharbagh 3.1.1608. On 2.2.1608 Fr. John celebrated the nuptials of the well-known Robert Sherley with a remarkable Circassian lady whom he received into the Church. After the departure of the first Superior, Fr. Paul Simon, on 26.2.1608 to report to the Sovereign Pontiff, Fr. John Thaddeus remained head of the Mission:

"So long as Fr. Paul does not return there with other orders, Fr. John (Thaddeus) will 'have the charge and headship of the Mission, and the rest will obey him as it will be 'ordered in the letters patent which will go with this' . . . (Fr. Ferdinand of S. Mary, Praepositus General, Rome, 18.10.1608.)¹

Fr. John Thaddeus soon acquired the confidence—to a large extent, that is, considering the character of the Persian—of Shah 'Abbas, who used him as interpreter and early in 1611 sent him on a mission to the Czar of Muscovy, king of Poland, the Pope and other sovereigns. By way of Georgia, where he had an interview with Taimuraz, a prince of that country, and Darband, where a site for a convent was offered by the governor on 25.3.1611, he reached Astrakhan, where the governor, suspecting an intrigue by the Shah with the king of Poland for an invasion of Muscovy and instigated by Ruthenian schismatics, had Fr. John Thaddeus arrested with all his companions, kept in prison, even tortured; and by his own account he was in peril of his life. News being brought to Shah 'Abbas, he sent word to a Persian Armenian trader to provide the Religious and his company with food and all their needs, but the governor did not allow such provisions to reach them in their prison: and the Shah, once more informed, sent a stern message to the Ruthenians. It was early in 1614, after much suffering, that Fr. John Thaddeus was released, thanks to the arrival in Astrakhan of the Duchess Marina, and allowed to return to Persia, his ambassadorial mission unfulfilled: and it was the vigil of Pentecost 1614 when he entered Isfahan.² In his absence he had been named Prior,³ having been appointed at the Chapter General in Rome: and on 23.5.1614 all the Fathers present in Isfahan did him obedience.⁴ While he was away in Astrakhan, too, on 20.4.1612 the Praepositus General in Rome had written in the 'clausula', still preserved in the archives:⁵

"If the Prior Fr. John has returned, I give him authority as Vicar General, as I have 'written other times: if he has not returned, or be absent after his return, I give the same 'authority to whomsoever shall be *presiding* at Isfahan. . . ."

¹ O.C.D. 236 a., and see *Regesta*, 26.6.1609, renewing plenary authority to Superior of Mission, Persia.

² Fr. Leander, undated, but of 1615, O.C.D. 239 c., Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus, *En Persia*.

³ and ⁵ O.C.D. 236 b.

⁴ See a sheet, unsigned, in Latin in O.C.D. 237 m.

(This is perhaps the appointment under the year 1615, mentioned by the Archivist of the Order, Fr. Ambrosius of S. Teresa, in *Hier. Carmelitana*, part I, p. 12: "Anno sequenti "(1615) electus fuit Vicarius Generalis totius missionis orientalis, quam gubernavit usque "ad. a. 1621 . . .": and this is perhaps the explanation of the words in Fr. Leander's account, undated (but of 1615):¹ "El Henero de 1612 elegimos por superrior del Hispan "al P. F. Redempto y . . . al P. F. Vicente, a quien declaramos por *Praesidente* . . .").

The words 'Vicar General' of the 'clausula' would seem to be used here in a general sense, as of a Bishop appointing a Vicar General for his diocese: and no example of their use as a title has been observed in correspondence of the missionaries (though the traveller Pietro della Valle in a letter of 22.4.1619 does call Fr. John Thaddeus 'Vicar General'). Although the Definitory General had appointed Fr. John Thaddeus "Prior of the Convent of Isfahan" as Vicar Provincial on 30.5.1617, the first example noticed of the title 'Vicar Provincial' being given to him occurs in a letter of December 1618:² and, in 1615, after his return from Astrakhan, Fr. Leander was still writing³ of him as Prior: " . . . Fr. John Thaddeus, Prior of the Convent, "arrived from Astrakhan . . . on the eve of Pentecost last year" (i.e. 1614). On 15.4.1619 a document signed by Fr. John Thaddeus himself, Frs. Dimas, Balthazar, Leander, addressed to Frs. Redempt, Vincent in Rome, began: "The Vicar *Provincial*, having long desired . . .":⁴ and on 16.6.1620⁵ the Praepositus General granted faculties to the Visitor General to give authority to the *Vicar Provincial* of Persia to clothe novices. On what date the missionary province of Persia was constituted does not appear in correspondence consulted.

In a letter of 12.2.1616 from Isfahan Fr. John Thaddeus described how on the Persian New Year's Day, the 21st March 1615, he had been to the tents of the Shah, who was in camp with an army of 100,000 men, when he (Fr. John) had asked permission in the public assembly to speak of the Gospel and had recited the Ten Commandments done into Persian verse. A letter of the celebrated traveller Pietro della Valle, 22.4.1619, mentions the arrival of Fr. John Thaddeus at the Shah's camp at Qazwin on 19.6.1618, where he was received very well by 'Abbas I and, reproached for not having been earlier, excused himself by saying that he had been kept occupied with the translation into Persian of the Psalms, which His Majesty had requested: on the 8th May the Shah sent for the Father to bring the book of the Psalms, and a book on the Gospels printed in Arabic. On 10.10.1618 Fr. John Thaddeus left Ardabil—where during the expedition to repulse the Turkish invasion he had followed the Shah from Sultanieh in the hope of obtaining certain privileges about the Convent—and returned to Isfahan on 28.10.1618.⁶ On Sunday 3.3.1619 he was at Isfahan and went to meet Fr. Leander, arrived from Hurmuz.⁷ At the audience given on 2.8.1619 to the Spanish ambassador, Don Garcia de Figueroa, the Shah asked Fr. John Thaddeus to be the interpreter;⁸ and after the ambassador's departure for Hurmuz Fr. John Thaddeus handed to Shah 'Abbas on 16.9.1619 letters from the Spanish Court transmitted by the ambassador: he was also summoned to interpret when 'Abbas I fixed on 27.9.1619 the price of the notorious consignment of silk, which in the end was to contribute so much to the loss of Hurmuz, but pointed out that his instructions were to treat the business only on certain written conditions. Pietro della Valle also mentions Fr. John Thaddeus being in conversation with the Persian monarch on 23.10.1619 and 5.1.1620: his being visited by the Secretary of State, Aqa Mir, after Epiphany: that on 4.3.1620 Shah 'Abbas borrowed Fr. John Thaddeus' spectacles. On the 4.3.1620, together with P. della Valle he went to visit Mr. Monnox, the 'new' English Resident, arrived that day in Isfahan.⁹ Further notices in 1620 show him as being consulted by the Portuguese Captain General at Hurmuz regarding the strained Persian-Portuguese relations over Hurmuz. On 15.9.1620 he went to the Shah with a Brief received from the Holy See, and complaints from the captain of the fleet at Hurmuz. In the audience on 5.6.1621, when the English representative of the East India Company presented gifts, and Briefs from His Holiness were handed

¹ and ³ O.C.D. 239 c.

⁴ O.C.D. 237 m.

⁶ Fr. John Thaddeus, 3.1.1619, O.C.D. 237 m.

⁸ P. della Valle's letter, 21.10.1619, vol. II, p. 55.

² See *Regesta* of 30.5.1617 and Fr. Dimas, 31.12.1618, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁵ *Idem*, 236 a.

⁷ Cf. P. della Valle's letter, 8.5.1619, p. 584.

⁹ P. della Valle's letter, 4.4.1620.

In Rome some of the heads of the Order at the time had evidently been critical of such frequent relations with the Court and considered that this was too worldly a life. So in that same letter of 1619 Fr John Thaddeus makes a spirited defence:

"They tell us to live retired in our cells, and look to ourselves, avoiding conversation 'with seculars, and particularly going to see the king. O good God, how is it possible to 'put such things into practice, in themselves contrary . . . to the mind of the holy Pontiff 'who sent us here? The Pontiff orders us not to see to ourselves only, but much to the 'salvation of our neighbours, not only of secular Christians and Catholics, but also of 'schismatics, heretics, infidels. Next, as to the king, let our Fathers read the Briefs of His 'Holiness with which we were sent, and they will find that in them the Pontiff chiefly 'introduces us to the Shah, begs him to give us access to his person, to hear and to favour 'us—a very evident sign of the intention of His Holiness; not that we should run away 'from him but frequent him, considering sagely that on the king depends all the kingdom ' . . . and at least be in his good graces. Further, in this connection regard has to be 'had to the usage of these parts, and the king's character. There is no one at all of any 'note in this realm, whom he does not want to have by him very often. How much more 'is it not to be believed that he takes pleasure in being visited, and paid court to by 'foreigners, suspect both to him and those of his religion, as we are and persons sent him 'by the Sovereign Pontiff! That this is true is confirmed by the words of the king, who 'said to me, when some months ago I went to pay him my respects at Qazwin, when, after 'I had kissed his hand, the first thing he said to me was that I had been a long time in 'going to see him. . . . But my reason for going to the Court was not for such a purpose, 'but . . . and to present to him the book of the Psalms translated by me into Persian, 'together with the Gospels in Arabic, which were accepted by the king with the greatest 'pleasure and the deepest reverence. It is not to be despised that I should introduce this 'custom of presenting books to the king about our Religion and that they should be 'graciously accepted by him because with the precedent a door is opened for doing the 'like in future, not only as regards royalties, but for distributing books among all the rest 'in order to disseminate the word of God and the tenets of our Faith without them noticing 'it. . . . Together with the above-mentioned books I have also presented to the king an 'alphabet in Arabic, and acquainted him with the printing of Arabic and Persian letters, 'in which he took much pleasure expressing a wish to introduce it to his own country. . . ."

In his view 'Persians are not converted, not because they will not listen or will not recognize 'the Faith, but because they are tied to their sensualities, like so many bad Christians'. It was not that he desired to lessen the Observance of the Order in any way, to abandon the meditative life: on the contrary he saw its necessity, but he envisaged the problem as one of numbers—side by side in the Convent with those occupied with the Observance there must be others busy with Persians and the spread of influence to their good and for the service of the Faith. In 1616 Father John Thaddeus was writing:

"Whoever would say that here two or three Religious are enough deceives himself greatly, 'because Religious are needed who can maintain a life in community with the regular 'Observance, and for that others are needed to deal with such outside and worldly affairs. 'Because it is necessary to satisfy the king, his officials, listening and replying to their 'arguments. . . ."

In his letter of 3.1.1619 he expounds further, in order to combat the view among the heads of the Order in Rome that a couple of Religious should suffice to make up the complement of the mission in Isfahan—either they had not more suitable candidates to send for the mission, or because at that juncture the current of energy and work was running in the direction of the field in Europe, of the cloistered life, the Definitory did not adopt Fr. John Thaddeus' ideas:

“... the Religious have to preach and, in order to preach, to occupy themselves in the difficult study of disputations, to learn the errors of each sect: they have to hear in various languages the confessions of Christians—to officiate in church, sing in choir, perform the other spiritual exercises of our Order (which usually keep a man occupied day and night), to provide for and manage the house with its daily needs, to deal with the king and his officials, to give a hearing to and answer questions of Muslims, Jews, heretics, schismatics, who daily come to see us, and of course Christians. They have no time to eat and sleep nor take rest, but have always to be ready and cheerful. . . .”

Or, to go back and quote a letter of 1616:

“... I am alone. As the Shah esteems us, all come to us. The day is short to listen to everyone, and reply ‘yes’ or ‘no’. In fine, all esteem us and reverence us highly. This proceeds largely from this that in the conversations and discussions with the Shah and his nobles, which I am constantly having, I make use of any opportunity offered to explain the mysteries of our Faith. . . .”

He, Fr. John, thought the “Illuminative Way” better in dealing with Muslims, than the “Purgative Way” advocated by some—for that reason he was hard at work on translations.

This period of public respect and influence, won by Fr. John Thaddeus for himself and his Convent, lasted some fourteen years and had reached its zenith by 1622. Then—as has befallen other Europeans since his day—letters of Fr. John Thaddeus were seized on the road, opened and used to make accusations and an outcry by their enemies, who till then had been quiet

(“more than 200 Mullas had been to complain that the religion of Muhammad was being ruined, and that we had sent more than 5,000 away to Christian lands”¹);

and this was to make a breach in the intimate relations enjoyed with ‘Abbas I, and not only involve the mission in jeopardy, but by its sequel damage in the eyes of the populace the freedom of intercourse, the immunity in making a centre for the Catholic Faith and preaching it openly which had been won by the Carmelites. The occasion was the dispatch in 1622 of five converts from the Shiah religion—one of them (Fr. John mentions in his letter of 3.1.1619)

“the gardener of the convent, who had been a Muslim, being already a Christian, and he himself wished to be called Elias”—

to Hurmuz, so that they might there practise openly their new Faith, and the statement that they were converts in recommendations written to the captain of the fortress at Hurmuz, which he made the mistake of allowing them to carry. Stopped and searched just when the Persians were preparing the final attack on Hurmuz, public opinion pressed for their punishment, which was their martyrdom.

Father John Thaddeus and his Religious were confined by guards to their convent premises from February till October 1622, when the guards were removed (during which time, it is true, ‘Abbas was away from Isfahan on his campaign against Kandahar):

“we have gained a number of poor people and good Christians through the persecutions, which could not have been obtained in prosperity. . . . When we went out one day, Fr. John and I, to take a walk through the city, the applause, contentment and reverence, with which all regarded us, was very great, and all blessed God . . .”

could write Fr. Prosper;² but it would seem that the former personal talks and relations with

¹ and ² Fr. Prosper, 10.3.1622, O.C.D. 238 d.

'Abbas I were never resumed during the interval till his death in 1629: there is but one mention of Fr. John going to see him.¹ The fall of Hurmuz on 1st May 1622 inflicted a further blow to the position of Fr. John Thaddeus and Carmelites in Persia, on its diplomatic side and materially as regards receipts of alms and funds: yet, even about this, he would write with equanimity and courage on his name-day:

"Day of S. Elisaeus, 1622. . . . Although the Muhammadans have taken Hurmuz as "a chastisement and punishment of the Christians" (i.e. for misuse of its possession, bad treatment of natives, etc.) "and on all sides we are pressed hard, and deprived of all "assistance spiritual and temporal, still we are not in want. . . . 'Now we begin to be "disciples of Christ'. . . ."

However, thanks to some service, for which Imam Quli Khan, the powerful governor general of Fars, considered himself indebted to Fr. John Thaddeus, the latter obtained permission to reside in Shiraz, and orders (Shah 'Abbas from Farrahabad approving) for a residence to be provided the Carmelites from this Khan: and, sent by the Prior, Fr. Prosper, he was dispatched to Shiraz and on 5.8.1623 entered into possession of a house for the Residence of the Carmelites, which the acting governor allowed him to purchase from its owner. His wit and lively humour come out again in the following, but still better in its original Spanish than an English translation. (His letter of 29.9.1623):

". . . Of the foundation at Shiraz (Xiras) I have to say nothing more than that I have "worked on it, 'actively and passively'—actively in doing what lay in me and it was my "duty to do, passively in obeying, as you will see in greater detail in our account of it. "I went, I saw, and I founded': but not I only, but the grace of God with me. . . . For "the rest I am engaged on nothing else but to make myself ready to make a good end . . . "if by chance this should be the last, I beg pardon of all my brethren. . . ."

On his return from Shiraz he reached Isfahan 9.9.1623.² To 1624-5 belongs the compendious "narrative" or "report" on the mission of the 'Discalced Carmelites in Persia by Fr. 'John Thaddeus',³ which has much detail concerning conditions in Persia, and an analysis of Shah 'Abbas I's qualities and failings, of historical value: this report shows marks of being completed by him in Rome in 1629, after the news of the death of the Persian monarch at the beginning of that year had been received. Early in 1625 Fr. John was again at Shiraz in order to proceed as Procurator of the missionaries to Masqat and pay debts owed there to the Portuguese,⁴ and at Shiraz he received letters from the Definitory General in Rome with the direction that he should act as Vicar Provincial Substitute in Persia for Fr. Leander, the holder of the executive office, then at Goa. For his journey he received money from Imam Quli Khan, the governor of Shiraz, and a horse and 2 Tumans (i.e. 20 gold pieces). However, he had reappeared at Isfahan by 17.5.1625. He had fallen very ill while at Shiraz.⁵ According to his own letter of 5.7.1626, written from Shiraz, he had been there from before 1.5.1626 for the chapter of the missionaries; and the acting governor of Shiraz had bidden him remain some days after the Visitor General left for Isfahan. On 30.5.1627 he was expected to arrive from Shiraz at Isfahan, in order to go and see Shah 'Abbas about a matter of importance to the mission.⁶ On 2.11.1628 he left Isfahan for Europe,⁷ having been given credentials by the Armenians of Persia to discuss with the Holy See prospects and points for unity. Detained by the authorities for a time at Aleppo, he left there in March 1629, Naples 12.9.1629, and reached Rome 16.9.1629. He went to kiss the Pope's feet at Castelgandolfo on 29.10.1629, and presented a letter from the Armenian bishop at Julfa: the Armenians complained that

¹ See Fr. Prosper, 9.7.1624, O.C.D. 238 d.: "It is three years that the king has not spoken to us."

² Fr. Prosper, 23.9.1623, O.C.D. 238 d.

³ See account of the election for prior in O.C.D. 235 c.

⁴ Fr. Dimas, 30.5.1627, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁵ *S.R.*, vol. 209, p. 240 *et seq.*

⁶ Fr. Dimas, Isfahan, 12.10.1625.

⁷ Fr. Dimas, 15.12.1628.

they had sent numerous letters to Rome, asking for spiritual help, and received no reply: they had therefore given Fr. John Thaddeus a commission¹ to treat in their name for (a) an Armenian seminary to be established in Persia; (b) books to be printed in Armenian, and sent out, particularly the Testaments; (c) for a 'Frank' superior to protect them against persecution by the Persians. For the next two years Fr. John was at the Seminary of S. Maria della Vittoria "almost without leaving my cell".² On 8.1.1630 the Definitory General took information from him about the Mission (see *Regesta*, vol. II, p. 47).

In the meanwhile discussions had from time to time been proceeding in the Sacr. Cong. for and against the appointment of a bishop in Persia, and on the qualifications required, and the person to be recommended to the Pope, in such case. In the Congregation of 7.8.1629 it was debated whether (in view of the letters from the king of Persia to the king of France and to the Capuchins, authorizing the admission into Persia and the city of Baghdad of that Order, and in imitation of the advantageous creation of bishops in Illyria and Bosnia from among the Franciscans there) it would be expedient to create a Carmelite or Augustinian of Isfahan bishop in Persia so that, while continuing to live in his convent without pomp or show and expense that would call for endowment of a see, he might consecrate the Holy Oils and ordain priests from among the Persians themselves, who as in ancient times could most profitably attain large results in conversions. A further argument was that, in making provision for the conversions from the Shiahhs which were hoped, it would be well to bring them straight into the Latin rite, not into the Armenian rite, which contained certain errors imported from the Greek; and the Persians, a proud race, would not fail to contrast unfavourably the Latin, as seen in their country exercised by mere priests, with the Armenian and all the "majesty of the episcopal dignity".³ It was then that the name of Fr. John Thaddeus was brought forward, first, as one suitable. The Congregation on 7.9.1629 decided in favour of the suggestion, and on 2.10.1629 the Sovereign Pontiff gave his approval to the establishment of a Latin bishop in Persia. On the 30th October on the proposal of Card. Bentivoglio the name of Fr. John Thaddeus was suggested on the grounds that he was *persona grata* to the Shah, and Persian, Armenian and Georgian notables, and knew the languages. It was proposed to give the bishop the episcopal title of 'Tres Ecclesiae', i.e. Echmiadzin, the seat of the schismatic Armenian Katholikos—later this title was found not to be available, because Pope Paul V had assigned it to an Augustinian hermit, thought to be still alive in Portugal (perhaps that Fr. Simon Morales, cited by Fr. Lemmens). It was decided to hear the views of the Praepositus General of the Carmelite Order.⁴ There is a mass of minutes made in the Sacr. Cong. on the progress of the discussions to be found in *S.R.*, vol. 209. Fr. John Thaddeus himself was quoted as recommending that the bishop should come from the secular, not regular clergy: a brother of Cardinal Spada was suggested (if the Cardinal would agree, as he would have an income sufficient to endow the see, p. 205), Fr. Agathangelus, O.C.D., of the Genoese family of Spinola, and others. But a note dated 22.5.1631 (p. 204) by Fr. John Thaddeus himself testifies to the humility of the Religious, when asked his opinion as to the choice of bishop:

"I reply that, shortly after I came from Spain, I left for Persia, where I have been about 25 years, and after having returned I have been here in Rome without leaving my cell almost for two years. For that reason I have no information, nor even do I consider myself sufficient to judge whether such and such a person be so eminent and of such qualities as they desire—only our Lord the Pope, the Sacr. Cong. and our Superiors can judge that well, and I dare name nobody, lest, in case it were not a success, the fault might be mine. . . . And then, as far as I am concerned, I have always served God, the Apostolic See and my Order as a simple friar, and as such I have taken a vow to go to any mission, whenever I am ordered: I am very ready to go, and the more humble the

¹ See minute in *S.R.*, vol. 209, p. 354.

² Minute by Fr. John Thaddeus, 22.5.1631, in *S.R.*, vol. 209, p. 204.

³ See the late Fr. L. Lemmens, O.F.M., *Hierarchia Latina Orientis*, vol. II, No. 10, part 2; and also *S.R.*, vol. 209, p. 91.

⁴ Fr. Lemmens, O.F.M., *Hierarchia Latina Orientis*, vol. II, No. 10, part 2.

"position, in which our Lord the Pope and the Apostolic See and my Superiors send me, "the more obliged I shall consider myself to shed my blood, and give 1,000 lives, if I were "to possess them, for the glory of Christ our Saviour, and the propagation of his Holy "Faith. . . ."

There is also on record (p. 206) a petition to the Pope from the 'Frank' Armenians of Persia for Fr. John Thaddeus to be nominated,

"be pleased to commit the examination of his life and morals to the most eminent Cardinal "of S. Onufrius so that in the next consistory he may be proposed as archbishop of the "metropolitan city of Persia":

and one of the other arguments in favour was considered to be that a young bishop would not carry weight, whereas Armenians who came to Rome during the previous two years had been seen to go down on their knees before him, such being the esteem in which he was held. There was unwillingness on the part of the heads of the Order to be overcome.¹ Finally the Sacr. Cong. on the proposal of Card. Spada, 26.6.1632, considered that, if His Holiness should be so pleased, Fr. John Thaddeus should be created Bishop of Isfahan: and the same day the Pope gave his approval, the Bull being issued on 6.9.1632. The new Bishop was assigned as his diocese the whole of the Persian empire, including Armenia Major and Minor, and Georgia (but without Assyria and Mesopotamia) and the Nakhchiwan district of Alingia:² and, on account of his age and to avoid any vacancy in the see after his death, he was given a coadjutor with right of succession in the person of Mgr Timothy Perez (from the other branch of the Order, the Calced Carmelites) created Bishop of Babylon.³ On 18.9.1632 they were consecrated. A Brief, dated 30.3.1633, of Pope Urban VIII accorded him various faculties.⁴ At the end of 1632 he exercised episcopal functions for the first time at the Convent of La Scala, conferring the tonsure on young professed in the Order: and there is one letter extant,⁵ dated 4.10.1632, in which he signed himself 'Bishop of Isfahan' (and excused himself for paying a call in company with Mgr Perez, for want of a carriage).

In 1633, taking with him his own nephew, Fr. John of the Annunciation (who belonged to the Spanish congregation of the Order), and three other priests, he set out from Rome on his journey back to Persia, going by way of Spain in order to obtain the facility of travelling on board the fleet from Portugal as far as Goa, for transport of the books for work among the Armenians and of the sacred vessels for the Mass: and he also hoped to obtain in Spain four or five other priests for the formation of the seminary desired by the Armenians. But, while he was passing over the mountains of Catalonia, his mule took fright and the saddle turned round, so that Bishop John Thaddeus was brought to the ground and struck one of his sides violently against a rock. Taken for the night to a castle near, and the next day to Llerida to be tended by the Carmelites there, he succumbed to internal injuries three days later, on 5.9.1633.⁶ In the session of the Sacr. Cong. on 13.3.1634⁷

"it gave instructions that letters should be sent to the Nuncio in Naples regarding the "objects (property) left at Naples by the said Fr. John Thaddeus, of happy memory, that "he should look for and examine them, and put them in a safe place, and send an inventory "of them to the City (Rome), and it also orders that it should be discussed with the Reverend "the Treasurer and learnt whether the aforesaid objects were claimed by the Apostolic "Household by right of succession (*jure spoli*)".

In this connection it is of interest to note, among the documents preserved in the archives of the Order,⁸ the copy of a contract regarding the terms of payment for a painting of

¹ S.R., vol. 209, pp. 196, 201.

² Cong. Gener. of 26.6.1632; cf. Fr. Lemmens in work cited.

³ S.R., vol. 209, p. 207.

⁴ S.R., vol. 104, *Lettere di Spagna*, p. 41.

⁵ Cong. Gener. of Sacr. Cong., 8.11.1632.

⁶ See *Jur. Pontif.*, vol. I, p. 146 (743 Vat.).

⁷ Vide Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct. in his MSS. *Hist. Miss.*, O.C.D. 285-6.

⁸ O.C.D. 237 m.

S. Gregory the Illuminator, patriarch of Armenia, leading king Tiridates to Pope Sylvester, size 18 by 12 'palms' for the cost of 500 scudi, which Alberto de Rossi was to execute for Bishop John Thaddeus, dated 20.3.1633—doubtless the Bishop intended to take this back with him to Persia, in connection with the movement for reunion.

Sixty years old that he was, an age when climatic conditions tell heavily against a European in that country, his loss was going to be sorely felt by the Mission: to take two examples from a number similar left on record: (a) from Isfahan 24.3.1630,¹ begging

"that Fr. John Thaddeus may be returned soon, as it would do the greatest service to the 'Mission': he is desired by all, even the Muslims, who do not cease to ask when he will 'return';

(b) from far-off Basra, 9.12.1630:²

"we beg Fr. John Thaddeus of Your Reverence very much, because we are orphans, as it 'were, without him, and Persia particularly. . . ."

There can be no doubt about it, for anyone who reads the thousand letters left by the Carmelite missionaries of Persia and the records in the Sacred Congregation—Fr. John Thaddeus stands 'head and shoulders' above all his contemporaries and successors in the 160 years of their substantial residence in Persia: he is their 'Grand Old Man' by the force of his personality. He may have been only a mediocre theologian judged by standards in Rome; yet

"not so ignorant as the Master of the Sacred Palace has described, as can be affirmed by 'Fr. Theodore, the Capuchin, who examined him by order of the Cardinal of S. Onu-
'frius. . . .'"³

It was not only an unmatched influence with Persians, and an interest in their history and language, with a willingness to be of service to them, that he possessed, but also a power of leadership which inspired those working with him, and made the mission an organism full of life and activity during his time with concrete results on all hands, that justified its existence and seemed to promise greater fruit in the future. During his lifetime it was kept to the front that the Carmelites were the special representatives of the Pope in Persia: and he may be accounted a skilled diplomatist, for he had in addition often to assist other and conflicting interests, such as those of Portugal and Spain, when 'Abbas I was indignant at the want of effectual action by the Sovereign Pontiff and European princes against the Turk, and bitter against the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf; and he had to calm the suspicions of 'Abbas regarding the Pope's real intentions in the matter of the Armenian question in Persia, while as a missionary it was his duty to protect the Armenians as much as possible from forcible conversion to Islam, to regain to Christian practices those 'converted'. To the reader of the correspondence for the most part he seems to have had to make bricks without straw: funds were not supplied by the Order or stintedly, nor missionaries in the numbers he envisaged as required. At times, as for instance during the last years of Fr. John Thaddeus' life, the headquarters of the Congregation in Italy were influenced by one of those currents against missionary expansion or even work, which sometimes set in its course. It was the Sacred Congregation which was keen on development, the Curia of the Order unfavourable: so that, in the protracted discussions in the Sacr. Cong. over the creation of a bishop for Persia, one reads:⁴

"... diligent enquiry as to the opinion of . . . and the Order as to the project. It was 'given to be understood that the Order is usually contrary to the Missions, and would

¹ S.R., vol. 115, *Lettere di Levante*.

³ S.R., vol. 209, p. 201: see discussions in Sacr. Cong. on qualifications for the bishopric.

² Fr. Basil, O.C.D. 241. g.

⁴ S.R., vol. 209, p. 201.

"willingly extinguish the Mission in Persia and the others in India: which agrees with
 "what has been observed in past years. . . . It is seen also in letters from India, where
 "the Order has closed some mission posts which were making much progress, and recalled
 "the missionary Fathers. Then, too, Fr. Epiphanius had been against founding the mission
 "in Arabia, for mere pretexts vaguely explained to the Sacr. Cong. Also the students from
 "the Seminary at Rome have diminished: language courses have not been initiated.
 "Letters from the Praepositus General shown by Fr. John Thaddeus indicate that the
 "former is opposed to missions, and the matter is likely to be discussed at the next chapter."

The secret, or mainspring, of his outstanding personality and the impression he made is to be sought in his deep piety, patience during trials and captivity, his self-abnegation for the promotion of the Catholic Faith and his duty by his Order, an honesty of purpose and sweet reasonability in his writings. This made his apologetics powerful and convincing and courageous. A few examples deserve a place here. On 3.1.1619, to criticisms from the Order as to the meagreness of results hitherto, he wrote:

"Those notable conversions, which Your Reverence says are hoped of us in Rome, you
 "must ask of God, not of the Religious in Persia. The Sovereign Pontiff did not send us
 "here with orders to convert these races, nor to baptize them thousands in a day, conversion
 "being of God not of men. But, in point of fact, he sent us with orders to preach to them
 "the Faith. If we were to fail in the duty of preaching, the sin would be ours. . . . To
 "preach there is need of men who have nothing else to do but apply themselves to study,
 "because what is demanded for these countries is men who know not one, but a number
 "of foreign languages. . . ."

Then his sympathies were broad, not narrow-minded or tinged with national prejudices: he wished to help all to the Catholic life:

". . . Your Reverence asks what Franks there are now in Isfahan. . . . There are also some
 "English and they, the heretics, do not come to church, except sometimes when invited
 "by us to some special sermon for their intention; but very often out of civility they come
 "to our House, knowing that they will find no reason to have to withdraw from it, and
 "seeing that we welcome all alike with similar kindness. We, on the other hand, do not
 "drive them away, or run away from them; because it is rather our duty to go about
 "seeking such persons in order to win them, and, in having relations with them there is
 "always the chance of great gain and no loss; whereas by driving them away and running
 "away from them the door is shut to any good that might ensue. Among these English
 "today residing here is one young man of good breeding and fine temper who was nephew
 "to their late ambassador: this young man is a good Catholic, and does not fail to come
 "to the church at the proper times. The ambassador, his uncle, who came to Persia last
 "year and died in this country only a few months after having begun negotiations with
 "the king,¹ used to come, not only to our House, but often to the church with much affection,
 "being a Catholic in secret, and moreover our brother by the 'scapular of the Virgin of
 "'Carmel', our Mother and Lady, which he had received in England from our Fr. Simon
 "Stock, of which he furnished me excellent evidence. The Ambassador had a small silver
 "tube almost round, which he tied to his right arm, and in it was our scapular, very small,
 "in silk. When I got to know all this from him I treated him with the loving kindness
 "suited to such a person. . . ."

¹ This was probably Edward Connock, of whose death P. della Valle wrote in his letter of 25.7.1618 (XXXI, p. 369):
 "afterwards there was talk about the death of the English Resident, Odoardo Connocke, which was news to us, that it
 "had happened on the sea-coast of Persia not far from Hurmuz, where he had gone to meet and receive the ships of his
 "nation. . . ."

It has been said above of Fr. John Thaddeus that he was courageous. Though a Spaniard, when Portugal was joined to the Spanish Crown, and the Portuguese authorities in the Indies had their orders from king Philip III of Spain, he did not hesitate in protection of the Carmelite foundation at Hurmuz, which rested on the licence of the Pope, to stand up and defy the Captain of Hurmuz. Witness his reply to Don Luis de Gama, of 8.3.1618:

“ . . . In one chapter of your letter you write that his Majesty orders you to dismantle “and close down this (Carmelite) Residence, and that the Religious should return whence “they came, and go to Spain in the ships which he is sending to Goa to the Viceroy to “embark them . . . because against your will you will be obliged to execute the king’s “command before April . . . ”

when he threatened ecclesiastical censures and excommunication, should the Captain of Hurmuz take any such action. Father John Thaddeus from Isfahan, and his colleagues in Hurmuz had to fight hard those years between 1609 and 1619 to maintain their promising opening on Hurmuz island; they had even the Portuguese ecclesiastical authorities against them, from a nationalist spirit:

“ . . . By my other letters I have told you of the travail we are having over Hurmuz “and what they have done to send us away from there. . . . The Archbishop also writes “that in India people are scandalized at us for having dealings with the English, who are “heretics. But, if they knew the manner in which we are having dealings with them, the “rather they should be edified. . . . Our dealings with them are not so much for themselves, “as to assist and maintain in the Faith several among them, who are in secret Catholics, “and who often, though secretly, come to us in our church for confession and Communion. “If they were not at liberty to come to our House, they might easily be lost and perverted; “but now, thanks to the Lord, they are keeping to the Faith and excellent Catholics. This “is the excuse on which they seize for us to be denied residence in India . . . ”¹

—and then the energetic man breaks off, to resume in a postscript one month later (28.6.1619), and explain how he had in the meantime been to visit Shah 'Abbas fifteen leagues away, together with Fr. Leander, and to present the 'mail' from Madrid including letters from Robert Sherley and Fr. Redempt, which after opening the king handed to him to translate orally.

As long as Fr. John Thaddeus was the presiding influence over the mission posts in Persia—Isfahan, Shiraz—there is evidence that the missionaries kept to that original objective of working among the Shiah Persians in particular, and aiding Christian races, Georgians and Syrians for instance, secondarily, which had animated himself and the Baron di Cacurri in Naples and been in the mind of the Popes, who dispatched and counted on them: it was after his time that the missionaries seemed to have turned aside from the original purpose, despairing at what may have seemed hard and uphill work, to concentrate on the Armenians in Julfa, and become from the latter half of the century onwards little else than a mission to the Armenians, with methods very different to those of reconciliation by conciliation advocated, as will be seen, by Frs. John Thaddeus and Dimas. To borrow a metaphor from more modern conditions—after their time ‘the engine appears to have run off the rails, and become stuck ‘fast in the sand’. For the first twelve names out of eighteen in a list² of converted persons baptized at Isfahan by the Carmelites in the first ten or twelve years of their residence are of Shiah Muslims, and three of those became martyrs for their new, Catholic, faith—a record full of encouragement.

“There are many people in Luristan ready to make themselves Christians, but they say “that it cannot be done at Isfahan, and only in their own country and that they want to

¹ Fr. John Thaddeus, 25.5.1619, O.C.D. 237 m.

² See *Miscellanea* left by Fr. John Thaddeus in O.C.D. 235 l. (?).

"have Fathers with them. And the Kalantar, who is 'Regidor' " (administrator) "of all "Luristan, of Shushtar, Ramhurmuz and Shush, whose ancestors and his family have "governed in that province since the time of Alexander the Great by ancient tradition—" "it is a warring race—this Kalantar, I want to say, sent several persons and latterly his "son called Rustam Baig to Fr. John Thaddeus, asking him to go and visit them and to "send them Religious. And, because he had not any Religious to send, he has not sent "them any, nor was he able to go himself, because of his being Superior here and his "presence being needed in Isfahan. But, now that he is no longer Superior, he is ready to "go and execute whatever he is instructed and bidden by those to whom he owes "obedience. . . ."¹

And very many were the renegades helped by him and his Religious. He cites

"about 2,000 Georgians, who had become renegades, persuaded by Fr. John Thaddeus to "return to the Faith": . . . "the Jacobites, formerly in large numbers, but forcibly made "Muslim, and of those who had renounced Christ the Fathers have reconverted some, and "the others will return to the Catholic Faith: at present there are more than 60 households "of them living in the Catholic Faith. . . ."

He mentions

"59 children of Georgians, Jacobites, etc., who voluntarily received the Roman rite . . . "and a very large number of persons from Italy, France, Germany, Poland, Russia, Georgia, "Valachia, Portuguese and Indian Christians reconciled to the Catholic church."

But on the subject of the Armenians in Julfa he was definite and clear in abstaining from becoming involved with them, in his letter of 3.1.1619 writing to the Praepositus General in his long report:

"As to the Armenians of Julfa, I will tell Your Reverence that I am not keen to send "for them, and it does not seem well for us to do so. The reason on which I base my "opinion is that the more simple folk among them, in that crass ignorance and good faith "in which they live, may easily attain salvation, and that those, who do understand better, "I do not find so distant ('alieni') from us as some think, but that on the other hand almost "all are staunch in recognizing and confessing the primacy of the Roman Church and the "obedience due to the Sovereign Pontiff, which are the points that matter principally. "It is true that in their rites and observances they hold many errors and abuses, born "among them more through ignorance and negligence on the part of their own priests, "and want of good teaching than out of ill-will: and these errors, although inveterate, with "a little time can be gradually extirpated. . . ."

Lastly, one may note among the qualities, which gave Fr. John Thaddeus his distinction and power for good, the perfect comradeship in the heart of the man, the attractive sympathy and understanding, which stand revealed in, for example, the following words of his letters of 22.9.1621, written to Fr. Paul Simon, then one of the Definitors General in Rome, who had been one of the two companions of the journey to Persia and early days of the mission, and written just when Fr. Vincent, the third companion on that journey and afterwards a sharer of the toils in Isfahan, had returned to Persia:

". . . Fr. Vincent, the Visitor, accepted my resignation of the priorship after his arrival. ". . . One of the mortifications, and no small one, I have had amongst others was to see "this triple bond, by which God through his Vicar and our Superiors had joined us together

¹ See *Miscellanea* left by Fr. John Thaddeus in O.C.D. 235 l. (?)

“so strongly, separated and broken—not in our hearts and desires, but with the distances
“of place from place we have drifted apart. Glory be to God that . . . with Your Rever-
“ence by letter and Fr. Vincent in his person we are all joined together again after so long
“a separation. Surely, as it is said, it is true that great friendships are made in studying,
“travelling, suffering prison, and working together: and we three ought to be very great
“friends from the teaching and milk we have imbibed together in Our Order, our pere-
“grinations and imprisonment together, and travail in Muscovy. . . .”

Could a great thought be more perfectly expressed in words? One may well comment
‘unity is strength’. The industry in translation of Fr. John Thaddeus was considerable: of the
Psalms done into Persian one copy is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, No. 3776;¹ and a
“Note of the books brought from Persia by Fr. John for the use of the Sac. Cong. of Prop.
“Fide, and of his Order and mission” (manuscripts) appears in *S.R.*, vol. 209—among them:

(a) Gospels in the Persian language, divided into 4 books; (b) dictionary of all the words
and terms of the Psalter in Hebrew, Latin and Persian, made by the same Father; (c) *Chris-
tian Doctrine*, by the same Father—Persian in Latin characters, explained in Spanish;
(d) Persian—“Tuscan” vocabulary of all words in that *Christian Doctrine*; (e) the *Christian
Doctrine* of Card. Bellarmine, done into Persian by the said Father; (f) Rule of the Discalced
Carmelites done into Persian by Fr. John Thaddeus; (g) Guide for examination of conscience;
(h) the Quran in Persian, with Latin characters by the said Father, and numerous others.

In Spanish the language of his letters is terse and simple, and whether in Spanish or Italian
always vigorous in expression and to the point: his handwriting sprawling and far from elegant.
From the sentimental point of view one of the most valuable and interesting records of the
earliest stage of this Mission of theirs, which the Carmelites possess, is a double sheet in
O.C.D. 238 c., which is probably unique in having on it the writing of all three founders, viz.
it is a letter from Fr. Paul Simon of 20.7.1608 to his two companions, to which Fr. John has
added a letter of his own to Fr. Vincent dated 6.3.1609; and Fr. Vincent has endorsed it as
received in Hurmuz in the month of March.

Letters extant:

(jointly)	30.1.1609	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 m.
	6.3.1609	Isfahan	O.C.D. 234 e.
	14.5.1609	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 m.
	c.1614	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 a.
	12.2.1616	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 a.
	26.3.1616	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 m.
	8.3.1618	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 m.
	3.1.1619	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 m.
(report)	3.1.1619	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 m.
(jointly)	15.4.1619	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 m.
	25.5.1619	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 m.
	22.9.1621	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 m.
(joint decl.)	23.9.1621	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 d.
	—6.1622	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 m.
	29.9.1623	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 m.
	31.8.1624	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 m.
	27.5.1625	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 m.
	27.5.1625	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 m.
	26.7.1625	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 m.
	5.7.1626	Shiraz	O.C.D. 237 m.

¹ See Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia in *Hierarchia Carmelitana*.

(report)	—1629	Rome	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 209, p. 240
	22.5.1631	Rome	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 209, p. 204
	4.10.1632	Rome	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 209, p. 207
	20.3.1633	Rome	<i>O.C.D.</i> 237 m.

A biographical notice of Fr. John Thaddeus is to be found in *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, from the pen of Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist of the Order, 1934: and also see Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus, O.C.D., in *En Persia* (Biblioteca Carmel^a Teresiana de Misiones) Pamplona, 1929, and the same author in *La Orden de Sta Teresa*, Madrid, 1923.

JOSEPH ANGELUS of Jesus Mary

A subject of the Republic of Genoa.

Family name: Giovanni Battista Rossano. Born 21.1.1633. Prov. in Order: Genoa. Professed there, 30.11.1650. On 27.10.1662 the Definitory General appointed him, a student at the Seminary of San Pancrazio, to the Missions (see *Regesta*, vol. V, p. 174) and on 27.11.1662 the Procurator General of the Order asked the Sacr. Cong. for faculties for Frs. Joseph Angelus, Jerome and Severin "going to Persia".¹ He had then been "two years in the missions", i.e. since about 1661, and was "due to transfer himself from Aleppo to Isfahan and Shiraz", it is mentioned in a list of Carmelites in Persia, supplied by the Procurator General to the Sacr. Cong., where he is given among the Fathers at Isfahan.² Presumably this was the same Religious as the writer of a letter, dated 8.11.1679, from Aleppo, where he was then Superior: and there are several references in 1682 to his having been nominated as 'Superior' or Vicar Provincial or 'Visitor' of the mission posts in Persia, e.g.:

" . . . It is two years since Fr. Joseph Angelus was appointed Superior of the missions, "and it is not known whether he is coming":³ " . . . Fr. Joseph Angelus had written from "Aleppo that he is coming to visit us. . . ."⁴

There is, on the other hand, no definite evidence that he ever served in a mission post in Persia, or came to that country.

Letter extant: 8.11.1679 Aleppo *S.R.*, vol. 476, p. 176.

JOSEPH DOMINIC of S. Rose

A subject of the Papal States.

Family name: Pietro Felice Lazarini. Born 1703 at Orvieto. Prov. in Order: Roman. Professed 8.11.1719 at S. Maria d. Scala.⁵ On 20.5.1732, when Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus arrived at Basra, having been expelled, or had to flee from Baghdad, he had left behind at Baghdad Fr. Joseph Dominic, who tried later to make his way from Baghdad to Isfahan but, when near Kirmanshah, turned back out of fear of the troops of Tahmasp Quli Khan (later Nadir Shah), who was then planning the siege of Baghdad: and on 22.6.1732 he arrived from Baghdad at Basra with a Brief from the Sovereign Pontiff to be presented to the king of Persia, "which the Fathers in Persia in writing had answered would be of no advantage".⁶ On 28.8.1732, travelling by an English vessel as far as Bushire Fr. Joseph Dominic first went to Isfahan, and afterwards was sent to Shiraz to be companion to Fr. Cyril of the Visitation, Vicar of that Residence.⁷

¹ *S.R.*, vol. 238, p. 41.

² *Idem*, p. 85.

³ Fr. Fortunatus, 28.4.1682, *O.C.D.* 237 k.

⁴ Fr. Agathangelus, 8.8.1682, *O.C.D.* 241 c.

⁵ Information supplied by Fr. Marcellinus a S. Teresa, *O.C.D.*, Rome, from *Series Professionum*.

⁶ and ⁷ *Chron. Basra*.

“The last missionary at Shiraz, troubled by constant exactions levied by the Persians
“and Armenians, he was compelled at length to abandon that Residence,”

and arrived again in Basra about 1738:¹ and he left Basra on 6.10.1738, together with Fr. Placid, across the desert to Aleppo, in order to return to Europe.²

There is a declaration, or written testimony by him on record regarding the great need for repair of the church and house at Hamadan: it bears no date, but perhaps belongs to 1745.³ He died in the Convent at S. Maria d. Scala, Rome, 24.1.1751.⁴

Writing extant: 1745 (?) Rome *S.N.R.*, V, p. 172.

JOSEPH IGNATIUS of S. Mary

A subject of Savoy.

Family name: Giuseppe Ignazio Allioni. Born 13.1.1662 at S. Trinità (Mondovi diocese). Prov. in Order: Piedmont.⁵ Professed 14.12.1679.⁶ He was one of the party which left Alessandria 12.10.1692, arrived Smyrna 16.3.1693, left Constantinople 4.5.1693 and Erzerum 7.7.1693; arrived Tabriz 6.8.1693, left there 24.8.1693 and entered Isfahan 12.9.1693—see the account of the journey by one of his companions, Lay Brother Francis Mary of S. Sirus in O.C.D. 238 g. After arrival he was kept at the Residence in Julfa to learn Armenian, until in July 1694 the Carmelites were expelled from Julfa: then, after some months, Fr. Joseph Ignatius was dispatched to Rome in the capacity of ‘Socius’ to Fr. Conrad, Procurator of the Mission, to the Chapter General.⁷ He countersigned as “Vicar of Julfa” the detailed account of the events which led up to the expulsion from Julfa, which is preserved in *S.N.R.*, II, p. 293. On his journey he was in Cyprus on 15.3.1695, and a letter of his dated 26th August of that year, after his arrival in Rome, relates certain difficulties he experienced with the Franciscans in the island.⁸ With his letter of 26th August 1695 there is a memorandum,⁹ also signed by him, on the remittance of funds due to the missionaries, which he submitted to the Sacr. Cong.

He was one of the eight Carmelites appointed in Session VI of the Definitory General, 18.11.1696,¹⁰ to accompany Archbishop Peter Paul of Ancyra on his mission from the Holy See to Persia and the Mogul’s dominions. The Archbishop reached Isfahan in May 1699, but nothing has been observed in the records of Fr. Joseph Ignatius being in his company in Persia, or at Surat.

He died at Turin, 1726 (?).

Letter extant: 26.8.1695 Rome *S.N.R.*, II, p. 148.

JOSEPH of Jesus Mary (Lay Brother)

A Portuguese, from Goa.

Born about 1597. Prov. in Order: Persia (?). Professed 1613–4 . . . :

“The only one I received in Goa was a youth of 16 years of age, and I sent him here
“to Hurmuz, where Fr. Leander clothed him. He is a good subject, and knows a little
“Latin, and is called Fra. Joseph of Jesus Mary.”¹¹

¹ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

³ *S.N.R.*, V, p. 172.

⁵ and ⁷ See the *Vita P. F. Elia a Sto Alberto*, by Lay Brother Francis Mary of S. Sirus in O.C.D. 320 c.

⁶ *Catalog. Miss.*

⁸ *S.N.R.*, II, p. 148.

⁹ *Idem*, p. 149.

¹⁰ See *Acta*, Defn. General to, VIII, 1694–8, p. 123, *vide Analecta*, O.C.D., for July–September 1934.

¹¹ Fr. Vincent of S. Francis, 3.6.1613, Hurmuz, O.C.D. 239 b.

" . . . ¹In November Fr. Vincent sent me a Lay Brother from Goa, a lad of some 17 years to be clothed . . . at this date. . . . Fr. Redempt gave us permission to clothe him, and "so I publicly gave him the habit on the 2nd Febr'y. He is called Fra Joseph of Jesus "Mary, that one whom Fr. Vincent sent to you last year."

Possibly, though doubtfully, the above Lay Brother became that *Father* Joseph Mary of Jesus, sent early in September 1643 by the Portuguese Apostolic Visitor in Goa to begin a foundation at Basseim,² and who in February 1645 was at Tatta, "disillusioned about the late "Apostolic Visitor" and "a very good Religious",³ who was at Tatta according to a report of 1647,⁴ and made sub-Prior of the Convent in Goa.⁵

JOSEPH MARY of Jesus

A subject of the Republic of Venice.

Family name: Giorgio Baronio. Born 2.4.1660 at Leno (Brescia). Prov. in Order: Venice. Professed 25.3.1677 at Vicenza (see List Prof. Province of Venice). Appointed 24.5.1685 from the Seminary of San Pancrazio to the Missions in the East by the Definitory General in company with Fr. Candidus (see *Regesta*, vol. VI, p. 292) he arrived at Basra 2.1.1686, and left there for Shiraz in November 1689—so says the *Chron. Basra*, but from 1685 till 1701 no record was made currently, and the entries between those dates were put together later and are admittedly confused. It would seem more likely that Fr. Joseph Mary was at Isfahan or Shiraz between 1686 and 1689.

Following on the election of Fr. Charles Hyacinth to the priorship of Isfahan, he was appointed Vicar of Basra (according to a letter of the Vicar Provincial dated 26.7.1689).⁶ But, as a matter of fact, Fr. Charles Hyacinth did not proceed to Isfahan, and was still at Basra⁷ when he died 19.4.1691, after which another Religious was appointed Vicar: and Fr. Joseph Mary only arrived to take up the vicarship on 4.3.1694 (*Chron. Basra*), when the Residence of Basra had been abandoned, i.e. without a Religious at all since October 1693. In the interval between April 1691 and March 1694 Fr. Joseph Mary must have been at Isfahan or Shiraz. His name is given as at Basra in the list of 26.8.1695.⁸

During his time in Basra the Arabs under Shaikh Mān'a besieged the Turks, and after the Turkish garrison had gone out to fight, and been defeated with great bloodshed, the Arabs obtained peaceful possession of the town. Being without money, on 2.3.1697 Fr. Joseph Mary sent his companion Religious to Kung to obtain funds; and, whilst Fr. Joseph Mary remained alone, Mulla Farajullah of Hawaizeh (i.e. of Persian domicile) with a stronger force seized the town, and the Arabs and Persians together plundered it so cruelly, that Fr. Joseph Mary, to avoid exposing everything to danger of his own accord gave them 100 'abbasi and other handsome presents, so that the immediate danger of incendiarism was averted. But immediately afterwards the Vicar was attacked by a malignant fever, and died 13.4.1697, without any spiritual comforts, and was buried by the native Christians within the church at the Gospel side of the altar, outside the chancel-screen.⁹

JOSEPH MARY of Jesus

A Frenchman.

Born 1666. Prov. in Order: Burgundy. Having already asked (7.5.1708) for the supply of dictionaries, and grammars¹⁰ he left Rome 19.5.1708, appointed Vicar Provincial,¹¹ accompanied by Fr. Victorinus. There is extant a letter from them, written from Aleppo and dated

¹ Fr. Leander, undated, but of 1615, in O.C.D. 239 e.

² *Idem*, 8.5.1645.

⁴ *Idem*, 21.6.1647.

³ Fr. Elias of S. Albert, O.C.D. 237 h.

¹⁰ S.R., vol. 563, p. 279.

² Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, Isfahan, 9.8.1644, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁵ Fr. Ignatius, Basra, 12.6.1647, O.C.D. 241 m.

⁷ and ⁸ *Chron. Basra*.

⁸ S.N.R., II, p. 149.

¹¹ *Idem*, p. 404.

17.10.1708,¹ to the effect that they had been obliged to stay at the impoverished Carmelite Residence in that town for more than two months, awaiting a favourable opportunity to proceed, and they begged for some extra grant, as the present money allowed the mission at Aleppo did not suffice to pay the rent.

They reached Basra about March 1709,² and a letter from Fr. Joseph Mary, signed as 'Vicar Provincial' and addressed to the Cardinal Prefect, shows that he was already in Isfahan by August 1709³—probably before April ended (seeing that his predecessor signed as 'Vicar of Julfa' only in that month). According to *Chron. Basra* it would appear that Fr. Joseph Mary left Isfahan on 21.11.1710, when with Fr. Paul Augustine he set out for Shiraz, where they stayed a fortnight (from about 3rd to 16th December): in another nine days they arrived at the small port of Bandar Rig (24.12.1710), where being without any funds or provisions they passed a miserable time. Their intention had been to try and recover occupation of the Residence at Basra, then for 2 years past in the hands of the Turks; but, as they were unable to obtain a boat, after staying 25 days in Bandar Rig they returned to Shiraz, reached in six days' journey (i.e. about 23.1.1711).

Another letter from Isfahan to the Cardinal Prefect, dated 28.2.1712, put forward the following two expedients for obtaining the submission to the Holy See of the schismatic Armenians in Persia: (a) that the king of France should allow the Shariman family, and all those to whom the missionaries furnished certificates of being Catholics and attending Catholic churches in Julfa, the right of free trade in French territory;

(b) "Masqat is a pre-eminent port of the Persian Gulf, which was in the hands of the Portuguese, and now is held by the Arabs. The latter inflict heavy damage on the Persian coast, and the king of the Persians has nothing more to his mind than that either he should get possession of that town, or else see it in the possession of some Christian prince. But, if the king of France were to promise to besiege it on condition that, if he obtained it, he should have the nomination of the patriarch of the Armenians, it would be granted him, I make no doubt: and, since the patriarch appoints the bishops, and the latter the priests, the whole Armenian people in these parts would become Catholic and, with God's favour, we should see what for many centuries has been vainly attempted. About both these points I have written to the Minister of the King of France, because 'this town' (i.e. Julfa) 'already thrives on commerce in the Indies. . . . Will Your Eminence see what can be done and is desired in this matter . . . ?'"

After this startling, but logically feasible suggestion, Fr. Joseph Mary turned to a point of abstinence:

"Of the five Religious Orders residing here three abstain from eating butter in Lent, and I have it from our books that from the beginning such has been the rule observed with us for 110 years. But the other two both eat butter, and take a collation at midday . . .":

and he remarks that Julfa–Isfahan is a place where the Armenians are strict in such observances. The Sacr. Cong. gave his proposals short shrift, however, the Secretary minuting that

'a letter should be written to the Father not to meddle in affairs which do not concern a missionary's office'

¹ S.R., vol. 567, *post* p. 280.

² See *Chron. Basra*—"cum sex mensibus antecedentibus pervenerint R. P. Joseph Maria . . ." under entry for 26.9.1709: there is no reference in correspondence to his having been 'Visitor General' in addition to 'Vicar Provincial', as averred by *Chron. Basra*.

³ S.R., vol. 575, p. 208.

—though, considering the persecution by the schismatics of the Catholics, the Vicar Provincial was in fact naturally seeking alleviation. According to that letter he had also written to the French ambassador at Constantinople about the Residence at Basra, and that ambassador had replied that he had obtained express orders from the Porte for its restitution, and had sent also a commission for the Vicar to be French Consul.

When Fr. Joseph Mary wrote on 26.12.1713 he was at Isfahan, and gave the curious information that a letter, addressed to him by the Cardinal Prefect, had reached Julfa safely but in the two miles from Julfa to Isfahan had been lost: for which he was deeply sorry, as he had asked to be allowed to return to his own province: if that had not been granted in the letters lost, he wished to go as a simple missionary to Malabar. He mentioned that his successor (as Vicar Provincial) had already been arranged. So Fr. Joseph Mary acted as Vicar Provincial from 1709 to the end of 1713—five years. He had sent Fr. Paul Augustine to Basra with the various licences from the Porte, he also stated.

“In August 1714 he left Isfahan for Basra to keep Fr. Paul Augustine company, the latter being there alone: Fr. Joseph Mary is a zealous, observant missionary. They have “recovered their House at Basra” (wrote Bishop Barnabas Fedeli, O.P.).¹

Fr. Joseph Mary's own letter of 6.4.1715 from Basra explained why he had gone there:

“Fr. Paul Augustine . . . did not please the governor of the town, nor did he obtain “from him execution of the orders. So I myself came, and one month after my arrival our “House and church were restored to us, and we celebrated the first Mass, 23.1.1715. . . .”

He had actually arrived at Basra on 11.12.1714:

“ex-Vicar Provincial with the title of Provincial Visitor, and afterwards to remain as “companion” (to the Vicar).²

But by 8.9.1715 he had left Basra by the desert route for Aleppo and Tripoli, and returned to Rome in 1716. His successor as Vicar Provincial, writing from Julfa on 26.1.1716, indeed said:

“Fr. Joseph Mary, to whom I had given the commission of visiting our Residences at “Shiraz and Basra on account of the paucity of Religious, carried out no visitations, and “departed from Basra for Aleppo—with what sanction I know not. . . .”³

From 1717 to 1720 he taught Arabic in the missionary Seminary of San Pancrazio, Rome. In 1720 he was sent to Syria as Visitor General:⁴ and a letter of his from Acre on 26.9.1720 to the Cardinal Prefect began by saying that he had been sent, among other things, to repair the mission at Mt. Carmel: he had found it almost ruined, and rebuilt it. He went on to comment on the port of Haifa, and the ships, chiefly French, visiting it, “for which our church “is the only one”, and on many Greek families reconciled to the Roman Sec, and the veneration for Mt. Carmel even among the infidels. The Definitory General of the Order had agreed to the institution of a Residence in Beirut, and an allowance had been assigned; but he had asked for a grant for the building of a house, and on account of urgency had left before the money was received. The head of the Maronites had since been pressing for a mission there, offering a garden in Beirut and a small house in the hills (Mt. Lebanon) 15 miles away; but both sites required buildings, and money to make them. He had made an agreement with the Maronites for the Carmelite missionaries to be in Beirut in winter, and on the mountain in summer.

¹ S.R., vol. 602, p. 60, on 22.5.1715.

² *Chron. Basra*.

³ Fr. Jerome Francis, O.C.D. 238 u.

⁴ *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, by Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist of the Order, part II, 1934.

It was while he was in Syria that in the session of the Sacr. Congregation on 27.5.1721¹ the opinion was given that, as Vicar Apostolic *pro interim* of the diocese of Baghdad,

“there would be very suitable Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, Discalced Carmelite, of French nationality, a former missionary in Persia, an indefatigable Religious. . . . He is now travelling in Syria, where he has betaken himself for the founding of some hospices of his Order in those parts. . . .”

On 30.5.1721 Pope Innocent XIII gave his assent, and by Brief of 14.6.1721 named Fr. Joseph Mary Vicar Apostolic for the diocese of Baghdad,² giving him on the 18th June the faculties.³

Fr. Joseph Mary was at Malta in November 1721,⁴

“turning back to Rome in order to beg for a mission to be made in Damascus and one in Beirut . . .”,

when he received news from the Praepositus General of his appointment. The “Bulls” of his office reached him at Malta 28.12.1721,⁵ but he was unable to get away from Malta till 13.2.1722.⁶ However, he had left Aleppo on 18.3.1722, whence via Edessa he (and his companion) had come to Mardin in 6 days, and there found a church of the Armenians almost all Catholics. After another 8 days’ travelling over a vast plain he had come to Nineveh (Mausil)—8th April—where there were only five churches left, frequented by Jacobite and Nestorians.⁷ Hearing confessions, for there were about 50,000 Christians in the town and surroundings, not a few converted to Catholicism, he had remained at Mausil till about 27th April. In his report to the Sacr. Cong. from Basra of 9.11.1723⁸ he remarked with evident satisfaction:

“From Malta I reached Nineveh (Mausil) within 45 days: I do not know whether anyone else has ever done the like, and whether it (the journey) can be done more quickly.”

His letter of 20.5.1722 from Baghdad is of interest in its account how he had in his hands a manuscript in Arabic, written 700 years previously (i.e. about A.D. 1022) discovered about forty years before (= 1682) in a marble tomb—a copy of a Chaldaean manuscript in which there was a summary of ecclesiastical affairs from Christ’s birth till the ninth century: among other statements in this manuscript it was said that S. Mari, together with S. Thaddeus, preached the Gospel in those parts, his first seat being at *Durakh*, 150 miles from Basra in the present Khuzistan province of Persia, and that in *Durakh* S. Mari had built a famous monastery.

Fr. Joseph Mary reached Baghdad about 3.5.1722: there he remained “four months”,⁹ and then in 13 days’ voyage on the Tigris had reached Basra¹⁰ (where he arrived 2.9.1722—*vide Chron. Basra*). Fifteen years had passed since the Capuchins had abandoned their mission in Baghdad owing to the machinations of the schismatics, and nine years since their departure from Mausil. One reason for his going to Basra, he mentions,¹¹ was to await the decision and instructions of the Sacr. Cong. whether they wished that Capuchin mission reopened or not—probably with less difficulty than was imagined. But he also was afraid of bringing trouble on the native Catholics in Baghdad by remaining among them without licence from the Porte.¹² He had wanted to go to Hamadan, “if the wars waxing great in the whole kingdom of Persia permit”, but “for about 8 months past all roads are blocked”. Twice a Carmelite sent to aid him by the Vicar Provincial, Isfahan, had been compelled to turn back *en route*. So at

¹ *Acta*, Session of General Congregation, Sacr. Cong. de Prop. Fide, 27.5.1721, p. 159.

² See *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, by Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, 1934.

³ See his letter, 11.11.1721.

⁴ His letters, 18.3.1722 and 12.5.1722.

⁵ His letter, 20.5.1722.

⁶ His letter, 29.12.1721.

⁷ O.C.D. 242 b.

⁸ and 10 See his letters of 12.5.1722 and 6.10.1722.

⁹ His letter, 1.7.1723, from Basra.

¹⁰ O.C.D. 243 c.

¹¹ His letter, 6.10.1722.

Basra he remained from 2.9.1722 till 8.10.1724, when he went to Baghdad, having "remained "for the space of two years in this Residence with us".¹

(*Chron.* Basra has also the statement that "on 3.2.1724 an English ship left here, in which "was the Very Rev. Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, Vicar Apostolic for the diocese of Babylon "who on his departure bade us resume the new calendar . . ." There is no explanation whether he went only as far as Bandar 'Abbas, or farther: and the entry, under that date at any rate, appears falsified by the fact that in *S.N.R.* there are on record letters of Fr. Joseph Mary dated from Basra 8th February, 29th June, and 28th September 1724.)

Fr. Joseph Mary was intensely interested in the episcopal residence and church at Hamadan, and all his letters of 1724 and 1725 deal with their state of repair. On 14.11.1724 he was writing to Rome from Baghdad with regard to the Turkish occupation of Hamadan, and he must have left Baghdad after 17.3.1725 and arrived at Hamadan before 25.3.1725 (see the letter to him from the French ambassador at Constantinople:

"J'ay reçu, mon révérend Père, les deux lettres que vous avez pris la peine de m'écrire "de Babylone et d'Amadan le 17 et 25 Mars dernier. . . .")²

His letter of 2.12.1725³ began:

"I return from Hamadan, where I left the bishop's house in good condition. . . . I "brought back . . . more than 400 books⁴ of our library . . . and for the third time I came "here . . ." (i.e. he had entered Baghdad). . . . "The heretics in Hamadan have already "been trying to get the Turks to expel us from the town, for which reason I have three "times written to the envoy for France residing at Constantinople about this business: and "if I receive no reply, I myself shall go to Constantinople, because there is danger in delay."

In his letter of 23.12.1726 he even claimed that the house at Hamadan was "in better "condition than, perhaps, it ever was". But by then he had reached Aleppo on his way to Constantinople

"in order to beg for a licence for the house at Hamadan, without which there is imminent "danger lest the heretics may attempt to move the Pasha to eject us from the town":

and this was perhaps after he had received the letter of the French ambassador, M. d' Andresel, of 10.11.1725, cited above, to the effect that he would endeavour to obtain the licence from the Ottoman Porte for the continued occupation of the residence of the bishops, and also for exemption from the *kharaj* poll-tax—measures required by the change of mastery over Hamadan from Persian to Turkish. And from Constantinople he had wanted to go on to Rome:

"But now he had just heard of the Turks having been put to flight, utterly routed, by "the Afghan capturers of Isfahan, so that the whole country was in confusion, and he did "not know what to do".

Both in that letter and in October 1727, also from Aleppo, Fr. Joseph Mary was asking to be released from the office of Vicar Apostolic, for which he felt he had insufficient strength, and he strongly recommended Fr. Urban of S. Elisaeus, Provincial of Persia, in his stead. "Again and again"—(his letter of 20.10.1727, he was back in Baghdad, and presumably had never gone on from Aleppo to Constantinople)—he begs to be released from the office,

¹ *Chron.* Basra.

² *S.N.R.*, III, p. 595.

³ *Idem*, p. 588.

⁴ His letter of 25.2.1726.

“which unwillingly I accepted because Cardinal Sacripante had said to me that it would “only be temporary, *ad tempus*, but now 6 years have elapsed. But, if you will not free “me, at least allow me to come to Rome, as I have various proposals to make.” . . .

It was 6.8.1728¹ when his successor was appointed (but not obliged to reside in the diocese, permitted to nominate a *pro*-Vicar Apostolic): on 28.3.1729 Fr. Joseph Mary wrote to the Cardinal Prefect that he had recently petitioned the Pasha of Baghdad for permission to have a residence with church, and his request had not been rejected—but it was not till 20.5.1729 that, having celebrated Easter solemnly with a concourse of people, so that he had even thought of blessing a church, the rumour of appointment of his successor had reached him. Fr. Joseph Mary departed from Baghdad 10.9.1729 and on the same day there arrived at Aleppo² from Europe the new *pro*-Vicar Apostolic, Fr. Emmanuel of S. Albert (q.v.), who, realizing his own ignorance of the languages,

“at the same time sent me a courier as far as Nineveh, 12 days’ distant from Baghdad, “with letters begging me to return to the Christians in Baghdad. . . . To which I replied “that my faculties had expired and I was not permitted to act as a missionary, but that “I should go to the Sacr. Cong. in Rome. . . .”

Fr. Joseph Mary had had already in Baghdad in July 1729³ the same request from Fr. Emmanuel, his fellow-countryman, and wrote on 6.7.1729 that he was ready to stay for a while in the jurisdiction of the diocese of Baghdad, if the Sacr. Congregation’s reply, which he would await, authorized it; otherwise he would depart. Whether or not permission reached Fr. Joseph Mary at Aleppo, before May 1730 he was back in Baghdad, acting on behalf of the *pro*-Vicar Apostolic and, on the latter’s own admission⁴ gave great assistance during Fr. Emmanuel’s stay in Hamadan as well as the useful advice to proceed to Pondicherry, and obtain the recommendations of the Governor of the French Indies to the Pasha of Baghdad, so that the latter might be moved to permit the residence of the Carmelites and a church for them in Baghdad. Fr. Emmanuel was away from Baghdad from May 1730 till his return from India in June 1731, during all which time Fr. Joseph Mary was in charge of the diocese.

A letter from Fr. Emmanuel, 1.10.1731,⁵ has the words:

“Since the 18th September I am alone in Baghdad, Fr. Joseph Mary having returned “to Europe . . .”,

which do not tally with those of Fr. Joseph Mary himself, who wrote two letters in 1732 to the Sacr. Congregation—in July stating that Fr. Emmanuel had gone off to Constantinople, and in the other, in August 1732, that

“having renounced for conscientious motives my office of Vicar Apostolic, I have remained “on in Baghdad with the title of Apostolic Missionary, having received all the faculties “which could be given by our Definitory General, but for greater security I would wish “to have, and by the present ask for those of Your Excellency, in order to hear confessions “in particular . . .”,

the more so as Fr. Emmanuel was still absent. It is difficult to reconcile those two letters, i.e. of 4th July and 20th August 1732, dated from Baghdad, with the following statement in *Chron. Basra*:

¹ Fr. Lemmens, O.F.M., *Hierarchia Latina Orientis*, vol. II, No. 10, part 2, p. 287.

² Fr. Joseph Mary, 10.12.1729, Aleppo.

⁴ *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 123, report of Bishop Emmanuel to the Pope, 1753.

³ His letter, 6.7.1729.

⁵ *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 548.

"1732. On the 20th May there came from Baghdad Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, who as "in the previous year he had bought a house for a new foundation with the permission of "Hamed" (i.e. Ahmad) "Pasha, afterwards a certain persecution having followed against "the Christians of Baghdad, who paid 4,000 piastres on account of a church, which the "Armenians built by accident [*? sic*] near the mosque . . . the Kaia therefore compelled "the said Fr. Joseph Mary to leave Baghdad, so he came to Basra. . . . And on the 13th "October Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus set out for Baghdad by way of Hilleh, in order to "establish his new foundation. . . ."

Unless the dates be incorrectly copied from the manuscripts, how can he have been writing from Baghdad on 4th July, if he had arrived at Basra on 20th May: how can he have been writing from Baghdad "here I am alone" on 20th August, if on 13th October he set out from "Basra to return to Baghdad"—and in neither letter does he speak of having been at Basra that year?

In 1733-4 Baghdad was besieged by the Persians, and for two years communication with Aleppo were interrupted: Fr. Emmanuel, still detained at Aleppo on his way back from Constantinople, wrote 5.3.1734:¹

" . . . I have also been told that Fr. Joseph Mary, who before myself was Vicar Apostolic "of Baghdad, had died *there* of want in the time of the siege, about 5 months ago . . . but "we cannot obtain more precise news. . . ."

Fr. Joseph Mary's letter of 26.4.1735² furnishes evidence that he had remained on in Baghdad till after that date:

"I write to inform Your Eminence of the present condition of the house at Hamadan. "For more than 4 years it has been without anyone to look after it. . . . But now I have "offered Fr. Emmanuel, pro-Vicar Apostolic, my companion to go there. He went, but "wrote that he had found it ruined. . . . I am he, who formerly was Vicar Apostolic for "this diocese of Babylon . . . but removed from office because, when I had written to "Your Eminence and addressed the letter to Fr. Emmanuel for him to forward it . . . he "said that he did not wish me to remain any longer in office, and that my relatives were "pressing for me to go to them. So, unknown to me, Fr. Bernard has been put in my "place. I do not complain of the step, because God willed it; but it is clear to me that "He has not wished me to return to my people, because here I have remained, and still "remain. . . . I was alone *here* in these upheavals, when twice this city was besieged, and "reduced to the utmost want, but God helped me, and still helps me. But our church is "a constant miracle, because it is prohibited among the Turks, and almost unheard, for "a new and public church to be built. . . ."

According to *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, part II, p. 63, quoting *Annales de la Mission de Bagdad*, MSS. in O.C.D. 184 c., p. 17:

"This first day of July in the year 1734 Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, just as he began his "functions as a missionary with universal applause, so also he completed them—this day, I "say, with his strength almost broken he left here" (i.e. Baghdad) "to return to Europe. . . ."

Here again, unless an error in copying (1735 for 1734, for example) have been made, there is a conflict of dates, and difference of a whole year, with that of Fr. Joseph Mary's own letter from Baghdad in 1735 quoted above. Fr. Joseph Mary returned to Europe, and was appointed 'Socius' to his Provincial to be present at the next Chapter General (1737) in Rome. At that Chapter General the Provincial for Burgundy (brother of Fr. Emmanuel at Baghdad, by coincidence) having been elected a Definitor General of the Order, Fr. Joseph Mary himself

¹ *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 297.

² *Idem*, p. 385.

was on 11.5.1737 chosen Provincial of the Carmelites in Burgundy.¹ In the same year, 1737, at the age of 71, his death at Besançon is recorded.² A biographical notice appears in *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, part 2, by Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist of the Order, Rome 1934. The letters of this Religious on record are almost all in Latin, and of a remarkably simple, almost 'naïf' diction.

Letters extant:

	7.5.1708	Rome	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 561, p. 279
(jointly)	17.10.1708	Aleppo	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 567
	22.8.1709	Isfahan	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 575, p. 208
	28.2.1712	Isfahan	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 587, p. 134
	26.12.1713	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 434
	6.4.1715	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 77
	26.9.1720	Acre	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 149
	11.11.1721	Malta	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 169
	17.11.1721	Malta	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 173
	29.12.1721	Malta	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 175
	14.1.1722	Malta	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 177
	23.4.1722	Mausil	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 189
	12.5.1722	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 195
	20.5.1722	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 197
	6.10.1722	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 203
	1.7.1723	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 564
	9.11.1723	Basra	O.C.D. 242 b.
	9.12.1723	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 574
	8.2.1724	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 580
	29.6.1724	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 582
	28.9.1724	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 584
	14.11.1724	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 586
	2.12.1725	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 588
	25.2.1726	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 598 (?)
	23.12.1726	Aleppo	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 599 (?)
	1.10.1727	Aleppo	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 293
	20.10.1727	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 608
	6.12.1728	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 50
	28.3.1729	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 34
	20.5.1729	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 35
	6.7.1729	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 533
	12.7.1729	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 535
	10.12.1729	Aleppo	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 52
	15.11.1730	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 544
	4.7.1732	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 226
	20.8.1732	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV
	26.4.1735	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 385

JOSEPH of S. Mary (later Bishop (1st) of Hieropolis, (2nd) of Bisignano, (3rd) of Città di Castello)

(Though properly a missionary in Malabar, and, as far as can be ascertained from the correspondence, only in Persia during his travels, a brief mention here of an interesting personage is perhaps justified.)

¹ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, in *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, part II.

² Fr. Francis de Sales, O.C.D., in *Vocabulare Miss.* (Athanasius), Wurzburg, 1829, quoted by above.

Family name: Sebastiani of Caprarola. Born 1623. Prov. in Order: Roman. Professed 1641. Later teacher in theology at Rome.¹ A Brief of Pope Alexander VIII, dated 18.2.1656² and addressed to Shah 'Abbas II, commended:

"Fr. Joseph of S. Mary, whom we beg Your Highness to receive with the utmost 'kindness.'"

Appointed a Commissary on behalf of the Sacr. Congregation he made the journey to the East in company of Fr. Vincent of S. Catharine of Siena (q.v.). They left Aleppo 13.7.1656 and reached Baghdad 16.8.1656.³ According to another letter of Fr. Joseph Mary from Basra, 8.9.1656,⁴ he had arrived there after many dangers and some twenty days' voyage from Baghdad, and was about to depart at once by a Dutch ship for Surat. There is extant,⁵ though the handwriting of the letter is not the same as that of his signature, a witty description in Latin of the vicissitudes of a journey by raft, and sailing-boat from Mausil to Basra, which should evoke the sympathy and amusement of those readers of this book, who made the journey and experienced similar conditions two and a half centuries later in the slower-moving days before the war of 1914: and most of it is here given as an example of a description of a river journey in Mesopotamia done into Latin prose:

"Post nostrum Aleppo discessum . . . per varios casus et per discrimina mille (experto 'scribo) iter nostrum cum sociis prosequutus, tandem Bassoram perveni. . . Defatigationes ex agitationibus, calores ex aestu, sitis, fames, infirmitates, diurni nocturnique Arabum timores, imo eorundem depredationes, iniustae Turcarum exactiones, et alia huiusmodi quae Ninive usque perpassi sumus levia sunt si cum reliquo itinere conferantur. 'Jam mense uno cum dimidio 'super flumina Babylonis illic sedimus et vix non flevimus', non ob patriae relictæ recordationem sed propter tardam et periculosissimam supra Tygrim navigationem. Tygris enim nobis vere Tygris, non Paradisi fluvius visus est. 'Ninive ratem quandam ('Caleccam' vocant)⁶ conscendimus, vix e conspectu urbis secundo delabimur flumine, cum nautarum incuria vado impacto oratores ad auxilium exposuit 'in aquas, vixque extracta, vacuis vento quibus incumbit utribus ad profundiores undas 'coepit subsidere magno oratorum discrimine, et non sine numine terrae appulit, incommodis aliis quibuscum in reliqua via sumus conflictati, supersedeo ab inaugurato principio 'facile est de tota navigatione facere coniecturam. Babiloniae navim vere Babilonicam 'hoc est confusionis ingressi, male ominatum [sic loqui fas est] sumus iter aggressi paucis 'navis erat ('daneca' dicta R.V.⁷ non ignota) se ipsa satis ponderosa et insuper mercum 'depressa pondere, confusa hominum multitudine. Nulla dies abiit sine infortunii linea. 'Indies aut praegravata fundo aut nullo gubernaculi regimine ripis impingebat, ita ut 'bis ter a mercibus, saepius ab itinerantibus fuerit exoneranda. Nautica disciplina nulla: 'dux ignarus itineris Cocles Polyphemi aut cuiusdam instar Charontis, cum illo et reliquis 'indies rixa, contentiones, pugnae, et coetera, tota denique navis Babilonica, tota confusionis.⁸ Tandem post tot concussionem post longam 25 dierum navigationem aperta carina 'vix non oratores submersit, ita ut sarcinis nostris aegre ereptis per medias aquas aliam 'conducere naviculam compulsi, praesentissimo naufragii periculo erepti post mensem 'integrum Bassoram appulerimus, salvi oratores et incolumes, haud dubie per hunc Tigrim 'nos deducente Raphaeli Arcangelo, sub cuius tutela cras navi alia mari Persico nos 'committemus. . . ."

(After our departure from Aleppo . . . amid various accidents and a thousand hazards (I write to one who knows it by experience) I continued my journey with my companions,

¹ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct., MSS. *Hist. Miss.*

² Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, 60, p. 385.

³ His letter of that date, O.C.D. 242 e., Baghdad.

⁴ and ⁵ O.C.D. 242 a.

⁶ *Kelek* in the local language.

⁷ 'Trankey' is often found in East India Company letters of the time as the name of an Arab boat: R.V. = Reverentiae Vestrae.

⁸ Allusions to the Lamentation of Jeremiah—"By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept"—and to the tower of Babel are intended.

and have at length reached Basra. Fatigues from alarms, the heat of the summer, thirst, hunger, sicknesses, fears of the Arabs by day and by night, and in sooth their plunderings, the unjust exactions by the Turks, and other trials of this kind which we suffered as far as Mausil, are light matters compared with the rest of the journey. Already for one and a half months we sat down there on the waters of Babylon, and we hardly ceased to weep¹, not for any recalling of the homeland we had left behind, but on account of the slow and most dangerous navigation of the Tigris. For the Tigris to us seemed indeed a 'tigress', not a river of Paradise. At Nineveh (i.e. Mausil) we embarked on a kind of raft (they call it "kelek") and, hardly out of sight of the town, we were carried off downstream; with the carelessness of the sailors we struck on a shoal, and your humble servants were exposed to the mercy of the waters; hardly had it been got off than the skins, on which it lay, having become deflated, it began to settle down in deep water to the great risk of your humble servants, and not without the will of the gods was it brought ashore. I pass over all the other discomforts by which we were afflicted the rest of the way—it is easy to imagine what the whole voyage was like from the manner in which it was inaugurated. At Baghdad, having boarded a vessel truly Babylonian, i.e. one full of confusion, we set out on an ill-omened journey (it is permissible so to speak). In short it was a boat (called a "trankey", not unknown to Your Reverence) of itself very heavy and in addition overloaded by the weight of the merchandise carried and by the disorderly crowd of men on board. Not a day passed by without some unfortunate mark. From day to day it either grounded on the bottom, or stuck in the banks owing to the failure of the rudder to work (or be worked), so that twice or thrice it had to be lightened of the goods on board, and more often of the passengers. There was no discipline among the sailors. The master, unacquainted with his sailing route, after the manner of some one-eyed Polyphemus, or Charon, day after day with him and the rest quarrels, strife, fighting, etc. In short the whole vessel Babylonian, all confusion. At length after so many collisions, and a long voyage of 25 days, the bottom of the vessel opened out and failed but little to drown your humble servants, so that saving with difficulty our bundles from the midst of the waters we were driven to take to another small boat and, having escaped the most imminent danger of shipwreck, your humble servants reached Basra safe and unharmed, the Archangel Raphael without any doubt bringing us sound to port by this Tigris, and under his guardianship tomorrow we shall commit ourselves to the Persian sea in another vessel. . . .)

Fr. Joseph Mary actually left Basra 12.9.1656—

"they were carried gratis, whereas usually the fare charged is 150 piastres as far as Surat. "The Commissary and Fr. Vincent wrote to Basra from Kharg and Bandar 'Abbas".²

He was at Gāmbūn, due to leave there on 24.10.1656³ for Surat: in December at Basseim "off Goa") expecting to reach their destination, Cochin, in January.⁴ They disembarked at Cochin 22.2.1657.⁵ Writing on 29.9.1657⁶ Fr. Felix mentioned that the

'Fathers in India had made Fr. Joseph of S. Mary Procurator of the Mission, and he is to 'return to Rome to see the heads of the Order and the Sacr. Cong., and they had deputed 'him to ask for the right of clothing novices'.

Fr. Joseph Mary is mentioned as being at Cochin in a letter of 1658:

"After having succeeded in winning back to the Roman obedience about 40 schismatic "Churches" (i.e. parishes), "Fr. Joseph returned to Rome to report."⁷

¹ See footnote ⁸ on p. 944.

² Fr. Barnabas, Basra, 16.12.1656, O.C.D. 241 f.

³ Fr. Felix, 24.10.1656, O.C.D. 237 i.

⁴ Fr. Vincent of S. Catharine, 15.12.1656, O.C.D. 242 a.

⁵ See Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus in *La Orden de Sta Teresa*, Madrid, 1923.

⁶ Letter of 20.6.1658 from Shiraz. ⁷ See Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus in *La Orden de Sta Teresa*, Madrid, 1923.

Doubtless it was on his return that he crossed Persia to Isfahan on his first journey. On 16.12.1659 he was named Vicar Apostolic of Malabar, with the title of Bishop of Hieropolis, given wide faculties; and in due course he set off again for the East.¹ But it was only in the beginning of 1661 that he reached Malabar, and there he remained 2 years, retiring to Europe in 1663 when the Dutch captured Cochin from the Portuguese. In his book Fr. Joseph wrote that he left Surat on 10.4.1664 (Holy Thursday) and on 18.5.1664 arrived at Gāmburun, whence he reached Kung, travelling overland, on 23.5.1664.

Later he was sent as Vicar Apostolic to the Ionian Isles: appointed Bishop of Bisignano in the kingdom of Naples: and thence transferred to the see of Città di Castello, where he died 15.10.1689. He published in Rome his *First Expedition to the East Indies* in 1666, his *Second Expedition to the East Indies* in 1672.

Letters extant:

16.8.1656	Baghdad	O.C.D. 242 e.
—1656	Basra	O.C.D. 242 a.
8.9.1656	Basra	O.C.D. 242 a.

JUSTIN of S. Teresa

A subject of the Duchy of Savoy.²

Family Name: Pietro Terino. Born 1621 at Lantosque (Nice). Prov. in Order: Lombardy.³ Professed 16.4.1641 at Milan. Appointed by the Definitory General to the missions, 2.12.1647 (see *Regesta*, vol. IV, p. 134). In company with the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas, Frs. Barnabas and John Chrysostom (both the latter of the province of Lombardy also) and with Lay Brother Alexander of S. Silvester, he made the journey East in 1648, being at Aleppo 25.8.1648. (As it cost more to hire, for the sake of economy a horse was purchased for him there for 14½ thalers.)⁴ He arrived in Isfahan in December 1648.⁵ Still at Isfahan in June 1651, perhaps, because of mention in one letter from Fr. Stephen that orders had been given to send Fr. Justin *direct* to Goa: and he "had reached Gāmburun in safety" before November 1651, according to another letter of Fr. Stephen.⁶ Mentioned as having been ill at Goa in 1652;⁷ he died of fever, after 20 days' sickness, in the convent at Goa "on the feast of "S. Ignatius" (i.e. 31st July) 1654 "about 10 a.m., at half an hour's interval from the death "of Fr. Nicolas, the Pole".⁸ The date given in *Cat. Def. Lomb.*—"8.11.1655"—which also gives the event as "In Persia" may be that of receipt of the news in Milan.

LADISLAS of S. George

A Pole.

Family name: Alexander Reuzner. Born 19.3.1630 (see the definite date in the List of Professed of Prov. of Cologne),⁹ in Turobin, district Krasnystaw, in the palatinate of Lublin.¹⁰ Prov. in Order: Cologne. Professed 1657. Studied in the Seminary at San Pancrazio, Rome.¹¹ On his journey to the East was at Malta 31.8.1668.¹² Mentioned as at Isfahan, voting in the election for Prior, in the spring of 1670: and Fr. Valerius in the list of 4.4.1671¹³ gives him as

¹ See Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus in *La Orden de Sta Teresa*, Madrid, 1923.

² Fr. Felix, 20.2.1656, O.C.D. 237 i., calls him "Piedmontese"; and so do also his travelling companion, Fr. Barnabas, in the account of the journey and Fr. Eusebius ab. Omn. Sanct. in MSS. *Hist. Miss.*

³ *Cat. Def. Lomb.*, 1606-1751.

⁴ See Fr. Barnabas' account in O.C.D. 248 f.

⁵ Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas, 17.1.1649, O.C.D. 237 g.

⁷ Fr. Ignatius, 18.8.1652, O.C.D. 241 m.

⁶ 22.6.1651 and 26.11.1651, O.C.D. 238 e.

⁸ Fr. Stephen, 22.6.1655, O.C.D. 241 p.; see also Fr. Barnabas, Basra, 24.6.1655, O.C.D. 241 f., and Fr. Felix, 25.3.1655, O.C.D. 237 i.

⁹ According to list of 4.4.1671 by Fr. Valerius, Procurator, in Rome Fr. Ladislav was born in 1639: and Fr. Felix in letter, 4.8.1671, wrote "at time of election for Prior (1670) Fr. Ladislav was not 30 years old"; but compare "sexagenarian", in 1691

¹⁰ See *Études Carmelitaines*, article on Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary by R. Chabrière.

¹¹ *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 224, list of Fr. Valerius.

¹² *S.R.*, vol. 418, p. 372.

¹³ See letters of Fr. Felix and *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 224.

"assistant at Isfahan". Another list, furnished by the Praepositus General of the Order to the Sacr. Cong. on 9.5.1671,¹ does, however, state that he was at Shiraz with Fr. Felix, although from a letter of Fr. Angelus² it would distinctly appear that it was between March and September 1672—for six months—that Fr. Ladislus remained with Fr. Felix at Shiraz, and then returned to Isfahan. At Shiraz in August 1675:

"has talent for preaching, and has studied rather well: at present I am applying him to "preaching every Sunday and feast-day here":³

was mentioned there in September 1675, and in 1676 as companion to Fr. Celsus,⁴ and still at Shiraz, but alone in October 1678,⁵ and in 1679.⁶ He was at Isfahan for the election of Prior in the spring of 1683,⁷ and in 1684 when Fr. Agnellus made his visitation,⁸ also on 19.6.1689, when he signed with others a declaration in Latin:⁹ and at Isfahan in the town Convent in July 1691, a "sexagenarian".¹⁰ Fr. Ladislus was at Shiraz again already before 1693 (when the author of the *Vita P. F. Elia a S. Alberto* does not give his name among those Fathers then at Julfa and Isfahan city). The same author tells us that, before his consecration in December 1696, Fr. Elias "sent all the important documents to Shiraz to Fr. Ladislus, "appointed Vicar Provincial". This was *ad interim* only, till the return from Europe of Fr. Conrad at the end of 1696: and about the same time Fr. Basil of S. Charles was "sent to Shiraz "to be companion to Fr. Ladislus, already very old", two previous companions having died not long before. Fr. Ladislus is mentioned as being "in Persia" in 1708 (in a communication from the Praepositus General of the Order to the Cardinal Prefect of 20.3.1708). He died at Isfahan in 1713 "meritis et senectute venerabilis"—he must indeed have had 45 years as a missionary in the country. Not a letter from him, however, has been traced in the archives consulted; yet his handwriting on documents is cultured.

Writing extant: (joint declaration) 19.6.1689 Isfahan O.C.D. 236 b.

LAURENCE of S. Matthew

A subject of the Papal States.

Family name: Domenico de' Lazzari, son of Battista L. and Benedetta Marinacci. Born at Belforte, diocese of Spoleto,¹¹ 1636.¹² Prov. in Order: Roman. Professed at S. Maria d. Scala, 22.9.1658. He had been at the Seminary of San Pancrazio.¹³ His name did not appear in the list of 1663,¹⁴ but it does in that handed by the Praepositus General to the Sacr. Cong. on 9.5.1671¹⁵ as at Goa, as also in that supplied by the Procurator of the Mission, Fr. Valerius, dated Rome 4.4.1671¹⁶ (Fr. Laurence being then 35 years of age, and 7 in the missions, and "assistant in Goa"). He would therefore have gone out to the missions in 1664 (a date confirmed by *Catalog. Miss.*).

There is mention of him in a letter¹⁷ of 12.11.1672, as being at Shiraz, where the Vicar Provincial had recalled him from India on account of his infirmities: and there he died on 8.12.1672.¹⁸ (The date given in the *Series Professionum*—"July 1673"—is that of receipt of the news.)

¹ S.R., vol. 428, p. 135.

³ Fr. Jerome of Jesus, 31.8.1675, O.C.D. 238 q.

⁵ Fr. Fortunatus, 20.10.1678, O.C.D. 237 k.

⁷ Fr. Elias, 14.7.1683, O.C.D. 237 h.

⁹ O.C.D. 236 b.

¹¹ Information supplied by Fr. Marcellinus a S. Theresia, O.C.D., from *Series Professionum*.

¹² Date confirmed by *Catalog. Miss.*

¹⁵ S.R., vol. 428, p. 135.

¹⁸ Fr. Felix, 31.1.1673, O.C.D. 238 p., and Fr. Angelus, 3.1.1673, O.C.D. 236 i.

² Fr. Angelus, 1.10.1672, O.C.D. 236 i.

⁴ Fr. Angelus, 22.9.1675 (18.1.1676), O.C.D. 236 b.

⁶ Fr. Agathangelus, 28.1.1679, O.C.D. 241 c.

⁸ 26.10.1684, O.C.D. 248 k.

¹⁰ Fr. Gaspar Joseph, 23.7.1691, O.C.D. 236 b.

¹³ Fr. Valerius in list, S.R., vol. 428, p. 224.

¹⁴ O.C.D. 235 n.

¹⁷ Fr. Angelus, O.C.D. 236 i.

LEANDER of the Annunciation

A Spaniard.

Family name: Luis de Melgosa, son of Andrés de M. and Gujomar de Castro. Born at Burgos, Spain, 4.8.1580.¹ (There is extant a letter signed by his father, Andrés de Melgosa—who is stated elsewhere to have held high office at the Court of Philip II of Spain²—dated from Burgos 28.10.1620, in which he mentions his son, Fr. Leander, having written to him from Goa on 22.2.1620; his mother was still alive then, and there were nine brothers and two sisters.³) The celebrated traveller and writer, Pietro della Valle, is described in a letter⁴ as *sobrino* (cousin on the mother's side) of Fr. Leander—a relationship not mentioned in his writings, however, while the family name of della Valle's mother is given as Alberini by one writer.

An officer in Spain, he passed over for service to Naples (then under the Spanish Crown) where he was a captain of the 'Tercios' of Castile: and there he abandoned a military career to enter the Carmelite Order on 25.3.1605. Prov. in Order: Roman. Appointed to proceed to the Persian mission as companion to Fr. Vincent, who was about to open a fresh mission station on Hurmuz Island, he left Venice 28.8.1610; Candia (Crete) 6.10.1610; Paphos (Cyprus) 19.10.1610; arrived Tripoli, Syria, on Sunday, 31.10.1610, and left there 23.11.1610 for Aleppo, where they were on 30.11.1610. They reached Baghdad 20.2.1611, left there 28.3.1611 and entered Isfahan on Whit-Sunday, 21.5.1611.⁵ He remained in Isfahan a year and, summoned by Fr. Vincent to Hurmuz, left Isfahan 5.5.1612, arriving at Hurmuz with Lay Brother Elias 30.6.1612.⁶ In April 1613 he is mentioned as having been too busily occupied as "overseer of the works" in the construction of the oratory of the Carmelite residence in Hurmuz to be able to write:⁷ still, at the end of May 1613 he was discussing from Hurmuz various points of order and discipline—was it right to accept novice choir-brothers, when there was insufficient opportunity to train them properly—should persons with Indian or Jewish blood be accepted—and, about riding on horseback, would it not be better to go on foot, even at the risk of being mocked by Persians in the streets—were Carmelites always to masquerade as ambassadors of the Popes.⁸ After news had reached Hurmuz of the intention of Fr. Redempt to abandon the mission in Isfahan, Fr. Leander offered to go with letters and assist Fr. Redempt. They met on the road and went into Isfahan together: there they

"began to put in order the House and church, which was half in ruins, and we performed
"as best we could the Offices of Holy Week 1614",

being joined by Fr. John Thaddeus, back from Astrakhan, at Pentecost.⁹ Letters from Rome had brought Fr. Leander's appointment to be sub-Prior and novice-master at Hurmuz: and his letters (in O.C.D. 239 e.) show him to have been back in Hurmuz by May 1615—he had reached the Island 20.8.1614.¹⁰ On one of his journeys was composed the 'Pasatiempo de un Religioso Carmelita Descalzo en un largo y trabajos viaje que hizò á la India', poems in Castilian in the classic style. Fr. Leander had been obliged to go to Goa, so had written the Portuguese Captain of Hurmuz at the end of 1617, or early in 1618¹¹—from 1612 Fr. Vincent had been treating for permission from the Portuguese Authorities to establish a convent in Goa, but simultaneously influential factors both in the fortress, in Goa and in Spain were trying by intimidation to have the Carmelites removed from Hurmuz, and this necessitated

¹ *Series Professionum* at S. Maria d Scala, by Fr. Marcellinus a S. Theresia, No. 49, Rome, 1934.

² *La Orden de Sta Teresa . . . y las Misiones . . .*, by Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus, Madrid, 1923, p. 107.

³ In O.C.D. 236 a.

⁴ Fr. Prosper, 27.9.1621, O.C.D. 238 d.

⁵ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct., MSS. *Hist. Miss.* in O.C.D. 285-6.

⁶ See report (undated, but of 1615) by Fr. Leander, O.C.D. 239 e.

⁷ Fr. Vincent, 16.4.1613, O.C.D. 239 b.

⁸ His letter, 28.5.1613, in O.C.D. 239 e.

⁹ See his report (undated, but of 1615) in O.C.D. 239 e. not in 1615, as Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus has it in *En Persia*, vol. III, 1930.

¹⁰ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct., book III, chap. XVI, who also speaks of a letter of his from Shiraz of 25th July (? 1614).

¹¹ Fr. John Thaddeus, 8.3.1618, O.C.D. 237 m.

not infrequent visits by one or other of the Fathers to Goa. Early in 1619 Fr. Leander who had been appointed "Vicar of the convent of Hurmuz" by the Definitory General, 7.5.1618,¹ was summoned by the Vicar Provincial to a Congress in Isfahan, where as "secretary" he signed on 15.4.1619 the memorial sent to Rome² of their needs in men and money: Pietro della Valle, in his letter of 8.5.1619, gives the date of his arrival at Isfahan:

"... On Sunday, the 3rd March" (1619) "we went out to meet certain Religious coming 'from Hurmuz, i.e. two Discalced Carmelites, Fr. Leander of the Annunciation and his 'companion, who were to stop in the Convent at Isfahan."

Early in June 1619 with Fr. John Thaddeus he had been to visit Shah 'Abbas in camp 15 leagues from the capital, in order to take letters received from Madrid from Robert Sherley and Fr. Redempt, envoys from the Shah:³ and in that same letter it was stated that 'Fr. Leander 'was about to depart for Hurmuz'. Not his name, but that of Fr. Dimas is given by P. della Valle⁴ as accompanying the Portuguese ambassador, Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, on the latter's departure from Isfahan for Hurmuz and India on 25.8.1619; and the statement in Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct. MSS. that Fr. Leander accompanied the ambassador needs to be verified. He may have preceded him and must have been back in Hurmuz before the end of 1619, because by 25.4.1620 in Goa Fr. Leander had been able at last to set up the foundation in Goa, so long desired, and dedicated it to Our Lady of Mt. Carmel.⁵ The dates cited above are against the statement in *La Orden de Sta Teresa . . . y las Misiones Carmelitanas* that "for some 'years Fr. Leander and his companions were living in a private house in Goa"; but the story how Fr. Leander succeeded in 1620 may be told in the words of Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus, quoting from the *Viaggi Orientali* of Fr. Philip of the Most Holy Trinity, himself for some years at Goa (Venice 1670):

"... It had been easier for Fr. Leander to win the permission of Don. Fernando de 'Albuquerque, Viceroy of India, than that of Don Cristobal de Lisboa, Archbishop of 'Goa at that time. . . . It happened that by reason of certain public calamities the Prelate 'ordered devotions of intercession, and that the images of the Saints should be carried in 'procession. Fr. Leander petitioned His Excellency for permission to carry in the procession 'the image of his Mother and Foundress, despite the fact that she had not yet been canonized. 'The Archbishop (who was greatly devoted to the cult of the Blessed Teresa) willingly 'assented, and the Carmelite from Burgos commissioned an artist to design a statue of the 'Saint, which her devoted son clothed and adorned richly and, placing in her right hand 'a paper rolled up, had it taken to the Archbishop to be blessed, so that the latter was the 'first to see and admire it. The Prelate was beyond measure pleased with the image of 'the holy Mother and the delicate attention of so good a son of hers and, after blessing it, 'wished to see what was written in the paper rolled up in the hands of the Saint, in the 'position as it were of being presented to His Excellency. Great was his astonishment on 'reading the petition which the Saint held out to him. It was that he should grant her 'sons the permission to found a mission in Goa, with its church and convent. The Arch- 'bishop could no longer resist, and with tears in his eyes on the spot issued the licence 'begged by the Saint. . . ."

In the Instructions of the Praepositus General, Rome, Fr. Matthias, on 30.6.1620⁶ the Visitor General, Fr. Vincent, was directed to give to Fr. Redempt the "patents as Vicar 'Provincial in Persia, and his to Fr. Leander, of which he is to make use in case of death 'happening to Fr. Redempt" and, Fr. Redempt being already dead in 1619, automatically

¹ See *Regesta* of that date.

² Fr. John Thaddeus, postscript to letter, 25.5.1619, O.C.D. 237 m.

³ *La Orden de Sta Teresa . . . y las Misiones . . .* Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus, Madrid, 1923.

⁴ His letter of 21.10.1619.

⁵ O.C.D. 284 g. On 16.6.1620 he had been appointed Substitute Vicar Provincial in case of death or absence from Persia of Fr. Redempt.

on the arrival of this Visitor General in the East Fr. Leander became Vicar Provincial—in May 1621.¹ Fr. Leander was no longer in Hurmuz, but given as at Goa with two companions in the list² undated but certainly made between April 1620 and May 1621—he was not present at the fall of Hurmuz in 1622 therefore: and, while holding the office of Vicar Provincial, in Goa he remained building up a convent, receiving a number of professions, and collecting funds with which he generously supported the needs of the missions at Basra, Shiraz, Isfahan. Examples: as regards Shiraz,

“ . . . The Fr. Vicar Provincial is a good father and, although he did not take it well “that this debt was contracted without his order, with all that . . . he does not fail to aid “it, and a short time ago sent 400 piastres for it. . . .”³ “ . . . Fr. Leander, our Vicar “Provincial, who had sent from Goa 350 scudi for the mission. . . .”⁴ “ . . . A grant in “aid of 1,000 piastres arrived from Goa, which Fr. Leander has just now sent.”⁵

There were, however, administrative objections to the Vicar Provincial of the mission to Persia being permanently outside Persia, and by the Instructions of the Praepositus General, Rome, Fr. Paul Simon, in 1624:⁶

“Should it be seen that Fr. Leander cannot leave Goa, rather than having the Vicar “Provincial reside elsewhere than in Isfahan, you will accept his resignation and nominate “another as Vicar Provincial, but Your Reverence will not see to that except in great straits, “and in any case arrange to take the said Father with you to Isfahan. . . .”

That Fr. Leander came to Persia in 1626 we learn from a letter of Fr. John Thaddeus,⁷ then in Shiraz:

“Friday afternoon, 1.5.1626, on which day our Congregation began to celebrate the “chapter, there arrived at Shiraz (Scirapoli) our greatly desired Fr. Visitor and the Vicar “Provincial. . . .”

While they were together at Shiraz, a strange incident occurred on 6.6.1626, concerning the expiry of the functions of the Visitor General, Fr. Eugenius, and regarding which Fr. Dominic of S. Mary has left on record an affidavit,⁸ signed by himself “Vicar of Shiraz”. Continuing his journey Fr. Leander reached Isfahan 17.9.1626,⁹ but subsequently returned to India. Allusion to that incident may have been made by Fr. Basil two years later,¹⁰ in writing to Rome that he had learnt of the appointment of Fr. Dimas to be Vicar Provincial in succession to Fr. Leander:

“ . . . Fr. Leander has worked hard, and with much zeal to extend the Order, and gave “great satisfaction in India, and is a Father of remarkable talents. . . . Now, at the end “when he ought to be praised and blessed by our Superiors he had small fortune in making “this mistake, in truth a very serious one.”

After consideration of all the written reports from Persia the Definitory General, in fact, in its session of 13.1.1628 decided that Fr. Leander had no authority to declare, and enjoin on his subordinates, that the period of validity of the visitation by Fr. Eugenius had lapsed at the time the Chapter General was being held in Rome: that the instructions he had given to that effect should be deleted wherever recorded, because the office of Fr. Eugenius had in fact not expired, and his visitation was still valid: that the election of Fr. Dimas as Prior of Isfahan,

¹ Fr. Prosper, 8.9.1621, O.C.D. 238 d.

² O.C.D. 235 n.

³ Fr. Basil, 22.7.1625, O.C.D. 241 g.

⁴ Fr. John Thaddeus, 27.5.1625, O.C.D. 237 m.

⁵ Fr. Basil, 27.9.1628, O.C.D. 22.7.1625.

⁶ O.C.D. 284 g.

⁷ 5.7.1626, O.C.D. 237 m.

⁸ 10.6.1626, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁹ Frs. Dimas, Elisaeus, Balthazar, 3.8.1626, O.C.D. 237 b.

¹⁰ 27.9.1628, O.C.D. 241 g.

declared null by Frs. Leander and John Thaddeus, substitute in Persia for Fr. Leander, was on the contrary valid: and finally that the mere raising of such arguments of rule and points of jurisdiction was far from being proper occupation for missionaries who should be busy about saving souls. So the Definitory General on that date declared the term of Fr. Leander as Vicar Provincial, and of Fr. John Thaddeus as Substitute to him to have expired (see *Regesta*, Def. Genl., vol. II, pp. 7–8).

Fr. Leander was elected Prior of Isfahan in 1628,¹ but there is no evidence that he returned to Isfahan to take up the post. On the contrary, to him is ascribed the foundation of the mission station at Diu on the island of Cambay, inaugurated 12.12.1628 according to the author of *La Orden de Santa Teresa . . . y las Misiones . . .*, p. 121 (but compare Fr. Dimas' letter of 18.2.1630):²

"I had already notified you that our Fathers of Goa took a hospice in the town of Diu
"and write me from there that the Archbishop of Goa has had the doors of the church closed
"and prohibited under penalties anyone from hearing Mass in that House of ours":

and Fr. Basil, 24.8.1630:³

". . . the Archbishop of Goa has now died . . . we have been given licence to open the
"church at Diu. . . ."

To him is also ascribed the establishment of a second convent at La Lagona on the outskirts of Goa, also dated 1630.⁴

It appears that Fr. Leander was intending to go to Europe via Lisbon in 1630 with the ships that used to leave in the beginning of each year,

". . . from Goa we have news that Fr. Leander is all ready to leave by the ships for Por-
"tugal . . . he will be greatly missed in the Mission."⁵

But at the end of January 1630 the Visitor General, Fr. Epiphanius, reached Goa.

"He was about to leave for Rome by sea: the Fr. Visitor kept him back, seeing the great
"need that this mission has of the said Father, who now has gone by order of the viceroy,
"as it were an ambassador, to a Moorish king in India, called Il Dialxa" (? of the Deccan).⁶

His intention was to found a mission at Vizapur (?) in the Deccan.⁷ To what extent that move and his intention of going to Portugal were related remains obscure; but

"the viceroy had told him that the king of Spain had ordered him to discuss and arrange
"with us, and persuade us to leave Goa, and all go to Persia. . . ."⁸

In January 1631 they were still waiting at Isfahan for Fr. Leander to come, as he had been elected Prior.⁹ But he had died at sea off Goa on some date in 1630 not traced in the correspondence. He was one of the great personalities in the series of missionaries furnished by the Order: what his contemporaries and juniors thought of him may be seen in the following lines written to Rome¹⁰ in August 1630, when his death was not known, and he was thought to have sailed for Europe:

"Do us the charity of sending us Fr. Leander and Fr. John, who, if you will allow me to
"say so, are the pillars of these parts."

¹ Fr. Dimas, 18.9.1629; see also list in 235 n., O.C.D.

² O.C.D. 237 b.

³ *Idem*, 241 g.

⁴ Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus in *La Orden de Sta Teresa . . .*, p. 110.

⁵ Fr. Matthew of the Cross, Isfahan, 30.3.1630, O.C.D. 238 a.

⁶ Fr. Basil, 24.8.1630, O.C.D. 241 g.

⁷ Fr. Florencio, *opus cit.*

⁸ Fr. Dimas, 2.8.1630, O.C.D. 238 b.

⁹ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 15.1.1631, O.C.D. 237 f.

¹⁰ Fr. Matthew of the Cross, O.C.D. 238 a.

Letters extant:

	28.5.1613	Hurmuz	O.C.D. 239 c.
	28.5.1613	Hurmuz	O.C.D. 239 c.
(report)	—1615	Hurmuz	O.C.D. 239 c.
(jointly)	15.4.1619	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 m.

LEANDER of S. Cecilia

A subject of Savoy.¹

Family name: Giovanni Augusto Cottalorda. Born 1702 at Breglio, diocese of Ventimiglia. Prov. in Order: Roman. Professed 27.11.1725. Sent to Mt. Carmel 1732, recalled to Rome 1734.² In July 1735 he had left Rome, and was at Aleppo 18 days after his departure from Marseilles, having been sent out to assist Fr. Emmanuel of S. Albert, pro-Vicar Apostolic for the diocese of Baghdad. (In his *Secondo Viaggio* Fr. Leander seems to imply that it was in July 1734 he left Europe, and 7.1.1735 when he left Baghdad for Hamadan; but Bishop Emmanuel's statement that he reached Baghdad in December 1735, and Fr. Leander's own acknowledgment in his receipt, dated 25.1.1736, that he had received "in the year 1735" in Rome a sum for his journey expenses leave no doubt as to the correct facts.)

On 18.12.1735 he reached Baghdad, bringing with him a letter from the Cardinal Prefect:³ he had spent 41 days on the raft (*kelek*) before reaching the city,

"where I found at the Customs Fr. Emmanuel, whose companion I was destined to be, "and the English Factor, Mr. Darell, who took me to the house, at the door of which I "found Fr. Charles Raymond of our Order, who had come from Hamadan."⁴

On 13.1.1736 he was sent by Fr. Emmanuel to Hamadan instead of Fr. Charles Raymond of the Persian mission, who had previously been acting as 'companion' to the pro-Vicar Apostolic.⁵ At the end of August, "before leaving Hamadan, where Fr. Leander of the Roman "province is . . ." the pro-Vicar Apostolic left him funds for a year:⁶ and there exist the vouchers, written and signed by Fr. Leander, one dated Hamadan 26.5.1736, another Hamadan 8.8.1736, for receipt of his personal allowance for the following year, and for repairs to the fabric. Later presumably he made his way to Isfahan (for the statement in his book that in June 1736 he passed by Khunsar is not easily reconciled with the above dates). Nor is it easy from Fr. Leander's book to trace the dates of his stay in Persia, but presumably he left that country about November 1737,

"when in 16 days after our departure from Susa" (i.e. Hamadan according to his archaeology) "we reached Baghdad, where I found my companion already returned from Basra ". . . it was the month of October when Fr. Emmanuel returned to Baghdad. . . ."⁷

In March 1738 Fr. Emmanuel left for Rome; and Fr. Leander, writing to him "at present "in Rome" on 26.6.1738 from Baghdad, mentioned that the exactions levied from the servants in the episcopal residence in Hamadan had "taken away from me the appetite to return to "Hamadan".⁸ He visited Basra 22.12.1739, and returned to go to Baghdad 19.1.1740.⁹ He began to practise as a physician:

"having¹⁰ for 7 or 8 years had the position of sickroom attendant to our Religious, and helped "in making up medicines in our apothecary's dispensary at La Vittoria in Rome, I had been

¹ See his letter in *S.N.R.*, VI, pp. 150-3: " . . . the king of Sardinia, if he wishes to honour with his commands . . . "a poor Discalced friar, his subject. . . ."

² See footnote to *Cont. Basra Chron.*, p. 15, by Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia.

³ Fr. Emmanuel, *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 375, Baghdad, 8.3.1736.

⁴ and ⁷ See *Secondo Viaggio*.

⁸ *Idem*, p. 506.

⁵ Fr. Emmanuel, *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 375.

⁹ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

⁶ *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 421.

¹⁰ See *Secondo Viaggio*, p. 93.

“furnished with an Apostolic Brief permitting me in case of need to practise in all the
“Levant . . .”

and made himself useful to the noted Ahmad Pasha, governor of Baghdad, in that capacity, so that he was able to protect the Mission against hostile intrigues thereby. His *Secondo Viaggio* deals at length with his experiences while with the Pasha. Bishop Emmanuel reached Baghdad in July 1746, after his seven years' absence: and on Easter Eve of that year Fr. Leander had quitted Baghdad for Mausil, and returned to Rome. That same year, 1746, Fr. Leander was selected by the Sacr. Cong. as the leader of a special mission to the Chaldaeans in Upper Mesopotamia (Mausil, Diarbakr, Mardin, etc.): on 15.10.1746¹ he was paid in cash 100 scudi as a “missionary leaving for Mesopotamia”: and among the instructions given him² by the Sacr. Cong. on 10.7.1747 were the following: his mission was chiefly to send information as to the rites observed by the Chaldaean Catholics and by the Nestorians in administering the Sacraments: to send specimens of the breviaries, liturgies, etc., used by each; to ascertain their discipline as to feasts and fasts, the standard of knowledge in their bishops and priests; to ingratiate himself with the heretical Patriarch and bishops, and influence them towards reunion by suave means avoiding disputes, assuring them that the Roman Pontiffs desired the oriental rites to be preserved. Before he left Turin the king of Sardinia had given him 100 sequins.³ In Venice Fr. Leander had written to Mgr Lercari on 7.8.1747 that there was an opportunity for him to sail that day for Cyprus: and he arrived at Diarbakr 26.11.1747 with Frs. Ferdinand of Jesus Mary and Eugenius of S. Macarius as his assistants. Writing to Mgr Lercari from Diarbakr on 28.12.1747 Fr. Leander makes it evident that he was wearing Turkish garb:

“ . . . if Your Lordship could have seen Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia dressed in Turkish style, “without rest for an hour—by day besieged by Turks, by night visited by Christians. . . . “Briefly, I shall say that, arrived in this town, I found the Chaldaeans divided into two “factions little disposed to brotherly Christian union. . . .”

Another letter of his related:

“I had immediately managed to get into the favour of the Pasha ruling in this town of “Diarbakr, and as he has taken me for his physician . . . so that, as he has been appointed “Pasha of Baghdad, he insisted on my accompanying him, and, though I objected, he “replied that, when Grand Vizir in Constantinople, he had heard speak of me, and that, “if he was going to undertake that journey in winter time, I could well do so too, and that “for the rest he would provide, and give orders for me to be furnished both with money and “with clothing, and he would give me three horses, one for myself, one for a servant, the “other for the baggage. After I let it be understood that I would go, but wanted reassur- “ances that the church at Baghdad and Christians would not be molested . . . reflecting “that the church at Baghdad had been established by me solely on the order of the Pasha “now dead. . . .”

Fr. Leander left Diarbakr for Baghdad 6.1.1748,⁴ and remained there almost 5 months,⁵ and on his return journey his caravan stayed only five days in Mausil (where according to the Bishop there was greater need of him than in Diarbakr). Fr. Leander himself wrote from Baghdad⁶ an account of a visit he had paid the heretical Patriarch Elias in presence of two of the latter's bishops at Mausil, 25.1.1748. His letter of 17.8.1748 treats of negotiations for the conversion of this Patriarch. On 20th August he reported that seven weeks previously he had established Fr. Eugenius in Mardin, and sent off his other assistant Fr. Ferdinand to Rome

¹ *S.N.R.*, V, p. 91.

² *Idem*, p. 316, letter of 26.5.1748.

³ Bishop Emmanuel, 15.1.1749, *S.N.R.*, V, p. 266.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 186.

⁵ Fr. Eugenius of S. Macarius, *S.N.R.*, V, p. 295.

⁶ 15.2.1748, *S.N.R.*, V, p. 297.

for instructions in August 1749. He himself left Mausil for Constantinople 1.6.1751,¹ and on his travels wrote letters from Therapia on the Bosphorus, and Venice:

"I write to the Cardinal Prefect that he may give me permission to proceed from Mantua to Turin, so that I may hand over the horses of Arab breed, which H.M. the king of Sardinia ordered me to purchase at his expense."²

At this period political relations between French and Italians were sometimes strained, and this was reflected in their dealings with one another in the Levant, and intrigues: the former seemed to aim at a monopoly for their own subjects in Mesopotamia, and viewed jealously the activities of Italian missionaries. Thus we have Fr. Leander writing from Venice on 8.1.1752³ to the Sacr. Cong. that having helped

"the Dominican Fathers to establish themselves in Mausil, and remained 8 months in that town I determined to go off to Constantinople and seek farmans from the Ottoman Porte. . . . On arrival at Diarbakr I was handed an order in the name of the king of France to quit the mission immediately. . . ."

Then in Constantinople he had a spirited encounter with the Comte des Alleurs, French ambassador, to whom he had applied for a passport, and he quotes the *Lettera di Casce*⁴ (*Lettre de Cachet*) as worded:

'On the part of the king of France we order Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia, on reading this, to betake himself to Aleppo at once, and there await the orders of his superiors whom we have warned of his very bad behaviour':

and Fr. Leander went on to protest:

"I do not believe that the king of Sardinia, if he please to honour with his commands and letters of credence a poor Discalced (friar), his subject, is obliged to ask the permission of Monsieur the Ambassador of the French: much less can I believe that he can presume to dispose of the money of that sovereign. . . . I being personally protected too by the king of Britain, as I can prove by letters written to me in Mausil."

He arrived in Rome at the end of April 1752. In *S.N.R.*, VI, pp. 150-3 exists his *Brief Narrative* of his Mission in Mesopotamia.⁵ He presented his accounts⁶ for the 5 years, little short; and there are figures of interest as to the cost of journeys, and subsistence. The Sacr. Cong. was, however, far from satisfied with the results of his work as compared with the programme given him, or with the brevity of his report:⁷ and as to the accounts they are criticized and discussed at much length.⁸ Then on 9.6.1757⁹ from the Convent of La Scala Fr. Leander wrote that he had complied with instructions for the suppression in his "three books of history" of certain passages to which the Sacr. Cong. had objected—and asked permission and aid to print the second and third volumes: he wanted to leave for his native parts, with his brother, also a priest. He went back to his province (Rome) in 1762, and was living at Anio in 1775. Died in Rome 6.7.1784.¹⁰

His three volumes were: (1) *Palestina: ovvero Prime Viaggio in Oriente*, Rome 1753; (2) *Persia: ovvero Secondo Viaggio in Oriente*, Rome 1757; (3) *Mesopotamia: ovvero Terzo Viaggio in Oriente*, Rome, 1757.¹¹ The second contains quite the most detailed, dated and readable story of the years of the Afghan invasion of Persia, and occupation of Isfahan to be found anywhere:

¹ Letter of 2.7.1751 from Fr. Gaetano Codileonino, O.P.

² *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 62.

³ *Idem*, p. 53.

⁴ *Idem*, pp. 150-3.

⁵ See also *S.R.*, vol. 733, p. 429.

⁶ *S.N.R.*, V, p. 65.

⁷ *Idem*, p. 273 *et seq.*

⁸ *Idem*, VI, pp. 304-8, 309-19, 325-32.

⁹ *Idem*, p. 323.

¹⁰ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia in footnote to p. 15, *Cont. Basra Chron.*

¹¹ Printed *Nella stamperia di Angelo Rotili*, dedication by author, dated Rome 15.8.1752, nel Pallazzo dei Massimi.

during his stay in Isfahan he had ample opportunity of seeing the records kept by the missionaries, and hearing personal narratives from them and Isfahanis.

Letter extant:

25.1.1736	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 378
26.5.1736	Hamadan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 422
8.8.1736	Hamadan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 424
26.6.1739	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , IV, p. 506
25.6.1747	Rome	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 733, p. 429
10.7.1747	Rome	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 186
13.12.1747	Diarbakr	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 288
28.12.1747	Diarbakr	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 291
15.2.1748	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 297
24.8.1748	Diarbakr	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 303
17.8.1748	Diarbakr	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 305
17.8.1748	Diarbakr	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, pp. 307, 308
20.8.1748	Diarbakr	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 309
20.8.1748	Diarbakr	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 311
20.9.1748	Diarbakr	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 314
26.10.1748	Diarbakr	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 316
4.7.1749	Diarbakr	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 331
4.7.1749	Diarbakr	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 333
17.9.1751	Therapia	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 28
8.1.1752	Vienna	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 62
8.1.1752	Vienna	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 63
—4.1752	Rome	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 65
—1752	Rome	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 150
9.6.1757	Rome	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 323

LEANDER of the Resurrection

A Portuguese, of Goa.¹

Born . . . probably before 1610, probably one of the novices taken by Fr. Leander of the Annunciation at Goa, and probably entered the Order there before 1630, because he was called in a letter of 1640 by Fr. Stephen to the Definitory General, Rome (Fr. Eugenius of S. Benedict) “ . . . nostro antico compagno si raccomanda caramente a V.R.” and he himself wrote in Spanish direct to Fr. Eugenius that year; while Fr. Eugenius’ stay in India was 1625–6.

“One of those faithful at Goa, who had suffered,” he is mentioned in 1636.² At Basra in March 1640,³ and named as ‘Superior’ from March to the end of July 1641.⁴ Sent by the Apostolic Visitor to begin a foundation at Chaoul in September 1643.⁵

Died in 1654 at Diu,⁶ held ‘to be a great servant of God, so that everything used by him ‘was distributed to seculars’.

Letter extant: 4.7.1640 Basra O.C.D. 242 a.

LEANDER of S. Francis Xavier

A Portuguese.

Born about 1641. Professed. . . . In 1684 had been two years at Bandar ‘Abbas alone.⁷

¹ Fr. Felix, 20.12.1655.

² Fr. Dimas, 3.12.1636.

³ Fr. Stephen, 23.3.1640, Basra, O.C.D. 241 p.

⁴ *Chron. Basra*

⁵ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, Isfahan, 9.8.1644.

⁶ Fr. Stephen, 22.6.1655, O.C.D. 241 p., and Fr. Felix, 21.6.1655, O.C.D. 241 k.

⁷ Fr. Agnellus, 26.10.1684, Shiraz, O.C.D. 238 k.

Died, "the last Superior of the Convent of Goa" (see O.C.D. 269 d.) 28.5.1713, aged 72, at Alagoa, near Goa.

LEONARD of the Holy Spirit

A subject of Savoy.¹

Family name: Niccolò di Lione. Born 29.4.1590 at Cocconato (Alessandria). Prov. in Order: Genoa. Professed at Loano 10.6.1613. He is not named in the list of 1620-1 (O.C.D. 235 n.), but from the position of priority he occupies in the missionaries named in Fr. Stephen's *Brief Narrative* (O.C.D. 236 a.) he was probably one of the earliest to arrive at Goa after the establishment of the Convent, and one of the four Carmelites who passed Basra on their way to Goa in 1623 (see Fr. Basil, 17.2.1624). He is mentioned as at Tatta (Sindi) in September 1628.² In 1630 the Visitor General, Fr. Epiphanius, made him Vicar at Diu, the 'House of study'³ set up at that mission post after the cathedral chapter of Goa had permitted the opening of the Carmelite church in Diu: and he had eight Religious to teach that first year. For some time before the end of 1634⁴ he had been Prior of Goa (being then succeeded by Fr. Dominic of Christ): and he was termed by Fr. Dimas "a man of much experience of affairs in India"⁵—Fr. Leonard had been writing about the difficulty there would arise for the Order to maintain houses in India in view of the attitude of the Portuguese authorities. After his own return to Persia from India, on 16.5.1636⁶ Fr. Dimas wrote to Fr. Paul Simon, Rome, that he would wait till Fr. Leonard, novice-master at Goa, arrived (at Isfahan) before reporting on affairs in the missions in India: and on 13.8.1636, writing from Isfahan to the Cardinals of the Sacr. Cong., he mentioned that Fr. Dominic of Christ and Fr. Leonard of the Holy Spirit, novice-master at the Convent in Goa, were the bearers of his letter and would verbally describe the state of that mission. So that Fr. Leonard was at Isfahan in August 1636—leaving for Rome as 'Socius' of the Procurator to the Chapter General—mentions a letter of January 1636.⁷ Presumably he did not afterwards return to the East. To him, and to Fr. Dominic of Christ at Rome Fr. Dimas addressed his letter of 3.12.1636, from which it appears that they had travelled via Baghdad, and had a good journey. Another letter (by a Religious native of Portuguese India) speaks of him as a 'saintly' Father, after whose departure the troubles began in the Convent of Goa.⁸ Died at Malta, rector of the Seminary for the Missions, about 1641.

LOUIS FRANCIS of the Mother of God

A Spaniard.

Family name: Luis del Hierro, son of Andres Fernandez del H. and of Isabel Ortiz de Casero.⁹ Born at Ecija in Andalucia, 1590. Prov. in Order: Roman. Professed 22.10.1606, at S. Maria d. Scala. He was sent out to Persia, together with Fr. Bartholomew, after the Chapter General of May 1611 had been held in Rome,¹⁰ and arrived in 1612 at Isfahan. In January 1613 he was sent by Fr. Redempt from Isfahan to the new mission at Hurmuz ('dimissus'¹¹—so presumably regarded as no longer a conventual of Isfahan): and reached the island at the end of February 1613.¹² He is mentioned as at Hurmuz in April 1613, giving the last Sacraments to an Armenian from Julfa,¹³ but between 16th April and 9th May of that year was sent by Fr. Vincent to Tatta in Sind,

¹ A "Savoyard", see *Brief Narrative*, by Fr. Stephen in O.C.D. 236 a.

² Fr. Basil, 27.9.1628, O.C.D. 241 g.

³ Fr. Dimas, 14.2.1631, O.C.D. 237 b., and Fr. Basil, 24.8.1630, O.C.D. 241 g.

⁴ and ⁵ Fr. Dimas, 1.8.1634 and 22.9.1634, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁶ O.C.D. 237 b.

⁷ Fr. Stephen, 8.1.1636, Basra, O.C.D. 241 p.

⁸ Fr. Leander of the Resurrection, Basra, 4.7.1640, O.C.D. 242 a.

⁹ *Series Professionum*, by Fr. Marcellinus a Sta Theresia, part 2, Rome, 1935, No. III.

¹⁰ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct., MSS. *Hist. Miss.*, O.C.D. 285-6.

¹¹ See in O.C.D. 237 m. a loose sheet in Latin (? by Fr. John Thaddeus).

¹² Fr. Leander, O.C.D. 239 e

¹³ Fr. Vincent, 16 4.1613, O.C.D. 239 b.

“with Lay Brother John Baptist, to free him from the heat here in Hurmuz, but more still
“in order to assist the Portuguese there, who have no priest, and to take possession and make
“a beginning of that mission. . . .”¹

He returned to Hurmuz in May 1614² and went on to Isfahan, reached a few days before 21.6.1614,³ “proceeding to Rome on leave”. But it would appear that he, with Fr. Leander, was at Shiraz during the siege of Gāmburūn by Imam Qulī Khan, September–December 1614, and entrusted with terms of peace offered to the Portuguese. Fr. Eusebius mentions a letter from Shiraz of 25.7.(1614²) from Fr. Leander. So they may have been on the return journey towards Hurmuz.⁴

Though the year in which it was written may be queried as 1615, it was perhaps on that journey or return that he wrote a letter on 26th May⁵ interesting for its comments on conditions in Hurmuz—the shops were kept by poor soldiers, others were married and traders, the rich among them worth 20,000 scudi or more: all that was to be eaten came from outside the island except salt and the place had one ‘virtue’—the bodies of the dead did not decompose. It seems likely, therefore, that the mission at Tatta did not become permanent till after 1614. But Fr. Louis Francis was at Tatta, alone, some months before 25.5.1619:⁶ and his name is given as at Tatta in the list undated, but certainly compiled between April 1620–May 1621 in O.C.D. 235 n. He died at Tatta in 1622—before October, when the news reached Isfahan.⁷ There is an account of it,⁸ due to ‘high fever and loss of blood—they “had to” (!) bleed him ‘six times in 24 hours’:

“and, his illness increasing, ‘had to’ bleed him another 4 times!! . . . As he knew that he “would certainly die, eight days beforehand he desired to say Mass, saying that he wished “to make his Communion before dying and, being unable to stand up on his feet from “weakness and prostration on account of the blood taken from him, he had himself carried “into the church, where he robed himself and spent two hours in saying Mass with great “fervour and devotion, and so many sighs and tears, that he could scarcely continue, and “all those present—some forty Portuguese merchants—were in tears.”

Letters extant: 26.5.1615 (?) Shiraz O.C.D. 236 b. (or 238 i.?).

LOUIS of S. Francis (Lay Brother)

A Frenchman.

Family name: François Salaun. Born at Cuiparas (diocese of Quimper) 3.5.1636. Prov. in Order: Paris. Professed at Vannes 13.4.1662. Arrived not long before 8.8.1658 at Basra, where he received a letter from the Vicar Provincial to the effect that he was destined for work in Persia,

“for which I shall try to leave this town (Basra) in 3 or 4 days, in order to betake “myself to Isfahan, the capital of Persia, where I shall reside until I receive orders to the “contrary of those now given. . . .”⁹

The above is the sole information traced regarding this Religious, unless he be that Lay Brother (‘fratello’) whom

“the Fathers of Persia desired to have for their service, so that with his *painting* he may get “them into the favour and good graces of the king, who has gone crazy over this art. But

¹ Fr. Vincent, 9.5.1613, O.C.D. 239 b.

² Fr. Louis Francis, 26.5.1615, in O.C.D. 236 b. (?)

³ See O.C.D. 237 m.—the loose sheet, undated, cited above.

⁴ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct., MSS. *Hist. Miss*, part III, book 16.

⁵ O.C.D. 236 b. or 238 i. (?)

⁶ Fr. John Thaddeus writing on that date, O.C.D. 237 m.

⁷ Fr. Prosper, O.C.D. 238 d.

⁸ S.R., vol. 209, p. 2.

⁹ *Vide* his own letter of 8.8.1658, written in *French* to Fr. Isidore of S. Dominic, Rome.

"Fr. Joseph" (of S. Mary, and Commissary from the Sacr. Cong.) "does not show that he
"wants to leave him behind, being rather resolved up till now to take him with him for his
"service to India . . ."¹

and that the letter extant was written on the return journey of Brother Louis and Fr. Vincent Mary. Died at Brest 16.2.1699 (see *Necrologie*, Prov. de Paris, p. 157).

Letter extant: 8.8.1658 Basra O.C.D. 242 a.

LOUIS of S. Teresa

A subject of the Duchy of Savoy.

Family name: Stephen Fulcher. Born 1655 at Castelnuovo di Scrivia (diocese and province of Tortona). Prov. in Order: Lombardy.² Professed at Milan 24.5.1671. Had been at the Seminary of San Pancrazio, Rome.³ Arrived at Basra from Europe before February 1683,⁴ and at Isfahan on 18.7.1683.⁵

"Mgr Picquet, Vicar Apostolic" (for the diocese of Isfahan) "had asked for the patents
"(anglicè 'commission') of Fr. Louis of S. Teresa, newly arrived."⁶

Later he was sent to Shiraz but, being unsuited there, was transferred to Basra,⁷ where he was in June and July 1684: "He said he had spent 140 'abbasi on his journey,"⁸—but whether Fr. Agnellus, the Visitor General, sent him to Goa, as he then purposed,⁹ does not appear. He had signed in the register of baptisms at Basra on 2.2.1684: and he was there in February 1685, it would seem from the same record, as also from *Chron. Basra*, which goes on to record that at the end of August 1686 in company of Frs. John Mary and Clement of the Ascension he set out for Baghdad, *en route* for Europe. Died at Patras (Morea, in Greece), 12.11.1691.

Letter extant: 3.2.1683 Basra O.C.D. 242 a.

MATTHEW of the Cross

A Portuguese.¹⁰

Family name: Francisco da Costa. Born at Aleuquer (diocese of Lisbon) 1595. Prov. in Order: Roman. Professed at Rome 26.9.1627.¹¹ While still a choir-brother by decision of the Definitory General, 13.1.1628 (see *Regesta*, vol. II, p. 7), he was sent from Rome to Isfahan, Fr. Dominic of Christ being his companion on the journey. They were carrying a Brief from Pope Urban VIII to Shah 'Abbas and are named in the former's subsequent Brief of 9.1.1633 to Shah Safi (see *S.R.*, vol. 209, p. 216). They must have arrived at Isfahan before the end of December 1628, in view of Fr. Dominic's letter of 6.12.1628 written when they were between Baghdad and Isfahan. Named as at Isfahan in list, undated but of 1629 (in O.C.D. 235 n.). His own letters written from Isfahan show him there till 8.8.1630. A letter of Fr. Dimas of this date,¹² after relating how Fr. Philip had not taken to the work and life in Isfahan and was being sent to Goa at his own request, added that "Fr. Matthew for more reasons would be

¹ Fr. Vincent Mary of S. Catharine of Siena, Basra, 10.9.1656, O.C.D. 242 a.

² *Chron. Basra* and Fr. Agnellus give him as of Lombardy province in the Order.

³ His own letter of 3.2.1683, Basra, O.C.D. 242 a.

⁴ See date of his letter.

⁵ Fr. Elias, Julfa, 14.7.1683, O.C.D. 237 h., postscript.

⁶ *Idem*, and also Fr. Agnellus, Shiraz, 26.10.1684.

⁷ and ⁹ Fr. Agnellus, 29.6.1684, O.C.D. 241 a.

⁸ *Annales de la Mission de Bassorah*, by Fr. Polycarp, MSS. O.C.D.

¹⁰ See *Brief Narrative* of Fr. Stephen, O.C.D. 236 a., Fr. Ignatius, *S.R.*, vol. 62, p. 212; and list, undated, but of 1641-3, in O.C.D. 235 n.

¹¹ List cited.

¹² O.C.D. 237 b.

"better in Goa, or in those parts" (? Rome). A letter refers to Fr. Matthew as having been at Basra shortly before August 1631 "summoned by the Visitor General for teaching";¹ and Fr. Dimas' letter of 24.6.1631 spoke of Fr. Matthew as already "gone to Goa", probably from Shiraz, where there had been three priests in residence in February of that year.

Another letter of Fr. Dimas² makes it clear that already by 1634 laxity in the Observance of the Rule of the Order at the Convent in Goa, due in part to the indiscipline of novices recruited there, was causing serious disquiet to the Religious in and from Persia. By 1636 Fr. Matthew of the Cross was recognized as the leader in a movement at the Convent—'backed by the nobility in Goa'³—of a 'nationalist' nature, to maintain it with Portuguese Religious only, and place it under an autonomous jurisdiction of the Carmelite province in Lisbon. Thus the *Brief Narrative* of Fr. Stephen:⁴

'... At this time Fr. Matthew of the Cross put himself at the head of those clothed in 'Goa and India (to place the Convent of the Carmelites under the province of Portugal), 'to have only Portuguese Fathers in India, and get rid of Italians,' etc.

He had been Prior of Goa since 1637, it would seem from a letter of 23.3.1640,⁵ and was so still in 1643, *taliter qualiter*.⁶ After the arrival in India (in 1639) of the Visitor General, Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary, specially instructed to deal with the situation, there was an altercation, which resulted in the Visitor General with a majority of the Religious leaving the Convent and staying with the Dominicans, the Viceroy having given his support to Fr. Matthew. That the latter also had it from several Fathers of non-Portuguese nationality, and virtue and standing, is apparent from the cases of Frs. Eustace, John Stephen (Vicar of Aleppo for a number of years) and Philip of the Most Holy Trinity, later twice Praepositus General of the Order—the two last named are cited as "going to Europe with the intention of defending Fr. Matthew "in his action taken against the Visitor General"⁷ in 1640. Fr. Dimas confirmed that Fr. Philip was acting jointly with Fr. Matthew, in the idea of making a reform.⁸

After a change of Viceroy and reversal of policy, a year or so later, Fr. Matthew and his party had to evacuate and hand over occupation of the Carmelite Convent, and they then went and lived with the Augustinian Hermits. Later, in 1640 or 1641, as reported by the Vicar Provincial, 11.4.1641 (O.C.D. 237 e.), he went to Portugal, obtained the favour of John the Fourth, the new king (after 60 years' domination by the Spanish Crown, a rising had restored the royal house of Portugal in 1640), and the dispatch of an Apostolic Visitor, with wide powers to make changes in the government of the Carmelite houses in Portuguese possessions, in the person of Fr. John of Christ from the Carmelite province of Portugal: seven other Portuguese Fathers from the Order sailed with the Apostolic Visitor. Fr. Matthew of the Cross left Lisbon with them in April 1642, but the galleon, *San Benito*—or *San Sebastiao*—in which they sailed, was wrecked off the coast of Mozambique in 1642, four of the Religious perishing.¹⁰ After working at founding missions in Mozambique, and leaving the surviving priests there, the Apostolic Visitor with Fr. Matthew went on to Goa together by another vessel, arriving there on the night of 24-25 May, 1643. The 'Vicar Provincial of Persia and the Indies' on duty at Goa from Isfahan (Fr. Dominic of S. Mary) was sent away to Persia by order of the Apostolic Visitor, and constraint on 20.10.1643: and first the Apostolic Visitor designated Fr. Matthew himself Prior, and then Vicar Provincial of the Residences of the Order in the Portuguese possessions.¹¹ A subsequent Viceroy, Mascarenhas, having had notice of revocation of the commission of Fr. John of Christ as Apostolic Visitor—i.e. orders to that effect having come from Portugal on the protest and instructions of the Congregation in Italy and the Sacr.

¹ Fr. John Antony, O.C.D. 236 b., 1.8.1631.

² Fr. Dominic of Christ, O.C.D. 236 b. (? 237 e.), 30.1.1641.

³ Fr. Stephen, Basra, O.C.D. 241 p.

⁴ Fr. Dominic of Christ, 30.7.1641, O.C.D. 236 b.

⁵ Fr. Ignatius, Basra, 11.10.1643, O.C.D. 241 n.

⁶ See Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 9.8.1641, O.C.D. 237 e., and *Brief Narrative* of Fr. Stephen, O.C.D. 236 a.

⁷ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 9.8.1644 and 18.6.1645, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁸ O.C.D. 237 b.

⁹ O.C.D. 236 a.

¹⁰ Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary, 21.12.1644, O.C.D. 236 b.

¹¹ 2.12.1636, O.C.D. 237 b.

Cong.¹—in January 1646 Fr. Matthew of the Cross left Goa for Portugal in company with the said Fr. John of Christ.²

Letters extant:

30.3.1630	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 a.
30.5.1630	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 a.
8.8.1630	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 a.
—1639	Goa	O.C.D. 238 a.

MATTHEW of S. Joseph

A Neapolitan.³

Family name: Pietro Foglia. Born 1617 at Marcianise (Caserta diocese).⁴ Prov. in Order: Naples.⁵ Professed 25.9.1639. Arrived in missions in 1644 (according to lists of 1663⁶—"19 years in the missions"—and of 1671 by Procurator Fr. Valerius,⁷ as also to *Catalog. Miss.*). He had certainly been at the mission in Mt. Libanon⁸ and perhaps between 1644 and 1648 too he was stationed at Isfahan and Shiraz, and had become sub-Prior at Isfahan (seeing that in 1650 he himself wrote, while at Basra, that he had resigned his sub-priorship of Isfahan.⁹ Presumably from Isfahan Fr. Matthew arrived at Basra 27.11.1648:¹⁰ and became busy reading the Quran, in order to write refutations in Arabic in dialogue form—with his letter of 15.2.1649 he sent to the Praepositus General a "small booklet", entitled *Introduction to the understanding of the Christian Faith (Introduttione all'Intelligenza della Fede dei Xiani)*. Three months later,¹¹ he wrote again to Rome: although only a short time then in Basra, his acute mind and knowledge of Arabic and other oriental tongues enabled him to penetrate below the superficial affinities with Christianity of the practices of the Mandaeans (so-called 'Christians of S. John Baptist'). He had written a pamphlet in Arabic, and was sending two copies for the Sac. Cong.—*The Road to Perdition, and to Salvation (Strade della Perdizione e della Salute)*: having searched the Quran Fr. Matthew advanced the argument that the chief book of the Mandaeans is based on certain Suras of the Quran: other of their practices borrowed from the Jews, Turks, Persians, idolaters. So in that pamphlet he terms them 'apes'—i.e. 'aping' the errors of others. From Christians they had taken veneration of the Cross, and the saying of a sort of 'mass', with bread made of flour, wine and oil. He asserted that the Mandaeans were hoodwinking the missionaries, when they gave out that they were ready to become Catholics, their objective mainly being to gain Portuguese protection against Turkish oppression. As to the Armenians from Julfa, Fr. Matthew expressed the opinion that

"if they were deprived of the commerce and trade of Leghorn, they would become bankrupt
"and lost":

for that reason, if a letter from the Grand Duke of Tuscany could be obtained, addressed to the Armenian merchants in general, Fr. Matthew hoped to do good work among them. He had 'reformed' a whole small group of Christians, bringing to Confession many who had never been to the Sacraments. He expressed indifference whether he were transferred to Isfahan or India. However, the Vicar of Basra, Fr. Ignatius, having renounced going to the Congress of missionaries at Goa, Fr. Matthew was chosen:¹² and, as 'Socius' for the convent of Isfahan, he accompanied the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas. Leaving Basra in September 1649

¹ See corr. in O.C.D. 236 b. (28 3 1643) and 284 g. (8.4.1644) of Vice-Collector General of His Holiness in Portugal.

² Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, O.C.D., 21.6.1647.

³ Cf. Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, Isfahan, 20.4.1650, O.C.D. 237 f., and list of 1671.

⁴ See list of 1663 in O.C.D. 235 n.

⁵ *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 224.

⁶ 12.10 1650, O.C.D. 242 a.

⁷ 28.5.1649, O.C.D. 241 n.

⁸ *Catalog. Miss.*

⁹ O.C.D. 235 n.

¹⁰ See his letter, 28 4.1651, "prima mia missione del Libano".

¹¹ His own letter, Basra, 15.2.1649, O.C.D. 242 a.

¹² His letter of 22.6.1650, O.C.D. 241 n.

for Masqat, they hoped to find a convoy there in December to take them to Diu.¹ But, instead, in December 1649 he was present when Masqat was taken by assault and sacked by the Arabs, and the Portuguese expelled after their one and a half centuries of sovereignty: they barely escaped by boat:

“ . . . after many perils, of being massacred by the Arabs through the taking of Masqat, of being carried into slavery, of hunger and thirst and storms at sea, we arrived at Goa, the Vicar Provincial and I, without our cloaks (*cappa*) and without even a breviary, having lost about 200 scudi and all my labours of the past 5 years” (? his writings on the Mandaeans) “contrary to all prudence; because there were here in Basra 2 English vessels, two Muslim and 3 Portuguese vessels, whereas my Vicar and the Vicar Provincial wished that we should go by a *terrata*, which is a boat padded (? *cuscita*) with cordage: I opposed them strongly, but being a subject (junior) was obliged to obey. . . .”²

After the election for Procurator Fr. Matthew had hoped to go to the mission for Japan, which had been mooted, or to Ceylon in connection with the Mandaeans:³ both projects lapsed, and he returned to Basra, arriving 28.5.1650.⁴ He then asked the Praepositus General, Rome, for a commission (‘letters patent’) to go to his former mission in Syria, or Tripoli or Aleppo.⁵ Still at Basra in April 1651, but the Vicar Provincial had written, bidding Fr. Matthew join him in Goa. He then forwarded a ‘Doctrine’ (? Christian Doctrine) done into Arabic and Turkish: and shortly would send a dictionary in the Mandaean tongue, as well as Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Latin. In Basra, he remarked (9.7.1651), the missionaries could only work among the Muslims as doctors, and with the loss of the Portuguese possessions no hope remained of work among the Mandaeans with regard to their transmigration: he wanted himself to go to the Libanon, or back to his province of Naples, but the Vicar Provincial had summoned him for work at Canara, where fruitfulness of work was certain—no mission ‘on paper’ like those in Persia and India. He had composed a book on medicine which, he trusted, would be printed by the Jesuits in India: there were so few doctors in the East.

He had left Basra some time before October 1651, when he was reported⁶ as having been “already at Tatta, but gone to Diu, where ill”. The next news of his movements comes from a letter of 1655,⁷ which mentioned that Fr. Matthew had left Goa in order to proceed to Persia, but was delaying on the north(-west?) coast of India, where he was baptizing, and had given the Carmel scapular to more than 2,000 [*sic*] persons: and then as having sailed,⁸ instead of for Persia, to Mozambique in order to collect alms-offerings and aid for the missions. His wanderings were wide, to judge by another letter from Basra,⁹ where Fr. Matthew is averred to have left India for Mokha in the Red Sea, and thence was to come via Kung to Basra, where he was expected in September 1655.¹⁰ Thence he was due to join “his Residence at Mt. Carmel”:¹¹ (for an order had been received from the Sacr. Cong. through the Consul of France at Aleppo—the future Bishop of Baghdad, François Picquet¹²—in June 1654, perhaps in answer to Fr. Matthew’s requests to Rome in 1650): and the letters patent for Fr. Matthew to be Vicar of Mt. Carmel had reached Basra by November 1655.¹³ One authority¹⁴ states that Fr. Matthew of S. Joseph was “sent to Malabar in 1657” (in connection with the special dispatch from Rome of Fr. Joseph of S. Mary to work among the dissident Christians of the Siro-Malabar rite), and makes it appear that he was to “embark at Lisbon with Fr. Hyacinth of S. Vincent”: there appears to be no indication, however, in the letters on record that Fr. Matthew returned to Europe between 1655 and 1657. He was at Cochin still with Fr. Joseph of S. Mary according to a letter of 1658.¹⁵

¹ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 21.3.1650 and 20.4.1650, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁴ Fr. Felix, Basra, 4.6.1650, O.C.D. 241 k.

⁶ Fr. Ignatius, 20.10.1650, O.C.D. 241 m.

⁸ *Idem*, 20.2.1656, O.C.D. 237 i.

¹¹ Fr. Felix, 20.3.1656, O.C.D. 237 i.

¹³ Fr. Barnabas, 30.11.1655, O.C.D. 241 f.

¹⁴ Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus in *La Orden de Sta Teresa . . . y las Misiones*, pp. 113–5

¹⁵ Fr. Felix, 20.6.1658, O.C.D. 237 i.

² and ³ His letter, 22.6.1650, O.C.D. 241 n.

⁵ His letters, 22.6.1650 and 28.4.1651.

⁷ Fr. Felix, 25.3.1655, O.C.D. 237 i.

⁹ and ¹⁰ Fr. Barnabas, 24.6.1655, O.C.D. 241 f.

¹² *S.R.*, vol. 135, pp. 141, 156, on 27.6.1654.

The latter, as we have read, retired from Cochin in 1663, when the Dutch seized it; but of Fr. Matthew it is recorded:¹

“ . . . Hardly had the Dutch entered Cochin than Fr. Matthew, with great common “sense for the good of the mission, managed to treat them as friends. . . . Making use of “his studies in botany, he was able to gain the favour and liking of Van Rheede, the Dutch “governor of Cochin, a fanatical heretic, converted in time by Fr. Matthew into a friend “and benefactor of the Carmelites and their missions. . . .”

In what years this happened is not clear, perhaps after 1671. For the list of missionaries in 1663² shows Fr. Matthew as at Goa. The *Annales de la Mission de Bassorah*, by Fr. Polycarp make Fr. Matthew to have been at Bandar 'Abbas in 1666 [? sic]. He was certainly at Isfahan in 1667, when as 'secretary' he signed the *ordinationes* of the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, fixing a date and place for the Congress of 1668.³ Fr. Matthew's own letters mention, on 13.3(?) .1668, that he had decided to leave Isfahan (?) at the end of May or early June, and go from Goa to Canara, and the Christians of S. Thomas on the Malabar coast, though he had been given journey-money by the Vicar Provincial as far as Shiraz only: and on 3.5.1668 from Kung to Fr. Celestine at Rome that, in order not to lose a year over the monsoon, he had left Isfahan to go to India, but in consequence of what the Visitor General, Fr. Francis of Jesus, had written he had halted and was awaiting the latter's arrival at Kung, the Visitor having had to go to the capital: Fr. Matthew expected to leave Kung in October for Goa. Meantime, as in the previous year in the missions at Gāmbūn, Kung and Basra, he was baptizing dying children. Other letters of December 1668 and January 1669⁴ give him as gone to Goa, and having arrived on the Malabar coast, where he also is given in the list of 1671 supplied by the Procurator Fr. Valerius to the Sacr. Cong. in Rome,⁵ which added that

“before entering Religion Fr. Matthew of S. Joseph held the degree of doctor in medicine, “on which account, being held the most renowned and celebrated physician in the East, “he has always, wherever he dwelt, cared for the health not only of the soul but of the body”.

Catalog. Miss. states that

“Fr. Matthew was well versed in medicine, and wrote a book on trees and Indian simples, “much of which was illustrated by his own hand: this book coming into the hands of the “Governor of Cochin was printed by the latter under the title *Hortus Malabaricus*. . . .”

Fr. Florencio, in *La Orden de Sta Teresa . . . y las Misiones . . .*, puts this differently:

“ . . . with the help and protection which Van Rheede offered him Fr. Matthew was able “to publish his magnificent work called *Hortus Malabaricus*, in which appear all the flowers “and plants of Malabar, studied, described, classified and painted in their proper colours, “and called by their proper names in various tongues, written in their respective characters “in Latin, Malabar, Arabic, Sanskrit, etc. . . .”

In 1674 the Procurator General of the Order in Rome asked⁶ for the recall of Fr. Matthew on grounds of health: there are extant two letters from Fr. Matthew himself, dated from Malabar in 1673 and 1674, in the latter of which he wrote that he had been 9 years in Malabar without receiving any allowance from the Sacr. Cong. In 1679 considerable sums had had to be paid by a Visitor General of the Order on account of his debts, and application was made⁷ for Fr. Matthew's allowances from 1667 to 1675 to be met by the Sacr. Cong., in order to

¹ See Fr. Florencio, as cited above.

² O.C.D. 235 n.

³ *Idem*, 241 a., 23.10.1667.

⁴ Fr. Cornelius, 27.12.1668, Fr. Stephen, 14.1.1669; *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 186 *et seq.*, under date 29.9.1668

⁵ *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 224. ⁶ *Idem*, vol. 448, p. 113. ⁷ *Idem*, vol. 486, p. 385, summary of 1683, in *re* Fr. Agnellus.

liquidate those debts. According to *La Orden de Sta. Teresa* . . ., cited, Fr. Matthew of S. Joseph survived till 1691, when he died in Cochín, and was buried at Verapoly after 46 years in the missions.

A much travelled, versatile, and cultured personality.

Letters extant:

15.2.1649	Basra	O.C.D. 242 a.
15.2.1649	Basra	O.C.D. 241 n.
28.5.1649	Basra	O.C.D. 241 n.
22.6.1650	Basra	O.C.D. 241 n.
12.10.1650	Basra	O.C.D. 242 a.
28.4.1651	Basra	O.C.D. 241 n.
9.7.1651	Basra	O.C.D. 241 n.
13.3(?) .1668	Isfahan(?)	O.C.D. 236 b.
3.5.1668	Kung	O.C.D. 238 s.
—1673	Malabar	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 439, p. 261
—1674	Malabar	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 459, p. 278

MAXIMIN of Jesus

Born. . . . Prov. in Order: Avignon. . . . Professed. . . . By decision of the Definitory General, 4.6.1653 (*Regesta*, vol. IV, p. 360) on the return of the Procurator of the Mission, Fr. Dionysius of the Crown of Thorns, from Rome, Fr. Maximin accompanied him, being at Naples in June and August 1653,¹ at Messina 29.9.1653,² at Baghdad December 30, and reaching Basra 1.3.1654.³ Left in charge at Basra for some time in 1654, leaving on account of indisposition⁴ on 23.11.1654, transferred to Shiraz, whence in February 1655 on account of proved unsuitability for the missions he was sent back to Europe, being assigned the duty of delivering to the Pope letters from the Chaldaean patriarch, and the account of the second journey to the Chaldaeans of Fr. Dionysius.⁵ He was about to start from Isfahan in early April 1655, and had reached Aleppo safely on 23.5.1655.⁶

MELCHIOR of the Kings

A Frenchman.

Family name: Jean Basly. Born 1605 at Arras (Artois). Prov. in Order: Belgo-Flanders. Professed 1626 at Louvain.⁷ In 1631 he was sent from Rome to Aleppo by the Definitory General.⁸ Transferred by the Praepositus General to Persia, he reached Isfahan in July 1633.⁹ He

“began to study Armenian very fervently, but cooled” . . . “and it was necessary to send him “to Goa as he was not satisfied.”¹⁰

“Fr. Epiphanius, Visitor General, from Goa had written that he had “accepted”’ (i.e. agreed, or undertaken to found) ‘a new mission at Duba on the Arab coast, “where there are “certain half-Christians, only that in name, not being really baptized, called Christians “of S. John”’,

¹ Fr. Dionysius, Naples, 17.6.1653 and 20.8.1653.

² Fr. Dionysius, Baghdad, 2.1.1654, O.C.D. 242 c., and Basra, 27.3.1654.

³ Fr. Stephen, Basra, 22.11.1654, O.C.D. 241 p., and 12.3.1655.

⁴ Fr. Casimir, 6.4.1655, O.C.D. 236 l., and Fr. Dionysius, 8.4.1656, O.C.D. 237 c.

⁵ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct., MSS. *Hist. Miss.*, O.C.D. 285–6.

⁶ His letter, 9.10.1634, to Cardinals of Propaganda, *S.R.* (*Lettere di Spagna*, etc.) 106, p. 280.

⁷ *Idem*, and his letter, 8.8.1634, to Fr. Paul Simon. ¹⁰ Fr. Dimas, 20.5.1634, 1.8.1634, 22.9.1634, O.C.D. 237 b.

² Fr. Dionysius, 29.9.1653.

⁵ Fr. Felix, 15.2.1655, O.C.D. 237 i.

and the Vicar Provincial sent Fr. Melchior to assist in it.¹ He left Isfahan on S. Laurence's Day, 10th August 1634,² was at Lar, between Shiraz and the coast, on 8.9.1634 (*vide* his own letter written thence), and arrived at Kung early in October with the intention of crossing to Duba; but in the meantime the Arabs had risen against the Portuguese, and with their recovery of all the land round Duba all probability of settling the Mandaean under Portuguese protection there vanished.

"And as it (Duba) is nearer to Goa than to Isfahan, the Vicar Provincial had ordered "that I should go as a conventual" to Goa."³

But he begged to be sent to Japan,

"where all the missionaries have been killed, as has been related by a painter of Siena, "who has come here from there."⁴

Fr. Dimas hoped that, like others, Fr. Melchior would tire of India and sigh for a return to the mission stations in Persia:⁵ having got to Goa, he remained there, and "was one of the "Religious who had been faithful and suffered at Goa".⁶ However, he was back in Isfahan by August 1636 (see his own letters of that month and September). In 1638 the ambassador to Persia of king Ladislas IV of Poland asked for a Carmelite to act as chaplain on his return journey to Poland and, as the Carmelites wished to have the continued protection of the Polish sovereign, Fr. Melchior was sent. He had also business for the mission regarding Goa. "On the shores of the Caspian,"⁷ at the frontier between the Persian and Muscovite dominions, the party was attacked and slaughtered, except for a few. Fr. Melchior, urged to flee, declined, dismounted and advancing crucifix in hand towards the assailants was also slain, December 1638.⁸

8.8.1634	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 b.
8.9.1634	Lar (in Fars)	O.C.D. 238 b.
9.10.1634	Kung	<i>S.R. (Lettere di Spagna)</i> , vol. 106, p. 280
12.10.1634	Kung	<i>S.R. (Lettere di Spagna)</i> , vol. 106, p. 288
18.8.1636	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 b.
19.9.1636	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 b.

MICHAEL ANGELUS of Jesus

A subject of Republic of Genoa.⁹

Family name: Pietro Marchese. Born 1599 at Portofino (Genoa). Prov. in Order: Genoa. Professed 16.1.1628 at Genoa. On 24.10.1636 the Definitory General assigned 25 scudi for him to proceed to Malta to prepare himself for the missions in the East (see *Regesta*, vol. III, p. 37): and on 9.6.1637, he being sub-Prior of the Convent at Malta, the Definitory General directed he should proceed to the missions (*Regesta*, vol. III, p. 54); but presumably he did not leave Europe till after 7.6.1638, when the Definitory General (see *Regesta*, vol. III, p. 79) decided he should be sent to Persia.

His election to be 'Superior' of the Convent at Isfahan by the Definitory in Rome is recorded in the *Book in which are to be noted elections of superiors of our missions in Persia*, on 29.5.1638.¹⁰ He arrived out at Isfahan in March 1639 with the Visitor General, Fr. Charles of Jesus

¹ Fr. Melchior, *S.R.*, vol. 106, p. 280, letter 9.10.1634.

² *Idem*, 8.8.1634.

³ and ⁴ *Idem*, 9.10.1634.

⁵ Fr. Dimas, 2.11.1634, *S.R.*, vol. 135, p. 507.

⁶ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct., *MSS. Hist. Miss.*, and Fr. Stephen, 23.3.1640, O.C.D. 241 p.

⁷ Fr. Dominic of Christ, 26.2.1640, O.C.D. 236 c, and Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct. in *MSS. Hist. Miss.*

⁸ Fr. Stephen of Jesus in *Brief Narrative*, O.C.D. 236 a.

¹⁰ O.C.D. 235 c.

Mary.¹ But after a year he was sent back on important business by the Visitor General, as the latter himself wrote from Isfahan to the heads of the Order in Rome on 15.7.1641,² stating that he had 'dispatched to Rome Frs. Michael Angelus and Peter'. They left Isfahan on 4.8.1640 (Fr. Michael Angelus being sub-Prior), "sent by the Visitor General to report "on the state of affairs in Goa".³ There exists a letter addressed to him on 11.4.1641 as "Fr. Michael, sub-Prior of the Convent of Isfahan, at Rome."⁴

There are also preserved two letters, addressed respectively to the Definitor General Lorenzo di S. Elia and to the Prior of the Carmelites at Malta, dated 4.3.1642 and 27.8.1642,⁵ both from Algiers, by Fr. Michael Angelus of Jesus "poor slave", from which it is evident that on his passage home to Europe (or perhaps when returning for Persia) he had been captured at sea by the 'Barbary' corsairs, and was being held for ransom. He was taken into Algiers and sold in public auction. The second letter merely mentioned that the bearer was the companion of Fr. Michael (? Fr. Peter Francis) who had been set at liberty and would relate verbally "what passes in this miserable hell", and recommended that this companion should not be sent out into the world again, infirm and in old age, but allowed to remain in a convent. The first letter referred to the sum demanded for him to be redeemed, which Fr. Michael Angelus deemed excessive:

"our master asks too much and, as far as I am concerned, I think it better to die here than "ever to treat of giving him such a sum . . . as to exchange, there is no need to negotiate "about it, because the master is so fond of money that he would rather let the whole sect" (of Muslims) "die than lose a stiver, and only would he do so, were some other interest to "make him. . . . I write this because it seems to me that Your Reverence might get hold "of some Turk or Moor for an exchange: I shall not say more. If by chance you have a "Turk already in your power, the best would be to send him straight to Tabarca and thence "let them write to his relatives that they should forthwith release us from our master, and "send us there in conformity with the agreement made. . . ."

After his release did he return to the mission in Persia and India?: and was he the Religious ("Fr. Michael"), mentioned in the report of F. Dominic of S. Mary from Isfahan in June 1647,⁶ as one of those who in January 1646 had been sent away from Goa to Persia by the new Vice-Collector of Portugal, first to Masqat, then going to Kung, then Basra and so returning to Kung, where he was early in 1647, the Portuguese authorities prohibiting his return to India? It appears not, because the List of the Prov. of Genoa gives him as sent in 1648 to Crete: in 1656 to the archipelago; while on 21.4.1651 the Definitory General assigned 25 scudi from the income of the missions to be paid to Fr. Michael Angelus and his companion, Fr. Laurence, for journey-money as far as Naples (*Regesta*, vol. IV, p. 286). He is cited by the author of *La Orden de Sta Teresa . . . y las misiones*⁷ as one of the 'noted missionaries at Mt. 'Carmel': and it must be to him as resident at Mt. Carmel at the end of 1654 to whom Fr. Casimir referred regarding letters he had written: ". . . depuis mon départ de Rome . . . "entre autres je luy avois envoyé avec le Père Michel Ange une description du Mont Carmel . . ."⁸ He died at Genoa 2.5.1662 (see also Fr. Philip of the Most Holy Trinity's *Decor Carmeli*, III, pp. 242-6).

Letters extant:

4.3.1642	Algiers	O.C.D. 270 m.
27.8.1642	Algiers	O.C.D. 270 m.

¹ See *Brief Narrative*, cited above.

² O.C.D. 236 b.

³ Unsigned but by Fr. Dominic of Christ - Isfahan, 30.6.1641, O.C.D. 236 b.

⁴ Fr. Dominic of Christ, 11.4.1641, O.C.D. 237 c., and Fr. Leander of Resurrection, Basra, 4.7.1640, sent that letter by them to Rome, O.C.D. 242 a.

⁵ O.C.D. 270 m.

⁶ 21.6.1647, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁷ Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus, book printed Madrid, 1923, p. 104.

⁸ Fr. Casimir, 6.4.1655, O.C.D. 236 l.

PATRICK of S. Louis

A Frenchman.

Family name: Nicolas L'Hermette. Born 1602 at Rouen (Normandy). Prov. in Order: Paris. Professed 1.5.1625 at Charenton. Appointed by the Definitory General to Persia and given 100 scudi for the journey, 1.3.1635 (see *Regesta*, vol. III, p. 6).

He was already in Persia in 1636, and had returned to Shiraz, suffering from fever, when Fr. Dimas wrote from Isfahan 3.12.1636.¹ "Sent to India, 1639"—says *Catalog. Miss.* While Vicar of Tatta, his death took place in August 1643, at Tatta in Sind, where he had remained alone.²

PAUL AUGUSTINE of S. Stephen

A subject of the Republic of Genoa.³

Family name: Giovanni Agostino Bianchi. Born 28.8.1681. Prov. in Order: Genoa. Arrived at Isfahan 26.9.1709 together with Fr. Jerome Francis. Accompanying the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, he left Isfahan 21.12.1710 for Shiraz, whence, after a fortnight, they

"passed on to Bandar Rig with nothing to help them, neither in the way of documents nor bodily sustenance, relying only on the mercy of God. Nine days after leaving Shiraz, "on the vigil of Christmas" (1710), "they reached Bandar Rig, where they had a very "miserable life, at least for a time. Their objective was, if it had been possible . . . to "try and obtain possession of our Residence at Basra, but since no opportunity of a passage "occurred . . . after waiting 25 days they returned to Shiraz,"⁴

and thence—Fr. Paul Augustine at any rate—to Julfa, where he was on 12.4.1711, when the Prior of Isfahan, the Vicar of Julfa and another Father recommended his recall to Europe.⁵ Perhaps one cause was that, as in his own letter of 20.11.1711 Fr. Paul Augustine wrote to the Cardinal Prefect, he blamed fellow-missionaries at Isfahan for misinforming the Sacr. Cong. as to the true disposition of the Armenian patriarch Alexander towards the Catholics—"this is the arch-enemy", he explains, who in 1709 had excommunicated all Armenians entering churches of the 'Franks', and was the prime mover of the cruel persecution by the Ottoman Sultan which had made many Christians turn Muslim, and who finally by bribes in 1710 had obtained a very severe *raqam* from the Shah against the 'Frank' Catholics, and had just arrived in Isfahan to seek their expulsion. However, on 2.11.1712⁶ Fr. Paul Augustine was sent from Isfahan to take charge of the residence at Hamadan of the Bishop of Baghdad, and there he remained till the end of 1713, when—"farmans" from the Ottoman Porte authorizing the restitution of the Residence and church at Basra (closed by the Turks since the death of the last Religious in 1707) having been received from the French ambassador at Constantinople—he was dispatched with these to Basra and with a commission as consul for the French king:⁷ and he arrived in Basra 3.2.1714.⁸ A letter of Fr. Paul Augustine, dated from Julfa 22.1.1714⁹ would seem to indicate that he had come from Hamadan to Isfahan, whereas *Chron. Basra* implies that he left Hamadan for Basra.

Fr. Paul Augustine was indubitably the Vicar responsible for the paragraphs 337 to 413 of the *Chron. Basra*, some 80 pages of the version translated and printed by the late Sir H. Gollancz under the title *Settlement of the Carmelites in Mesopotamia*, i.e. almost one quarter of the whole work, covering the years 1707–24, although in part the composition of Fr. Urban, as stated in the text for the year 1722. Fr. Joseph Mary wrote in 1715:¹⁰

¹ O.C.D. 237 b.

² Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 9.8.1644, O.C.D. 237 f., and Fr. Ignatius, 25.1.1644, O.C.D. 241 m.

³ See *Chron. Basra*—"Genovese".

⁴, ⁵ and ⁶ *Chron. Basra*. ⁶ *S.R.*, vol. 579, p. 433.

⁷ Fr. Joseph Mary, Isfahan, 26.12.1713, *S.N.R.*, III, p. 474, and 6.4.1715, Basra, *S.N.R.*, III, p. 77.

⁸ *S.R.*, vol. 601.

¹⁰ Letter, 6.4.1715, cited above.

“I had sent here Fr. Paul Augustine so that our House might be restored to us, but “because the said Father did not please the governor of the town, nor did he obtain from “him execution of the orders, I myself came and in a month after my arrival our House “was restored. . . .”

Fr. Paul Augustine's own story (in the third person) may be quoted from *Chron. Basra* (Sir H. Gollancz's translation cited): it is a typical picture of Turkish official manners up till recent times. After his arrival at Basra he went to the Captain Pasha (of the galleys)

“who received him kindly; nay, he replied, ‘Have no doubt, he (i.e. the governor of the “ ‘town) will either grant it or not: if he will not grant it I shall, either myself, or through “ ‘another’, saying this because he was hoping to be the future Pasha of Basra: and, since “ ‘he was a deadly enemy of ‘Osman (‘Uthman) Pasha of Bassora, he was at the time unable “ ‘to arrange matters as he would have liked. Therefore, after about a week, the aforesaid “ ‘Fr. Paul Augustine presented himself to ‘Osman Pasha, who after giving him sweetmeats “ ‘gave him *coffee*¹ to drink and questioned the said Father as to why he had come. He” (Fr. Paul Augustine) “replied that it was to present him a letter (this was a letter of recom- “ ‘mendation, and notifying that *I* was consul for the French nation) from the most Excellent “ ‘envoy of France, M. d’Ezalur” (properly d’Andresel), “who did much for this Residence “ ‘of ours, and to whom this house owes much. When it had been read, the Pasha again “ ‘asked, ‘Why have you come?’: and I showed him a Khat-i-Sharif, i.e. the Capitulations “ ‘of the French king made with the Turks. They were very diffuse and, when he had “ ‘read them, he said ‘They are old’.” (They were indeed from the uncle of the young king— ? Sultan). “I showed him the new originals, saying, ‘By these new ones I ask for observance “ ‘of the old ones, i.e. that he should restore our house with the church and caravansarai.’ “ ‘But, because there was a lack of oil in our lamp” (no palm-grease, in modern parlance) “ ‘favourable replies were lacking too, for he said, ‘I shall not give it’. This was indeed “ ‘surprising to all, but especially to the Father, because he never expected such an answer; “ ‘however he insisted, saying, ‘If you will not give the church (he had not said ‘only’ the “ ‘church, but in order that there might be justification for his insisting, he took the words “ ‘of the Pasha to mean ‘only I shall not give the church’), ‘yet at least grant the house “ ‘with the caravansarai’. To which the Pasha replied ‘No’. Again the Father insisted, “ ‘at least the house’: and for the third time the reply was in the negative. When he had “ ‘heard this the Father was almost beside himself for grief and said, ‘Very well, I shall return “ ‘these original documents to him who gave them me, so that he may return them to “ ‘him to whom they belong’. To this there was no word of reply, and so he repeated the “ ‘said words in a louder voice, and the Pasha said, ‘Go’. The Father departed, and “ ‘informed the Captain Pasha of the whole affair, and, since at that time the latter had a “ ‘favourite servant sick, he stood by his promises and invited the Father to come to his “ ‘house, where he was most kindly received. When, by God’s favour and the patronage of “ ‘the Blessed Virgin Mary, after two days the aforesaid servant had recovered, the Father “ ‘busied himself in putting together a clock which formerly belonged to the Fathers . . . “ ‘so the Captain Pasha, having seen that this Father was skilled in both medicine and “ ‘putting together clocks, assigned him a supply of provisions, i.e. bread, butter, rice, coffee, “ ‘and in the evening hours a candle, and all these things, because he did not eat meat. “ ‘As to the bedchamber, it is true that it was somewhat fine, and when once the Mufti “ ‘saw it he said to the Captain Pasha, ‘This is too much, to put the Father in the bed- “ ‘chamber in which ‘Osman Pasha was.’ The Captain Pasha replied, ‘I do this to insult “ ‘‘Osman Pasha.’ It was the eve of a Wednesday of Lent when the said Father was “ ‘received in the house of the Captain Pasha, hoping in the new year (with the Turks, as “ ‘also with the Persians, the new year is at the equinox, 21st March) for a change in the

¹ *Claude* in the original Latin.

“governorship: for so the Captain Pasha had promised him, whence he was thinking that “he would not have to stay in that house more than 40 days, or even less. Nevertheless “thrice 40 days passed before the arrival of the official (i.e. from Stambul) when it was “known that the governor’s term had been renewed for another year. Therefore the said “Father did not know where to turn, to remain as he was for a whole year was hard, to “return (to Persia) ignominious. . . . I listened to words of advice to remain, by reason “of the hope of there being a change very quickly because of the accusations made against “Osman Pasha and sealed by the principal men in the town and sent by the Captain “Pasha to Constantinople. At length at the beginning of the month of December there “came the Mutasallim Hasan Pasha. . . . In the evening (when all were reclining and “conversing, though not about our business) the Father was warned by Haji Muhammad “Attar, his friend and counsellor, a man who really had great judgment, that all were “free from business and sitting at ease, and forewarned: it only needed someone to begin “the discussion, so the Father did as he advised, i.e. he went in before all those ‘scribes “and pharisees’, saying merely to the Captain Pasha: ‘Sir, it is now nearly a year that “I am eating your bread here in your house, for which God repay you a thousand times, “and it is only in the hope of there being another governor, and of our getting back our “house: let him either determine whom it concerns, or let him give me leave to return’” (i.e. to Persia), “I am unable to wait any longer.’ One of those lawyers replied, ‘Do not “go away, but sit down and wait’: and the Captain Pasha repeated words in our favour, “showing the need there was of the Fathers so that merchants should come, and pretending “that Mr. Baker (the English captain of a ship) had said to him what he had said to me “in public, viz. ‘How can I come here, when there are no Fathers to bury me if I die?’ “(It is to be noted that, if death should befall any infidel, i.e. heretic European, the Fathers “have to accompany him to the tomb not with their prayers . . . but so that the Turks “may understand that we are here for that and are necessary.) When this had been said “the Daftardar asked, ‘Have you a farman?’ The reply was in the affirmative, and “he said, ‘Show it’, and after reading it said, ‘You shall have the church with the house, “but you cannot have the caravansarai, because there are certain things to be done with “due information and witnesses.’ The Captain Pasha replied: ‘Here is Haji Muhammad “Attar who knows about it all very well. . . . Such was the state of affairs and the “Father replied, ‘Vel Caesar vel nihil’—either the whole premises, or none’, and so he “went away with nothing. There came many to his bedchamber who said to him, ‘Take “this now, and in a little while you will have the caravansarai’; and so said the Captain “Pasha; wherefore he determined to agree to the offer, but he was never able to obtain a “document from the Daftardar, and when the Captain Pasha had sent his servants several “times the Daftardar always made polite excuses (the Father had given a great personage “33½ scudi for the latter to give, as they themselves said, 20 scudi for the Mutasallim, 10 “for the Daftardar, the rest for the servants, and learnt afterwards that that personage “had put many scudi in his own purse, and this was the reason why a writing could not be “got from the Daftardar). So the Captain Pasha got the writing from the Mutasallim, “and with it he, the Father, entered into possession of the house, in which an Indian captain “was dwelling who left after 30 days: and, having erected a wall of reeds to divide the “house from the caravansarai, he cleansed the house, but firstly on the 23rd January” (i.e. 1715), “feast of the Betrothal of the Blessed Virgin Mary, he pledged himself to her by “offering the first Mass. . . .”

That was how, after for 8 years the house and church of the Carmelites had remained sequestered by the Turks, possession was regained. In his letter of 12.4.1715 Fr. Paul Augustine wrote that the chalice had been stolen, and he was unable to have Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament: in September of that year that on feast-days as many as 60 persons came to the church. His letters of 1716 appeal to the Sacr. Cong. for more missionaries, death having reduced their numbers to two for four posts: he was anxious in particular about Basra,

lest he should die while alone, and once more the Turks seize the Residence and church as unoccupied.

“I preach, confess, instruct, catechize in Arabic and Armenian: I speak Turkish and Persian. 63 small children are in heaven.”

He also related (in *Chron. Basra*) how he had obtained a new set of title-deeds for the church and premises from a new Pasha, Rajib.

“In the year of Our Lord 1717, after various reasons had been duly weighed, considered and discussed by our then Vicar Provincial, Fr. Faustin of S. Charles, who was staying here at the time, and Fr. Paul Augustine of S. Stephen, Vicar of this Residence, it was decided to abandon the new, i.e. the Gregorian, calendar and to resume the old, which is in use among the oriental churches. Thus, after the 11th December . . . eleven days were added and repeated. . . . Therefore, whereas before between us and the other Christians there was a lasting difference of 11 days in the date of celebration of festivals, the observance of fasts . . . this change took place with the approval of all, because it was made for the benefit of our Christians in the hope of winning them if we also in this matter became like some of them . . . and we followed their custom that they might follow into our faith. . . . In order that the change might be legitimately continued and observed, we sent to Rome information about it to the Cardinal Prefect of the Sac. Cong. de Prop. Fide. Nevertheless, after four years we have had no reply, which, however, need not disturb us, since we know that the custom is legitimately observed elsewhere by other missionaries. . . .”

Perhaps it was on account of this unauthorized change that complaints had been made in Rome, and the Vicar Provincial was writing from Isfahan on 26.5.1721:¹

“our Vicar General wrote to me that it was thought advisable to change the Vicar, or even take him away from Basra on account of some complaints which had reached Rome about him. . . .”

The Vicar Provincial, Fr. Faustin, replied vigorously in favour of Fr. Paul Augustine:

“I have not done this for various motives of prudence. Firstly, the Father (Paul) is needed by that mission since he alone possesses perfectly the Arabic language, in which he hears confessions and preaches, and also because he knows Armenian and Turkish to a sufficient extent to serve the Armenians, many of whom go there, and to deal with the Pasha’s Court, who speak Turkish only. Secondly, because of a kind of gratitude for the much that he has laboured to restore that Residence, and bring it back to its present good condition. Thirdly, his only substantial defect is that he is somewhat hot-tempered and conceited, but he is a Religious of worth and various excellent parts. . . .”

That return to the old calendar did not please the new Vicar Apostolic for the diocese, Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, who caused the innovation to be abandoned.²

Paragraphs 347 and 364 of the original of *Chron. Basra* give details of the extensive repairs and replacements Fr. Paul Augustine made in the premises at Basra in the years 1716 and 1719. (There are several pages of disquisition on the conduct which missionaries should follow in preaching, caution in dealing with inquisitive travellers from Europe, how to treat with oriental Christians; but those appear from the style to be the composition of Fr. Urban (q.v.):

¹ O.C.D. 238 g.

² Fr. Joseph Mary, 6 10.1722, *S.N.R.*, III, p. 203.

"On the 8th October 1724, after a ten years' stay in this Residence, Fr. Paul Augustine, "having obtained permission from Rome to return to his province, started for Baghdad "in company with the Vicar Apostolic. . . ."¹

He died at the Convent of S. Charles, Genoa, 3.10.1750.

Letters extant:

20.11.1711	Julfa	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 386
22.1.1714	Julfa	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 601, <i>post</i> p. 125
12.4.1715	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , III, p. 78
8.9.1715	Basra	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 603, p. 39
9.5.1716	Basra	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 608, p. 94
9.5.1716	Basra	O.C.D. 242 b.

PAUL of the Kings

A German.

Family name: Johann Heidgen. Born 5.5.1725 at Zulpich, near Cologne, Germany. Prov. in Order: Cologne. Professed 22.9.1744.² Arrived Basra 20.4.1754, and left 24.4.1754 to go to the missions on the Malabar coast. Died at Bandar 'Abbas on the way, while waiting an opportunity to obtain a ship, 1754.³

PAUL SIMON of Jesus Mary

(The senior of all Carmelite missionaries to the East), later Praepositus General of the Order

A subject of the Genoese Republic.

Family name: Paolo Rivarola. Born at Genoa 10.4.1576. Professed at the Convent of S. Anne there, 12.11.1595. Made his theological studies in Spain, but was one of those separated from the Spanish Congregation and placed under the new Italian Congregation by the Brief of Pope Clement VIII November 1600. In 1601 he was Prior of the Convent at Naples, when Fr. Peter of the Mother of God, Commissary General, consulted him regarding the desire of Fr. John of S. Elisaeus for a mission among the Muslims: and it was his reply, that he held similar views to those of Fr. John, which led the Commissary General to speak to Pope Clement VIII in person about the project of working on Mt. Carmel, and to the Pope's decision and persuasion of the Italian Congregation to make Persia instead the scene of their efforts, as also to the enthusiastic acceptance of missionary work by the whole Congregation of Italy. After the audience with Pope Clement in 1604 Fr. Paul was selected as head of the band to be sent. After vespers on 4.7.1604, with his companions, he was taken to receive at the palace of the Quirinal ('Monte Cavallo') the blessing of Clement VIII, who then assigned him the additional name of 'Simon', that of one of the Apostles who by tradition had evangelized Persia: and before leaving Rome they celebrated Mass in S. Peter's on the altar of S. Simon and S. Jude, relates Fr. John Thaddeus. He set out from Rome 6.7.1604 and, via Poland,⁴ after a disastrous journey through Muscovy owing to the detention of the party at Moscow, Kazan and Astrakhan, finally disembarked with the other two Fathers on 27.9.1607 on a beach ten miles from Baku. In accordance with the directions of the Commissary General of the Order these first Fathers were careful to keep a diary of their journey, distances, people met, customs, etc.: and that left by Fr. Paul Simon is very full. Particularly as regards the hardships in Russia it has been used in detail in the delightfully written *En Persia* (Pamplona,

¹ *Chron. Basra.*

² *Cont. Basra Chron.*

³ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, in footnote to his *Cont. Basra Chron.*

⁴ For the above, see Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus in *En España*, Pamplona, 1920, vol. II.

1920) of Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus: here there is only space for following the route. Part of the text is missing in the draft preserved in O.C.D. 234 e., but its tenor can be estimated from a different version preserved in the report to the Pope in Fondo Borghese, Ser. II, n. 20 in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. From Baku Fr. Paul Simon and his companions were taken to Shamakha, which one month previously had been largely destroyed by the artillery of Shah 'Abbas after a six-months' siege. They left Shamakha 19.10.1607. Outside Ardabil, 28.10.1607, they were faint from lack of food, as they had been unwilling to eat the provisions, which the representatives of the Khan of Shamakha extracted by force and blows from villagers, and, declining to be treated as ambassadors, wished to hire lodging at their own expense in the public hostelry. But the governor of Ardabil insisted on taking a house and carpeting it, and sent them abundant provisions. They were entertained to a copious meal by the governor and his principal adherents: and visited by Armenian schismatics, the next day a procession of 15 Armenian priests came to take them in procession to their church. On 6.11.1607 they set out for Qazwin, reached after 8 days' journey, and there the governor lodged them in a caravansarai recently built by Shah 'Abbas: here they met for the first time Robert Sherley, then out of favour with the Shah, and he asked the mediation of Fr. Paul Simon to enable him to return to England. There they stayed till the 20th November. On 2nd December, short of Isfahan, they were met by the official Mihmandar (guest-master), the Augustinian Portuguese Fathers, Italian laymen and an *istiqlal* sent by the governor. Fr. Paul Simon himself, who had been suffering from fever since leaving Qazwin, went to stay with the Augustinians to be tended. The Shah was curious to ascertain the scope and nature of their mission, and put off giving them audience till 3.1.1608: their instructions in this connection had been, so Fr. Paul Simon put on record:

“Our Holy Father Clement VIII bade us tell no one (and especially in Persia) the ‘principal object of our mission, which was to bring back those realms to the knowledge of the holy Gospel; but that we should rather say that His Holiness was sending us to ‘congratulate the king on his many victories over the Turks, our common enemy, and to ‘exhort him to persevere in the said crusade: that he was also sending us to let the king ‘know the goodwill and regard His Holiness had for him, and that, lastly, we were also ‘going to visit and afford consolation to the Christians living in his kingdom.”

When 'Abbas I at last received them, it was in the courtyard of his stables, where the monarch was inspecting and choosing horses for the war: and Fr. Paul Simon communicated his desire to return to Rome to report to the Pope, and asked for a second and secret audience when he communicated in writing some seven or eight points the greater part touching the alliance, which the Pope hoped the Persian king would make with the princes of Christendom against the Turks, and a combined attack on the latter, but the posting of a permanent envoy in Rome of the Persian sovereign was also suggested and permission for Robert Sherley to return to Europe. 'Abbas indicated that Fr. Paul Simon should travel via Aleppo, and, carrying letters from the Shah to the Pope and Christian princes, the leader of the Carmelites left Isfahan on 24.3.1607 with an Armenian guide, whom 'Abbas had bidden the community supply. Through country more or less uninhabited and deserted because of the war the pair proceeded until they fell in with a 'captain' sent to raid the Turkish borders with a large band of horse, who had already begun to devastate the district near Baghdad: and this man advised Fr. Paul Simon, if he continued the journey, to do it on foot, disguised as a darvish: so, in rags, carrying only the letters of the Shah, 150 sequins and the two gold medals given the mission by Pope Clement, the Carmelite and his guide went on, hiding in the daytime, walking at night and even then searched by parties of soldiers and Arabs and losing part of the money, until, with legs swollen, in high fever, almost nude, “more dead than alive”, having trotted to keep up with a party for the last 8 leagues, as by then the guide had remained behind, Fr. Paul Simon sank down at the gate of Baghdad 20.4.1608. There were at that period no Europeans resident. The guards at the gate had compassion, and took him to a

caravansarai, and then a Jew hired a room for him and fed him daily. A Maltese renegade found him a guide, who had permission to travel from the Pasha, and for the sum of 20 piastres contracted to convey him across the desert. Though still ill from fever and hardly able to stand, Fr. Paul Simon was bled on 1st May but resolved to leave, and did so on 2.5.1608, travelling via Hit and Ana to Dereha. He and his guide slept in the open, but not for more than 4 hours out of the 24. By the second day he was better and able to eat the bread carried: four days out of Aleppo, sleeping near a caravan, he had his wallet stolen from under the head of the guide by Arabs, so that he lost the *Itinerary* and other books he had been taking back, and the store of biscuit for themselves and fodder for their mule. The last three days they had to do on foot, day and night, to get to water. Aleppo was reached 14.5.1608: and the country around was then in revolt, the Turkish commander sent to quell it being in Aleppo. It became known to him that Fr. Paul Simon had carried a letter from the Pasha of Baghdad (a rebel), and the Carmelite was counselled not to deliver it: the carrying of letters from the Shah was another risk; and the Fr. Guardian of the Franciscans had Fr. Paul Simon put into garb of that Order for his safety. However, having made an agreement with the master of a ship from Marseilles to give him passage and food for 17 piastres, Fr. Paul Simon got away from Aleppo 26.5.1608 in company with some Portuguese and Venetians. At Alexandretta he lodged in the house of the English vice-consul, Laurence Butcher [? sic] and, embarking on 2.6.1608, among the other passengers being an Englishman who had obtained the concession of some ports from the Great Mogul, on the 3rd June they sailed. After all the hardships, perils and dangers he had experienced, it seemed to Fr. Paul Simon that he 'was in heaven, when at sea, out of the land of the Turks'. Although the ship had been carried by the winds near Tunis, and capture had been feared, twice preparations having been made to fight corsairs, he was finally disembarked in Corsica on the shore, twelve miles from Bastia, on 20.7.1608. With the galleys from Genoa he crossed to Naples, where he landed and transacted business with the Viceroy and, leaving on the 6th August by a felucca, he came to Nettuno and so to the Convent at S. Silvestro.¹ First going to Nuocera in Umbria, where Fr. Peter of the Mother of God (mentioned at the beginning of this biographical note) lay dying, after his death on 26.8.1608 Fr. Paul Simon repaired to Rome and made a written report to the Pope, in which were set forth the many complaints over the conduct of the Portuguese in Hurmuz, which so vexed 'Abbas I, merchants and others. After a long verbal audience Pope Paul V dispatched Fr. Paul Simon to treat with the king of Spain, Philip III, and the Duke of Lerma his minister, both the remedying of those grievances over Hurmuz and ways and means by which Spain would aid 'Abbas in operations against the Turks. The Briefs addressed to the king, Duke, the Cardinal of Toledo and other persons are dated 16.10.1608. By way of Genoa Fr. Paul Simon went to Spain and had many interviews with Philip III and his advisers; but the military question was left to be examined by the council of state, and in the end nothing was done—it was so difficult to get to move that ponderous mass which the vast Spanish realms formed at that period.²

After his return to Italy in February 1609 the life of Fr. Paul Simon became of increasing worth to the Order as he filled various offices till elected Praepositus General on 6.5.1623, and for a second time in 1632: and his biography is to be sought elsewhere than in the archives of its missionary work, except that it is evident from his own instructions to the Visitor General in 1624 and from the letters of missionaries to him that, while he was in a position of authority in Rome, he brought his personal knowledge, counsel and interest to bear in furthering and extending their work.

He died at Rome 29.7.1643.

Letters, etc., extant:

29.II.1604	Poland	O.C.D. 234 b.
23.I.1605	Warsaw	O.C.D. 234 b.

¹ See his (draft) account of his journey in O.C.D. 234 b.

² Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus in *En Persia*, vol. II, Pamplona, 1929.

20.7.1608	off Corsica	O.C.D. 238 c.
—1608	(Isfahan) Rome	O.C.D. 234 b.
—1608	Rome	Vat. Arch. Fond. Borgh., II, 20, p. 153
—1608	Rome	O.C.D. 234 b.
12.11.1608	Rome	O.C.D. 236 a. (?)
16.6.1620	Rome	O.C.D. 236 a.
1.2.1624	Rome	O.C.D. 238 c.
4.2.1624	Rome	O.C.D. 238 c.

PETER OF ALCANTARA of S. Teresa

(later Bishop of Nicopolis and Vicar Apostolic for the dominions of the Mogul, the Deccan and Golconda in India)

A Lombard.

Family name: Giovanni Maria Leonardi, son of Simon L. and Antonia Marcanota. Born 21.8.1663 at village of Mezzomerico, diocese of Novara: baptized in parish church of SS. James and Philip, 22.8.1663. Prov. in Order: Lombardy. Professed in Milan 1684. Finished his studies at missionary seminary at San Pancrazio, Rome:¹ and about 1693 sent to the missions in Syria, where he resided for 6 years, learning Arabic well.² Arrived at Basra, Trinity Sunday, 14.6.1699, as Vicar. Signed baptismal register, Basra, as 'Parish Priest' 22.6.1699 and 23.8.1699. Left for Kung 14.2.1700, and at Bandar 'Abbas had a conference with Mgr Peter Paul, Archbishop of Ancyra, Apostolic Commissary for India, and Visitor General. He thence went on to Isfahan, where he was elected Prior, May 1700, and as such signed his letter 20.4.1702 to the Cardinals, and again in June asked for the allowances of the missionaries, overdue for 1698, 1700, 1702, to be sent by the Sacr. Cong. After the chapter of 1703 he was sent to be the companion of the Vicar of Basra (Fr. John Athanasius) then alone for more than 3 years, and arrived there 10.7.1703 "wearing a Persian dress", to find the Turks quartered in the Carmelite Residence, from which the Vicar had been expelled. In November of that year, in view of the orders of the Vicar Provincial for the abandonment of the Residence and the transfer of the two Fathers to Bandar 'Abbas, while on the other hand the Pasha of Basra had given permission for them to reside and ordered them not to leave, it was decided that Fr. Peter of Alcantara should leave by an English ship for Bandar 'Abbas taking all portable goods of the Residence, and he sailed 12.11.1703.³ For some time before early 1706 he had been Vicar at Shiraz.⁴ But in 1704 he had been nominated by the Sacr. Cong. to be Vicar Apostolic for the kingdoms of the Mogul, the Deccan and Golconda, confirmation of the appointment being made by Brief of Pope Clement XI on 12.4.1704, and Fr. Peter of Alcantara was given the title of Bishop of Nicopolis.⁵ He was consecrated at Hamadan about 25.6.1706 by Bishop Pidou de St. Olon of Baghdad (see letter of the latter, 29.6.1706, from Hamadan reporting that on the previous Sunday he had performed the consecration).⁶ He himself wrote from Julfa on 22.9.1706 that he was about to leave Persia "after having served "in it about 9 years". He left Isfahan 26.9.1706⁷ with four companions. But on the voyage from Bandar 'Abbas in an English vessel he died before reaching Surat⁸—although a letter of 1708 mentions hearing of the death occurring at sea between Surat and Cochin.⁹

Letters extant:

20.4.1702	Isfahan	<i>S.N.R.</i> , II, p. 427
30.6.1702	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 g.
2.9.1706	Julfa	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 560, p. 228

¹ See *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, by Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist of the Order, 1934.

² Fr. Hugo of S. Dionysius, Vicar Provincial, 28.7.1707, *S.R.*, vol. 561, p. 258.

³ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist of the Order, in *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, 1934.

⁴ *S.N.R.*, II, p. 483.

⁵ See letter of Fr. Hugo, cited above.

⁶ See *S.R.*, vol. 509, p. 549, letter of Fr. Peter Martyr, O.P., 30.10.1706, Julfa.

⁷ Fr. Basil of S. Charles, Julfa, 20.5.1708.

⁸ and ⁹ *Chron. Basra*.

PETER of the Mother of God

A Belgian.¹

Family name: François Du Jardin. Born 1612² at Douai. Prov. in Order: Franco-Belg. Professed 10.8.1626.

Aged about 30 only, Fr. Peter of the Mother of God was brought out to the missions by the Visitor General, Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary (arriving "later"³ than the Visitor General himself, who had reached the East in 1639): via Aleppo he⁴ reached Basra—in 1642 probably,⁵ as his name is coupled with that of Fr. Barnabas in the *Brief Narrative*, and with him he was appointed on 8.10.1641 to the missions in the East by the Definitory General: he was in Basra, at any rate before August 1643, when, on rumours that the Portuguese fleet intended to come up the Shatt-ul-'Arab and 'make war on the Pasha of Basra', he with Fr. Barnabas took to flight and, having no 'commission' for Basra or Goa, went to Persia,⁶ and he was at Isfahan still in August 1644.⁷ Not for long, because the Vicar Provincial wrote from Isfahan on 5.9.1644⁸ that he was sending Fr. Peter to Basra, to be companion to the Vicar of Basra, so as to lighten expenses at Isfahan. He was at Basra before 11.1.1645, and there in August 1646;⁹ but left with the Visitor General, Fr. Stephen, for Surat 12.12.1646,¹⁰ travelling in a Dutch ship as far as Kung or Gāmburūn, thence in an English ship, arriving in April 1647 at Surat¹¹—the embargo then exercised by the Portuguese authorities against Carmelites entering India not applying to Flemings:¹² and he went on to Damaun to join the Visitor General.

In January 1650 he had arrived back at Isfahan,¹³ and was there still at the end of 1653, having been for a long time busied on the translation into Persian of S. Thomas Aquinas' *Contra Gentes*, of which he had by then done seventy chapters.¹⁴ After the departure of Fr. Dionysius of the Crown of Thorns as Procurator to Rome in May 1652, Fr. Peter had been baptizing moribund infants—six or seven daily; but shortly before February 1643 he was sent to Shiraz,¹⁵ to care for two Christian families there (as the Capuchins let it be known that they would send one of their Religious to Shiraz, if the Carmelites did not); but on account of ill health he had to be recalled to Isfahan before 27.3.1654,¹⁶ Fr. Blaise being sent in his place. In a letter to the Praepositus General, Rome, of December 1654 the Vicar Provincial proposed that Fr. Peter should be made 'Reader' (Lector) in Persian for the new Seminary of S. Pancrazio.¹⁷ But Fr. Peter was still at Isfahan 5.5.1655¹⁸ when six Religious signed a recommendation that he should be allowed to return to his province, following which in August 1655 orders came for him to proceed from Isfahan to the mission at Tatta:¹⁹ and not long before 29.11.1655 he was at Kung in company of the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, waiting for a ship to go to Tatta:²⁰ in fact, he fell ill at Gāmburūn, and had been taken by the English to Kung.²¹ He was at Tatta in 1657²² and, although often ailing or ill, still there in 1663, when named in the list of missionaries:²³ in 1670²⁴ and 1671²⁵ Vicar of Tatta, still.

¹ Called 'Fleming' in some letters, but Fr. Stephen in his *Brief Narrative* (O.C.D. 236 a.) says a Walloon, and Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, 9.12.1646, O.C.D. 242 a., also.

² See list of 1663 in O.C.D. 235 n.

³ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 9.8.1644, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁴ And see list of 1671, S.R., vol. 428, p. 224, "29 years in missions".

⁵ Fr. Ignatius, Basra, 29.8.1643, O.C.D. 241 m. ⁷ and ⁸ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, Isfahan, 9.8.1644, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁶ Fr. Ignatius, 11.8.1645 and 31.8.1646, O.C.D. 241 m.

¹⁰ *Idem*, 19.12.1646; Fr. Stephen, 8.12.1646, O.C.D. 238 e.; Fr. Dionysius, 9.12.1646, O.C.D. 242 a.

¹¹ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 21.6.1647. ¹² Fr. Ignatius, 12.6.1647.

¹³ Fr. Balthazar of S. Mary, 26.8.1653; and 3.12.1653, O.C.D. 236 k.

¹⁴ Fr. Dionysius of Crown of Thorns, that date, O.C.D. 242 c.

¹⁵ O.C.D. 237 c. ¹⁶ Fr. Dionysius, 15.5.1655, O.C.D. 237 c.

¹⁷ *Idem*, 31.1.1656, O.C.D. 241 h.

¹⁸ Fr. Angelus, 2.9.1670, O.C.D. 236 i.

¹⁹ Fr. Dionysius, 15.2.1657, O.C.D. 237 c.

²⁰ Fr. Casimir, 29.11.1655, O.C.D. 241 h.

²¹ *Idem*, 31.1.1656, O.C.D. 241 h.

²² List in S.R., vol. 428, p. 224, by Fr. Valerius, Rome, May 1671.

²³ See *Brief Narrative*, cited.

²⁴ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 21.3.1650.

²⁵ Fr. Felix, 7.2.1653, O.C.D. 241 k.

²⁶ Fr. Felix, 30.12.1654, O.C.D. 237 i.

²⁷ Fr. Casimir, 29.11.1655, O.C.D. 241 h.

²⁸ O.C.D. 235 n.

PETER PAUL of S. Francis

(later Archbishop of Ancyra and Vicar Apostolic for the dominions of the Mogul:
the Deccan: Golconda)

A Neapolitan.

Family name: (Don) Ferrante Palma d'Artois. Born at Naples 2.1.1643.¹

A collateral descendant of the family, the Principe di Leporano Acton, has kindly furnished the following details.

Don Ferrante was the eldest son of Francesco, 4th Duke of S. Elia di Palma d'Artois (a family that had originally come over with the French king of Naples and Sicily, Charles of Anjou, brother of S. Louis) by Carmela Pignatelli, a daughter of the Marchesi di Paglieta and sister of that great churchman Antonio Pignatelli, who was to be Pope Innocent XII from 1691 to 1700. In due course and still a youth Don Ferrante succeeded his father as 5th Duke di S. Elia, and in the family records is said to have been "a very gallant nobleman, but very "dissolute", who in 1672 suddenly changed from his wild life, and announced his intention to become a missionary. By a solemn legal deed, drawn up by the notary Gianantonio di Belasio, he renounced his titles of Duca di S. Elia: Barone di Villamaina and Monacilioni, and his estates, and entered the Order of Discalced Carmelites (as two of his brothers already had done—the fact that their mother's name was 'Carmela', and their family's title commemorated the Prophet of Mt. Carmel, should not be overlooked in noting their several adhesions to the Order). At the time Don Ferrante was the only son able to get married out of a large family, remarkable because of its great piety and devotion to the life of the priesthood and convent, as also because with that sacrifice of worldly careers in the third generation it became extinct in the direct male line. The fourth Duke and Donna Carmela Pignatelli had these seven sons, and two daughters:

- (i) Don Ferrante, the subject of this biographical note, 5th Duke;
- (ii) Don Marcantonio, a Discalced Carmelite (6th Duke);
- (iii) Don Diego, 1648-63, a 'monk';
- (iv) Don Berardo, a Discalced Carmelite, whose name in religion was Fra Angelo;
- (v) Don Pompeo, abbot of the abbey of S. Elia, 1650-1700;
- (vi) Don Giambattista, who became a general in the Imperial Cavalry, and died in Vienna, 1705—presumably also unmarried;
- (vii) Donna Maria, a nun;
- (viii) Donna Giovanni, a nun;
- (ix) Don Giuseppe, Barone di Oliveto, who died unmarried.

Don Ferrante was the only son in a position to marry and, with the idea of preventing such a noble, notable family of such devotion to the Church from dying out, when he in 1672 decided to embrace the monastic life, the Pope (Clement X, Altieri) made the extremely rare exception of sanctioning the withdrawal from the Carmelite Convent where he was of the second brother, Marcantonio, the renunciation of and absolution from his vows, and his marriage to Donna Vittoria Capano. Of that union the eldest son, Don Francesco, succeeded as 7th Duke of S. Elia, but became or had become a Jesuit and so died unmarried: while his brother Giuseppe, the 8th Duke and only son of the sixth duke to leave a child surviving, had but a daughter, Maria Vittoria, the last Duchessa di S. Elia, who married the Marchese di Villa S. Maria of the Giudice Carracciolo family and with her in 1843 the direct line of the Palma d'Artois-Pignatelli became extinct.

Prov. in Order: Naples. Entered novitiate at S. Teresa in Chiaja, Naples, and professed 30.5.1673 as Fra Peter Paul of S. Francis. Later, for some time at the missionary seminary of the Order, San Pancrazio, Rome.²

¹ This is the date given in *Hierarchia Carmelitana* (*Analecta*, vol. IX, 1934), by Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist of the Order, but the *Principe di Leporano Acton* writes 19.10.1643.

² Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist of the Order, in *Hierarchia Carmelitana* (*Analecta*, vol. IX, 1934).

On 12.3.1678 the Vicar General of the Order (Fr. Vincent Mary of S. Catharine of Siena, q.v.), having been instructed to send two more missionaries, proposed to the Sacr. Cong. the names of Fr. Peter Paul of S. Francis and Fr. Amandus of S. Elias, though he had insufficient funds to pay their journey expenses:¹ on 29.3.1678 Fr. Peter Paul applied to the Sacr. Cong. for funds (to pay the debts of Fr. Matthew of S. Joseph in Malabar: for a seminary for native priests) and for jurisdiction as a Vicar Apostolic to be given to the Bishop of Megara over the Christians of Cochin at that time under Goa.²

With Fr. Amandus he arrived at Aleppo 2.11.1678,³ left there 18.11.1678: arrived at Baghdad 29.12.1678, and left there 7.1.1679:⁴ arrived at Basra 19.1.1679, leaving for the Malabar coast 4.2.1679, via Kung, where Fr. Peter Paul wished to meet the Vicar Provincial.⁵ Arrived at Verapoly early that year, and at the end of it was sent to Madura, whence after making many converts fanaticism drove him away, and he returned to the Malabar coast, 1680.⁶ In 1681 he was working for reunion of schismatics with Rome in the state of Travancore, where he claimed to have brought back almost 3,000: in 1682 at the chapter he was elected Prior of Goa, arriving in Goa, however, only at the end of May.⁷ In 1683 the Procurator of the Carmelite missions (Fr. Agnellus) applied to the Sacr. Cong. for other missionaries to replace, *inter alios*, Fr. Peter Paul of S. Francis "recently appointed to the new mission in the "kingdom of Pandi".⁸ Elected in 1687-8 Procurator of the missions in India and Persia for the coming Chapter General in Rome, he left Goa by the sea-route to Lisbon,⁹ and was present in May 1689 at the sessions of the Order in Rome, making repeated representations to the Definitory General, which, 19.11.1689, heard his proposals for the better administration of the missions (*Regesta*, vol. VII, p. 112). Following a decree of 22.11.1689 regarding the arranging of some hospice for the Discalced Carmelites in Lisbon,¹⁰ on 4.6.1690 (see *Regesta*, vol. VII, p. 144) it was decided to dispatch Fr. Peter Paul with the faculty of concluding an arrangement so long as onerous terms were not accepted, and whether he should treat with the king of Portugal and his ministers about the Carmelite Convent in Goa. On 10.1.1691 he was again summoned to the Definitory General and information as to the condition of the missions in the East given by him (see *Regesta*, vol. VII, p. 165). In 1691 his uncle became Pope Innocent XII). On 2.8.1695 the Procurator General of the Order applied to the Sacr. Cong. for Fr. Peter Paul, already designated Visitor General of all the missions of the Order, to be made also Vicar Apostolic.¹¹ By Apostolic Brief of 17.9.1696 he was named Archbishop of Ancyra, and by another Brief of 20.9.1696 Vicar Apostolic for the dominions of the Deccan, Golconda and Mogul. On 15.11.1696 the Definitory General of the Order approved of his mission to the Mogul being accepted, and they selected 8 Religious for work in it, giving Fr. Peter Paul the authority of a Vicar Provincial.

"To His Excellency, Fr. Peter Paul of S. Francis, Archbishop of Ancyra, is delegated "authority to establish various Residences for our missionaries accompanying him to the "kingdom of the Great Mogul in places where it shall seem good to him, and to send "Religious there and to transfer them from place to place, as he shall best judge, and "finally to send back to their own provinces those who have been found least suitable: and "at the same time the authority of a vicar provincial in regard to the Religious is given "him, until the mission be fully established or other provision made by the Order . . ." (see *Regesta*, vol. VII, p. 122).

His uncle then sent him on various legations—to the Venetian Republic, to the Emperor, Grand Duke of Tuscany, etc., from them receiving commendatory letters for the king of Persia

¹ S.R., vol. 468, p. 120.

² *Idem*, p. 123.

³ *Chron. Basra*.

⁴ See his letters, O.C.D. 261 g, 20.1.1683 and 25.1.1683.

⁵ Fr. Elias, 18.6.1689, O.C.D. 237 h.—who thought he had insufficient information about affairs in Persia to represent the Persian missions.

¹⁰ *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, vol. IX of *Analecta*, 1934, cited.

³ and ⁴ Fr. Joseph Angelus, Aleppo, 8.11.1678, S.R., vol. 476, p. 176.

⁶ *Hierarchia Carmelitana in Analecta*, vol. IX, Fr. Ambrosius quoting Fr. Paulinus.

⁸ S.R., vol. 487, pp. 213, 215.

¹¹ S.R., vol. 521, p. 288.

in favour of the Catholic missions in Persia, and for negotiating an alliance against the Sultan of Turkey: and, going to Amsterdam, he obtained from the Dutch East India Company the privilege for the Carmelites of maintaining 12 missionaries (to be either German, Dutch or Italians) for work in the Dutch possessions in the East Indies.¹ Proceeding from Holland via Germany, Poland, Russia, the Archbishop of Ancyra reached a Caspian seaport in December 1698:

“Having had news of his arrival on the borders of that realm . . . the Sufi of Persia “gave orders for him to be met and received at the frontier with the greatest possible “honour, assigning him 60 florins daily (for maintenance), and 30 horses for his service. “The Catholic clergy of the capital went out two days’ journey distant from the town to “meet him and congratulate him on his happy arrival. When the Archbishop was 3 leagues “away from the city he” (the Shah) “sent his own secretary to present his compliments to the “ambassador, and the consuls of England and Holland for whom he had letters of recom- “mendation from their sovereigns.² On the 5th (? May 1699) he made his public entry. “The envoy from Muscovy sent his trumpets and drums, which joined those of the Legate: “these trumpets were preceded by 24 soldiers and next there was the Mihmandar Bashi with “his officials and 24 pages, and after him the Legate, who had on his left the Bishop of “Isfahan, a native of Mons in Flanders: behind the Legate were the consuls of England “and Holland, and following them the missionary Fathers of various Orders, i.e. Capuchins, “Jesuits, Augustinians, etc., and the secular clergy, who were in all to the number of 180 “persons, and 80 baggage horses completed the cavalcade.

“On the 6th of the month he was received in public audience by the Sufi, and at the “audience there were posted in front of the doors of the Palace three elephants and 10 of “the finest and most handsome horses of the Sufi, with bridles and very rich trappings “set with diamonds and other precious stones, so that each horse with its trappings might “have been worth a million. In the rooms through which passed the Legate there were “lined the highest nobility in the kingdom to the number of 400, almost all clothed with “extraordinary magnificence. The Sufi was on his throne, and after the Legate had “finished his harangue and presented his letters of credence he was conducted into another “apartment and invited to dine with the Sufi, and to retain with himself three of his “company (who were the Bishop of Isfahan and two Carmelite Religious). The magnifi- “cence of the dinner cannot be sufficiently described. The Sufi drank three times to “the health of the Legate and his companions: there were 700 dishes, served all with the “greatest sumptuousness, the plates themselves being all solid gold. . . .”³

Bishop Elias of S. Albert gave another version and more details in his letter of 12th June 1699⁴ to the Cardinal Prefect:

“Having finally reached Persia Mgr Peter Paul, Archbishop of Ancyra, was first of all “received with the greatest honour on his disembarkation from the Caspian sea, and “conducted into Shamakhi with an *istiqbal*⁵ by the whole of the townspeople, ordered by “the Khan: although, in order to continue his journey with more modesty and less expense “he had dismissed the escort of 100 men with 8 pieces of cannon given him in Muscovy: “later, as he drew near here, Isfahan, orders were given by the king to all the Armenians

¹ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, in *Hierarchia Carmelitana, Analecta*, vol. IX, 1934.

² At that date the Dutch and English crowns were united on the heads of William of Orange and his English queen.

³ *S.N.R.*, II, p. 261—a paper headed “Chapter translated from the English, Isfahan, capital of Persia, 12th June, 1699.”

⁴ *S.N.R.*, II, p. 264.

⁵ It has, till recent years, been the custom in Persia when honoured guests or strangers or friends arrive from a distance, or after long absence, more particularly with State officials of high degree, at several miles from the entrance of the town to prepare a reception with refreshments and carpets, and thence all notables, or friends, in concourse rode in company of the person so honoured into the town. This is termed an *istiqbal*.

"of Julfa, i.e. to the principal men who have horses to go out to meet him. Very imposing
 "indeed was that entrance into the city, the gentlemen from the English and Dutch Com-
 "panies also taking part, and many other Europeans, and many of the people of the
 "Resident from Muscovy with his trumpets and drums, who played alternately to the other
 "two trumpets given to the said Monseigneur in Muscovy. The whole cavalcade was
 "preceded by the Grand Receiver of the Royal Guests, called Mihmandar Bashi, and
 "other officials. He was assigned a very spacious and magnificent lodging, with a company
 "of guards under a captain for the gate and any other services that might be needed. He
 "did not wish to declare himself ambassador from the Emperor nor from the Czar of
 "Muscovy, both because he had no such instructions from the said Emperor, nor the
 "expenses for the pomp and dignity corresponding, as also because of a very delicate
 "incident which kept the Resident of Muscovy here litigating with the Court in no small
 "perplexity. . . . The decision was that not Monseigneur himself, but I on his behalf should
 "carry the said letters to the house of the Prime Minister: which I did, delivering them
 "into his own hands, he remaining standing. This so pleased the Court here, that for the
 "other three letters, i.e. from His Holiness, from the Republic of Venice and from the
 "Grand Duke, the king wished immediately to hold an extraordinary reception, to which
 "Monseigneur was invited. But the latter, being somewhat indisposed from fatigues of his
 "journey, and besides the presents which he had to offer not being yet arrived and ready,
 "he sent his excuses. So, on the festival, which followed shortly after, 'Aid-i-Qurban (i.e.
 "the sacrifice, which the Muhammadans say is that which God commanded of Abraham
 "in his son, not Isaac as according to our true scriptures, but in Ishmael according to their
 "false version) on the 9th of this month of June he was summoned to the solemn banquet
 "of the festival, where, the king alone seated and on his throne, with all the Court standing,
 "he gave the three letters into the hands of the Chief Minister, who received them one or
 "two paces away from the king, and, taking from the king's lips the compliments on his
 "arrival, repeated them to Monseigneur, who through the interpreter delivered his replies,
 "this being done over again some seven or eight times. As to the enquiry which the king
 "then made regarding the motives of his embassy, he made answer by a petition for a
 "private interview either with his Majesty or with some Minister from his privy council.
 "Then he made Monseigneur sit down opposite him, separately from all the nobles who were
 "drawn up on one side, and I was given a similar seat two steps lower down, opposite,
 "however, to the king, and two other companions were made to sit down in the style of
 "the whole Court upon carpets, and upon tablecloths of cloth of gold we were then all
 "served in golden plates a dinner as magnificent as it can be made in this country. When
 "that was finished the king contrary to his usual custom remained seated till we had all
 "left the hall, and the Receiver of the Royal Guests reconducted us home with the like
 "pomp to that in which he had brought us, two Captains of the guard also accompanying
 "us. We were led across the great royal square, where at once all the drums and pipes
 "began to play until we had passed. Now, for tomorrow or the day after the king is
 "having Monseigneur invited to another reception at night, when all the palace is to be
 "illuminated with artificial lights—an honour never paid save to guests who are kings or
 "of royal blood. And so 'gloria vitantem sequitur!' But all this will be of the greatest
 "usefulness to us, because with such great influence all affairs not only of our own mission,
 "but all the other big questions in which this kingdom is involved will easily be settled.
 "But Monseigneur needs to be assisted with some grant in aid, as he has had to spend money
 "in entertaining the Court on a par with the honours they pay him, and in presents to
 "make to the king and nobles, more even than the large amount he had brought into
 "Persia. He could not do less, Providence thus ordering affairs to the greater glory and,
 "I do not doubt, also to the greater propagation of the Catholic Faith. . . ."¹

¹ The *Vita P. F. Elia a S. Alberto*, O.C.D. 320 c., relates among special attentions paid to the Archbishop that Shah Sultan Husain called him *Baba*—a familiar term for 'father', used properly by children. To modern ears, used to an ambassador, it would sound disrespectful.

There is to be found in *S.N.R.*, II, p. 341, a "Statement of what the King of Persia has "been pleased to grant Mgr d'Ancyra, ambassador to this Crown on behalf of His Holiness, "His Majesty the Emperor, and of other European Princes.

"A general *ragam* or order in favour of all missionaries and their churches in the kingdom "of Persia permitting them to rebuild their houses, convents and churches, to exercise their "functions and bury the dead.

"Another *ragam* to all the Governors of Persia, so that they be scrupulous in carrying "out the above order, and applying penalties.

"A special *ragam* for the Capuchin Fathers at Tiflis and their church already shut, and "another by express messenger from the king to punish the audacity of some Armenians "who in recent months committed some offence against the said Capuchin Fathers.

"A special *ragam* for Mgr Pidou, Bishop of Babylon, in Hamadan.

"A special *ragam* for Mgr the Archbishop of Nakhchiwan and his province.

"A *ragam* for the founding, and enlargement of the convent and church of the Jesuit "Fathers at Shamakhi."

(Incredible as it may seem to critical minds in the twentieth century, the more so as there is no evidence that it was obeyed—yet there is confirmation in the *Vita P. F. Elia a Sto Alberto*, O.C.D. 320 c.), "A *ragam*, absolutely ordering all the Armenian race in the kingdom "of Persia not to dare in future, any single man of them, to curse S. Leo, with a statement "of the fines which would be imposed on those contravening it; and moreover that in "future none of their priests be raised to the position of bishop or patriarch unless in "obedience to the Holy Apostolic See and our Holy Father—this 'convention' to be executed "some day ahead in the house of the said Mgr of Ancyra by all the heads and bishops of "Julfa, by order of the king.

"Various other political commissions on behalf of the Emperor and other Princes granted "him in writing by the king, together with a fine letter from the 'Itimad-ud-Dauleh, Prime "Minister of the kingdom. . . ."

In Shah Sultan Husain's reign words and promises were of small account, and for money his entourage would get the royal seals affixed to an order directly contrary to that given to another a short time previously. So it is not surprising to read testimony from more than one witness that the results obtained by the Archbishop of Ancyra became null and void for the most part:

"Mgr d'Ancyra left here for India on the 15th November, after having taken a great "deal of trouble, with small result, for the conversion of these schismatic Armenians . . . "who were from before enraged against the Romans . . . and I believe that in reality "gentleness is more suitable with such persons than harshness and severities and the dire "threats, with which they have been irritated beyond measure in the past. They had "promised that prelate to write a letter of submission to His Holiness the Pope, but they "are always procrastinating, and I do not know what to hope of it. In the meantime of "necessity (having become indebted here to the amount of 50 Tumans) he has been obliged "to hasten his departure, and his embassy would have certainly been more fruitful, if he "had begun with the benevolence with which he finished it, but he was badly counselled . . ."

wrote Bishop Pidou de St. Olon, of Baghdad.¹ And the Vicar Provincial Substitute of the Carmelites wrote to the Sacr. Cong. in 1700 that

'the Archbishop of Ancyra, lacking time and money, had been able to do nothing with 'the king of Persia for the mission at Julfa. . . .'²

¹ Isfahan, 23.11.1699, *S.R.*, vol. 536, p. 121.

² Fr. Basil of S. Charles, 15.1.1700, *S.R.*, vol. 538, pp. 405-7.

Archbishop Peter Paul of S. Francis was indeed sorely tried with the financing of his mission while in Persia, and wrote in letters from Bandar 'Abbas, dated 1st and 4th April 1700:¹

"Here is finished the scene of my embassy in Persia, for me to take up the rôle of a poor and apostolic missionary in India, whither I leave by ship the day after tomorrow. . . .
 "If the Armenians keep to their promises, I hope God will bless them by giving them grace, so that Your Eminences can complete that which has been begun. But, if on the other hand (as is the more probable, and more customary in that race) they do not keep to them, I shall be equally content with the Divine Will and beg Your Eminences not to trust any more in the letters and promises of that race nor to hope for their reunion with the Roman Church, whether by orders of the Shah or for the sake of the protection of our Catholic princes. It should be prohibited for any Armenian to enter the Papal States unless he first make profession of the Catholic Faith. I would suggest that the Holy See propose² to the Venetian Republic, to the Grand Duke" (i.e. of Tuscany) "and to the Emperor to have an order jointly issued to their subjects to the effect that, if Armenians do not within a certain time find means of reuniting themselves to their Head of olden time, all their goods in those states will be confiscated. . . . I have been 16 months in Persia, but have received only 7 months' allowance from the king of Persia and been robbed of 9 months' allowance, i.e. 326 Tumans, equalling 2,278 venetian sequins." (He continued enumerating the eight members of his mission, five Franciscans for China recommended him by Cardinal Sacripante, and two French priests of the Bishop of Baghdad unable to support them with funds, all of whom he had been feeding and providing with transport to India.) . . . "The organs intended by His Holiness as presents for the king of Persia and the Great Mogul remained for almost two years in the customs-house at Aleppo, there being no one there to pay the duties and still less the cost of transporting these things by land to Isfahan, and to India. . . ."

The second letter began with lamentations. Instead of

'navigating on a sea of felicity, with honours paid, and escort and comfort as in Persia, here in Bandar 'Abbas he is reduced to such straits that for many days he had toiled hard to find a little rice, and fish to nourish himself. . . .'

"From the time I entered Persia there were assigned to me 60 'abbasi per diem for my expenses and those of my 'family' (i.e. the missionaries and servants accompanying him), the king continuing the same bounty up to the day that I quit his dominions for India. In addition, I have been provided on my journeys with as many horses and camels as I needed and have always been accompanied by a royal official (i.e. the Mihmandar) and many soldiers, who had to see to my lodging and whatever might be necessary. My effects and my companions have enjoyed a free pass everywhere, and every respect and comfort. . . . But I ought to have received, according to the daily allowance, 3,840 'ungari'.³

"The liberality of the king, and magnificence of this Court is perhaps singular, because they do the same to every ambassador, even to everyone bringing letters from European princes to the king, making no distinction between mere bearers of letters or couriers and an ambassador, except in the manner in which they are treated: and they take the measure of the allowance to be assigned from the person concerned himself. Had I been informed at the beginning of the style used, I could have entered Persia with a larger number of servants and greater pomp. But, because I caused it to be said that I was only bringing 20 persons with me, that I should need only 20 camels, they assigned me

¹ S.R., vol. 541, pp. 17-8.

² To stop persecution by the Armenians of Catholics in Persia, Carmelite and other missionaries had from 1650 onwards frequently urged that Armenian merchants in Europe should be made to feel pressure and restrictions.

³ Ungari were florins copied at some mints in Italy from the original Hungarian coins.

"only 60 'abbasi; whereas, had I had 200 or 400 as had the Turkish ambassador, I should have received 200 or 300 'ungari' daily besides horses and camels, on which much gain can, however, be made, because sometimes a lesser number is actually taken and the difference is gain which goes into one's own pocket.

"But the crafty officials of the Court with a nicety of cunning would never settle up the accounts; they would go on refunding me from time to time some sum or other; until, when I had been given my *cong  * by the king and was on the point of departure" (from Isfahan) "and it was no longer permissible for me to appeal to the king, who all the more unfortunately was at that time far away from the capital, they cut me off more than half" (the balance due). "It was left for me to recoup myself on the journey from Isfahan to this port and I was not mistaken, for the Mihmandar carried a large sum with him. But here they have cheated me worse than in Isfahan, carrying me on with fine hopes till the last day and then have given me nothing. Therefore it is that I am in such straits. . . . There should have been much profit from the horses and camels, but all went to the Mihmandar who accompanied me. He was even too unabashed in his robbing, coming to an agreement with the other attendants and had himself allotted 9 shahi for every horse and 11 for each camel, for which he paid only 3 or 4 shahi: they divided the balance between them daily. In addition, the extortions they commit in every place they pass are barbarous, and the officials gain more from them than is ever given to the ambassador. For this reason I think these gentry like envoys to come frequently so as to be able to rob the more.

"As to the gifts which I made to the king, I was asked whether I was presenting them in the name of the Pope and of the other princes, or in my own name. I replied that the papal gifts had remained behind in Aleppo whence, if his Majesty so desired, he might be so kind as to cause them to be brought, but that these I had I was offering in my own name. I presented him with two fine pieces of gold venetian brocade, value at 250 'ungari': one large clock striking the hours and with an alarm, valued at 140 'ungari': another smaller specimen, also striking, with a gilt case and enamelled, valued at 210 'ungari': one gold filigree work-box with enamelled pictures, costing 150 'ungari': one clock, with a gilt case encrusted with diamonds given me by the Princess of Valdimono, of the value of 100 'ungari': an instrument to lift weights, which I had made anew and which was well liked, estimated at 50 'ungari': some pictures finely painted: two fine mirrors with filigree frames: a microscope, and a magnifying glass. All the above were valued by the royal officials, well versed in such matters, at about 800 'ungari'. The custom of the Court is to give back the double of what is presented, but to me they gave only half and that partly in money, partly in products of the country of little value. The organs, spectacles, instruments for lifting weights, and other curiosities made in Rome with the 900 scudi given me by the Sacr. Congregation, remained in Aleppo. The king, or rather his officials, let me know that there was no need for me to wait for these nor that I should give them to the king: whereat I was obliged to have them brought at my own expense from Aleppo to Erivan, where the Khan, understanding that they were presents for the king, sent them on at the royal expense as far as Isfahan, with the result that all the articles fell into the hands of the royal officials, who had all the boxes opened, took out one organ, and I know not if it was the same with the two spinets . . . and the other things without giving a word of thanks and not even sending me the rest to this port at their own expense. This should be made known to His Holiness and the Sacr. Congregation so that, if on some occasion the Pope has to write to the king, he may complain of it and also, if they send ambassadors to Rome, these should be treated as the Persians treat others. In Shamakha I had already heard of the loss of so many clocks and other fine presents extracted by the governor of that place. Further, there was the loss of the 1,000 'ungari' given me by the Emperor, which were forwarded to the brother of a rich Catholic merchant of Astrakhan to be paid to me at Shamakha, where I found him bankrupt. At this port" (Bandar 'Abbas) "I have been obliged to

"remain 3 months and more because there was no opportunity of sailing, and for that reason I had to incur considerable expenses without recovering a single stiver of the allowance ordered by the king to be paid. It should be added that I shall have to sail in a Persian native vessel" (dhow), "no ship at all of the Franks having come this year. The passage money, at however much it be agreed, cannot be less than 350 'ungari'. Such great losses have upset the accounts as estimated in advance, the scene being thus suddenly changed from grandeur to poverty. . . . So have mercy on me, at all events, my friends. Have pity on my miseries, for I find myself at present 700 'ungari' and more in debt, but now gayer of heart than ever and with greater hope of the Divine protection. Do not forget us, however, Your Lordships; so that in a year of public jubilee the Sacred Congregation and His Holiness may dispense to us liberal alms. The ship will sail tomorrow, if it please God, and I leave the letters in the hands of a friend to be sent to Aleppo. If the Divine mercy brings me alive to Surat, I shall consecrate myself entirely to that mission, which perhaps will not be the least sterile for the Church. All the missionaries are learning the language, either Persian which is current at the Court or Hindustani among the people. . . . On the journey and when staying in houses the customary exercises, Mass, prayer, catechism, short exhortations, are never omitted. Solemn days are observed with all pomp no less than in Europe. It makes me glad to see the liberty which I have had everywhere for public worship and with all the majesty and devotion of our ecclesiastical rites. All this, my dear Sir, is by the way; but in Surat we shall begin to do our duty, and I hope that the world and hell will remain confounded by it. . . . Peter Paul, Discalced Carmelite, Archbishop of Ancyra. . . ."

Sad to relate, the Vicar Apostolic for the dominions of the Mogul, etc., was given scant opportunity to fulfil his words, for another letter of his, dated Surat, 1st January 1701,¹ reports that he had had an attack of what he called "semi-apoplexy with fever and repeated syncope", which took him on Christmas night 1700 after he had pontificated and said the other two Masses. He went on to claim that he had played the

"rôle of ambassador at the Persian Court with much fruit for the Faith, honour for the Church and also pecuniary help for the missions. If it had not been for the king's ministers appropriating my allowances for nine months to the amount of about 4,000 Tumans, I should have had the wherewithal to maintain myself and the missionaries here for a while without troubling you. Such an unexpected and unjust blow had brought me to extreme straits, so that I left Bandar 'Abbas indebted for 2,700 rupees, which I have paid here in Surat together with another 2,000 rupees spent by reason of the tyranny of these Muhammadans. All this money I have settled by the sale of the presents intended for the Great Mogul."

After describing his painful experiences on landing at Surat he went on to

"thank all for the share they have had in providing me with so noble a martyrdom".

He was thinking of leaving for Cochin in another twenty days, if one of the Carmelite Fathers were well enough. But in two days more he himself was dead, at the age of 58 years. An eye-witness of his last days has related:²

"He died on the 3rd January of this year 1701 after nine days' sickness, which began with indigestion in the stomach, for which a lay brother of the Jesuits gave him an emetic of antimony, which so enfeebled him that each time he appeared to retch up his life. On the day following he gave him a medicine, which in the opinion of the French and Dutch doctors is what carried him off to the grave. When dead, he was found to possess

¹ S.R., vol. 541, p. 22.

² Lay Brother Francis Mary of S. Sirus, 13.5.1701, Shiraz, O.C.D. 238 g.

"in money 3 sequins and 20 rupees—about 10 Roman scudi—which was insufficient to "bury him: and he left 2,348 rupees of debts. . . . One day before his death . . . we "carried his effects to the house of the Jesuit Fathers as being nearest to the residence of "the Archbishop, and we had 4 horses which he possessed sold for 875 rupees. The other "effects consisted of his vestments, crosses and rings, his clothes, some objects with gold "and silver flowers presented to him by the king of Persia, and an organ which after a "few days was sold for 500 rupees, a clock for which 200 were promised. . . . On the "following day at an early hour he was taken to the church of the Capuchin Fathers: "Mass was sung in the presence of all the French gentlemen and all Christians in Surat. "Monsieur Godreau, priest of the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Paris, preached a funeral "sermon. When all was finished in church, all those gentlemen and Christians accom- "panied the body in procession to the grave, which was outside the town, and waited till "the end of the obsequies. . . ."

His uncle, Pope Innocent XII, had predeceased him, aged 85, a few months previously. No portrait has been found at Sant' Elia.

Letters extant:

29.3.1678	Rome	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 468, p. 123
27.1.1679	Basra	<i>O.C.D.</i> 241 o.
30.1.1679	Basra	<i>O.C.D.</i> 241 o.
1.4.1700	Bandar 'Abbas	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 541, p. 17
4.4.1700	Bandar 'Abbas	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 541, p. 20
1.1.1701	Surat	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 541, p. 22

(There is a biographical memoir, among those of the Vicars Apostolic in India of the Order, in *Analecta*, vol. IX, April-June 1934, by the Archivist of the Order, Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, from which quotations have here been made, although it does not cover the same ground as the above.)

PETER THOMAS of Jesus

A Portuguese.

Family name: Pedro de Aguiar Diaz y Aguilar, son of Luiz Diaz and Maria de Aguiar. Born about 1587 at Lisbon. Prov. in Order: Roman. Took the habit at S. Silvestro, Monte Compatri, 8.2.1619. Professed 8.2.1620.¹ Probably already in priest's Orders when he entered the Order. Having travelled via Naples, Messina, Malta, Tripoli, Aleppo, Baghdad, accompanying the Visitor General, Fr. Vincent of S. Francis, he arrived at Isfahan in May 1621. Present at Isfahan at the time of the martyrdom of the three converts from Islam, and like the other Religious confined to the Convent, more or less, from February to October 1622. When it was decided in 1623 to found a Residence at Shiraz, he was selected to accompany Fr. John Thaddeus and on Saturday, 8.7.1623, set out from Isfahan for Ab-i-Kurang to obtain the permits and recommendations required from Imam Quli Khan, governor of Fars. Arriving there on 13.7.1623, they left the 'urdu' (camp) 22.7.1623 and reached Shiraz 31.7.1623. From Shiraz he wrote on 4.8.1623 a letter in Portuguese, extant. Sickening with fever, however, he became worse on 12.8.1623, and died 25.8.1623.² A companion on his journey from Europe and Prior at Isfahan during his two years there, wrote of him:³

"A Religious, in whom there was nothing one could desire which he did not have to "perfection."

¹ Information supplied by Fr. Marcellinus a S. Theresia, *O.C.D.*, from *Series Professionum* at S. Maria d. Scala.

² Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 27.9.1626, *O.C.D.* 238 o.

³ Fr. Prosper of Holy Spirit, 23.9.1623, *O.C.D.* 238 d.

Letters extant:

(joint declar.)	29.9.1621	Isfahan	O.C.D. 237 f.
	4.8.1623	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 i.
	11.8.1623	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 i.

PHILIP MARY of S. Augustine (later Bishop of Isfahan)

A Lombard, subject of the Duchy of Milan.

Family name: Camillo Apollonio Malachisi. Born 5.10.1688 at Missaglia in the Duchy of Milan. Prov. in Order: Lombardy. Professed at Milan 27.3.1707. Studied at Bologna.¹ Sent to Persia 22.5.1716, in company with the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Faustin of S. Charles, and from Baghdad proceeded direct to Isfahan,² where he arrived about January 1717. He is mentioned as at the Residence at Julfa in 1719:

“ . . . taking great trouble for the welfare of the missions. He (Fr. Philip) has already “preached frequently in the Armenian tongue, and is hearing confessions in that “language . . .”;

and again:

“Fr. Philip in Julfa works like an apostle and converts many heretics to our faith, beloved “and esteemed by all . . . and he has kept, and keeps himself on alms and a little money “with which I have furnished him. . . .”³

After he had received intimation from Rome of his own continuance in office as Vicar Provincial, Fr. Faustin appointed Fr. Philip Mary from 16.10.1719 to be Vicar of Julfa:⁴ as such he witnessed on 15.4.1725 a copy of a decree of Bishop Fedeli of Isfahan:⁵ letters of other missionaries show him still Vicar in 1730 and 1733.⁶ He thus passed through all the hardships of the siege, and starvation into submission of Isfahan city by the Afghans in 1722, and the bloodthirsty régime and monetary exactions ensuing: he alluded to it, but all too briefly (in common with his Bishop and nearly all other missionaries he failed to leave to posterity an account of those tremendous years in Persian history):

“In these five years in which, although unworthy, I have been Vicar of this House of “Julfa, I never have seen a bright day, but always have lived, fed by the bounty of others. “Although I have not been beaten—it came little short of it—matters having been arranged “sufficiently with the king, still I had to suffer many calamities, particularly at the time “of the siege much hunger: and I was even obliged to sell our domestic utensils so as to “be able to live. . . .”⁷

The Dominican Fr. Arcangelo Ferri, whom Bishop Fedeli had appointed Vicar General of the diocese of Isfahan on his departure for Rome, having renounced the position, in his stead the Bishop selected Fr. Philip Mary:⁸

“truly a Religious of tried virtue, and also in doctrine, labouring for many years past to “the approval of the people”.

¹ *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, part 1, p. 27, 1934, by Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia.

² *Chron. Basra*.

³ Fr. Faustin, — 1719, O.C.D. 242 b., and 26.5.1721, O.C.D. 238 g.

⁴ *Vide* Fr. Philip Mary's ‘responsio’ of 20.6.1725, O.C.D. 238 u.

⁵ O.C.D. 238 u.

⁶ Fr. Urban, 20.8.1730 and 3.1.1733, O.C.D. 242 h.

⁷ His letter, 21.9.1724, O.C.D. 238 u., quoted by Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia in memoir stated.

⁸ *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 542, Shiraz, 22.9.1730.

Bishop Fedeli having died in 1731, in the session of the Sacr. Cong. of Prop. Fide on 28.1.1732 out of those put forward the name of Fr. Philip Mary was selected as his successor.¹ The Bull for his consecration, eight and a half pages in length, dated 3rd Ides August (11.8.1732) is to be found in *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 560: and on p. 575 Fr. Philip Mary's profession of faith and oath subscribed at his consecration, which, however, took place four years later. On 22.10.1733, having had the news of his elevation, Fr. Philip Mary wrote his acknowledgments to Cardinal Sacripante; but a year later on 21.11.1634, writing from Julfa, he mentioned that only that month had he received the letter (no doubt with the Bulls for his consecration) of the Sacr. Cong. which had taken nearly 22 months to arrive. Sometime in 1735 he left Isfahan and proceeded by way of Shiraz evidently, for he stated that he had been one month in Basra, had then made a 41 days' journey across the desert to Aleppo, where he had arrived on 29.11.1735; but for his consecration he had to remain 7 months at Aleppo till the arrival of Archbishop Dominic Salvini, O.P., of Nakhchiwan, who coming from Constantinople² (where previously he had been Vicar General)³ reached Aleppo only on 9.6.1736. The ceremony was performed in the Franciscan church there, 17.6.1736. Bishop Philip Mary set off from Aleppo, 30.6.1736, to return via Diarbakr and Mardin, of the Christian communities in which towns he gives a lengthy account, and got to Baghdad 29.6.1736: from Baghdad he was intending to continue to Isfahan via Basra⁴—strangely, *Chron. Basra* is silent as to the Bishop's passage through that port, both in 1735 and 1736.

This was the period when Tahmasp Quli Khan, having made his way to the throne of Persia as 'Nadir Shah', began his reign tyrannical and sanguinary (however, full of territorial conquest and therefore reckoned glorious by Persians): and among other schemes he conceived that of devising a state religion, to be based on selections from the Books sacred to the various religions practised in the country, ordering that each community should produce translations in Persian—Jews, Christians, Muslims. In his letter of 4.11.1740 Bishop Philip Mary described the complications. Lazarus, Katholikos of the Armenians, had renewed the persecution of the Catholics, demanding that all missionaries should be expelled from Persia, their churches destroyed, the Catholics perverted. Five times while Nadir was on his Indian expedition this Katholikos with bribes and accusations petitioned the "viceroys", Nadir's son, to expel the missionaries. Then,⁵ the Katholikos having dispatched two Armenian vartapets to the Court, on the Saturday before Palm Sunday (1740) the authorities

"put in prison and bastinadoed the Catholics, of whom some became renegades and sealed
"a paper drawn up by the heretics, in which it was set forth that they had been seduced
"by the Fathers . . . and that they promised to go no more to the Catholic churches
"under pain of payment of a thousand odd hundreds of sequins to the king. And so we
"were suddenly summoned to the Court, I and the Father Superior of the Jesuits, nor
"could we obtain that this should be put off till after Easter, the disciples of the Devil
"wishing in this way too to prevent the holy rites from taking place and to force the
"Catholics to receive the Holy Sacraments from the heretics. On the night of Holy Thurs-
"day they obliged us to leave accompanied by the police, who in a space of nine days
"made us cover 73 Persian leagues,⁶ which is the distance from Isfahan to the town of —
"where the Court was staying at the time. There we were taken morning and evening
"to the square to await the hearing of the charges, in the midst of the rabble of soldiery
"and every sort of folk. There were with us one secular priest, four of the Messrs. Shariman,
"and one other merchant, a Catholic of some standing who served me as interpreter on
"that occasion: and there were also there another two Catholics from Georgia, who helped

¹ Late Fr. L. Lemmens, O.F.M., in *Hierarchia Latina Orientis*, No. 5, part 1, under Nakhchiwan, p. 80.

² See letter, 29.9.1736, of Fr. Philip Mary.

³ Late Fr. Lemmens, O.F.M., in *Hierarchia Latina Orientis*, No. 5, part 1, Nakhchiwan.

⁴ Fr. Philip Mary, 29.9.1736.

⁵ Fr. Philip Mary, Isfahan, 4.11.1740, *S.R.*, vol. 708, p. 165.

⁶ By 'league' presumably the Persian 'farsakh' is intended, i.e. between 3½ and 4 miles, according to various parts of the country. Eight 'farsakhs' would be an ordinary day's march.

"us not a little. On the side of the heretics there were three bishops" (i.e. vartapets) "together with other laymen. Among them a schismatic brother of our interpreter, who acted as interpreter of the said bishops: and it was a matter for remark to see two brothers contend together and answer, the one contrary to the other, the questions of the Prince, which were regarding the differences in religion. He made us explain the Creed, and the principal question was that of the primacy of S. Peter and the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff, which they obstinately repudiated and we maintained. After three hours' disputing, standing in the sun, the Prince concluded by saying that, as he had sent to the king, his father, the letter from His Holiness together with the petition from the patriarch" (i.e. the Armenian schismatic) "all would remain in their own faith until fresh orders, but no fresh persons might be accepted as Catholics. Immediately I had various true copies made of that order and dispatched them to various parts, especially to Georgia, in order that there might be a truce to the persecution so violently excited there. I also dispatched a petition to the king that, notwithstanding the decree issued, we should be allowed the liberty we had always had, viz. any person whatsoever might come to our churches without being molested. The Messrs. Shariman did not spare expenditure and, having after much effort got access to the king, obtained another order for everyone to be free to frequent the churches and profess the Faith. On that three persons of some standing, who had handed in to the Armenian bishops that wicked paper, withdrew it, but not without difficulty and spending money, thus effacing the scandal caused, and they made to me their act of abjuration.

"Once again taken off by the same police agent to Isfahan, I was forced to go and assist in the translation which the king had ordered to be made into Persian of the Holy Gospels, the Psalms, the Pentateuch and the prophesy of Isaiah, together with some other missionary in turn from each of the Orders existing here. The Quran is also being translated—and with a great deal of trouble to all concerned on account of the distance of the place, more than half a league away—last summer morning and evening, and this autumn in the morning only, but till after midday—and always we have to do it on foot because of the impossibility of taking a carriage. I have been obliged to incur many expenses for the reason that one and all in these countries want to be given presents, and it is very difficult to find anyone who will lend any money at all.

"The Armenian bishops and priests have also been assisting in the translation of the Gospel, which is made from the Arabic translation of the Vulgate, which the Armenians as well accept, not from any spirit of obedience or respect for Holy Church, but in order to avoid differences of translation between their Armenian version and our Vulgate. Continually difficulties are being made by the Turks, and it is necessary to answer them very carefully, because they do everything they can to defeat and undermine the Holy Gospel and to extract from it texts to favour the Quran, and to deny the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. All are apprehensive of what may be the issue of this translation. Some say that when the king has returned from war against the Uzbak Tatars he will summon the heads (of the religious law) of every creed, so that they hold a public disputation and form a new (religious) law. Others say that, as the result of these repeated complaints of the schismatic Armenians against the Catholics, he has given these orders just to see what differences there are between them, and set up one sole religion among the Christians; and up till now they are questioning me as to the differences and the reasons for them, which I have to give attached in writing. It is now (5) five months since I began to take part in this and there is no telling when it will end. We are now at the beginning of the Gospel of S. John. However, throughout these realms the Holy Gospel is being spread by all this. When I go to the Court it will be to my interest to take other Fathers with me, and the expense will not be light for a calamitous journey, of more than 40 days" (to Mashhad from Isfahan is probably meant) "at a time when there is such a concourse: and I ought to offer some present to the king as do all the others, in particular the schismatic Armenians, who on such occasions do not omit to

"spend handsomely in order not to miss any likely advantage. . . . In such circumstances
 "finding myself with a number of debts . . . I have taken the liberty of drawing a bill
 "of exchange on the Sacr. Cong. for 500 Roman scudi out of the yearly allowance which
 "you are pleased to give me: for that is the balance of the sum which I am due to receive
 "since my consecration, which was on the 17th June 1730, as up till now I had only had
 "400 scudi. . . . I add below for Your Eminence the account of the debts incurred specially
 "because of the persecution suffered, and beg the Sacr. Cong. to consent to pay them as
 "an extraordinary charge.

" . . . 1739	To officials at the Court, scribes, for orders obtained, messengers	scudi
	"sent from one place to the other	130
"1740	Cost of the journey to the Court	50
"1740	Cost of the translation of the Gospels and Scriptures	240"

No letter from Bishop Philip Mary regarding the final outcome of this translation has been found, but Fr. Urban of S. Elisabeth gave a detailed account of it to Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia, who used it in his book, the *Viaggi*. He describes how, months later, all concerned—Mullas, Rabbis, Catholic and Armenian ecclesiastical leaders (the two latter elements particularly hopeful in view of a rumour that Nadir Shah was thinking of becoming a Christian)—arrived in Qazwin to present their translations:

"They asked for audience of the king and had it in fact in the royal gardens. . . .
 "When the day appointed for the audience arrived, they were all together conducted to
 "the gate of the garden and there, made to halt, to their horror every now and then they
 "saw enter that gate men of all sorts, who were led before the king with halters round
 "their necks and there strangled, to be afterwards dragged out like animals and their
 "corpses thrown out in the fields for the wild beasts to eat. This spectacle lasted almost
 "an hour, during which time eighteen were strangled. The Persian translators trembled,
 "and so did the Jews, the Armenians showed some sort of courage in their looks, but our
 "Fathers were beyond measure delighted, hoping to have reached the Crown of Martyrdom,
 "so much desired by them. In fine emulation they mutually encouraged each other . . .
 "the controversy was fought out between the bishop Mgr Philip Mary and Fr. Urban as
 "to which of them ought to be the first to give his life in witness to the Holy Gospel. . . .
 "These two heroes of Carmel were still engaged in that contest of courage . . . when they
 "were informed that the time had come for them to enter: and our missionaries were in
 "fact placed the first in order, the Persian Mullas following them, next the Jews and last
 "the Armenians, each of them having in the hands of their principal representative the
 "translation in question of the Books. At about fifty paces' distance from the seat of the
 "Sovereign it was signed to them to halt, and soldiers at once came and made a way for
 "them, while on either side the officers and personages of rank at the Court took their
 "places in the positions fitting their respective positions. Then in accordance with Persian
 "custom the translators had to begin, the lowest in order the first, their salutation and so,
 "from hand to hand, cause the homage and obeisance to reach the king. The Sovereign
 "returned their greeting in the same manner and bade them welcome, communicating
 "his replies in an undertone to the person nearest to him, and the latter to another, and
 "so on until the words came to the translators. Then he enquired from them in the same
 "way whether they had finished their respective translations and they answered that they
 "had completed these and had brought them. . . . Having received the translations,
 "without glancing at them, he caused them to be asked whether they had been well lodged
 "and when they replied in the affirmative he dismissed them, saying that he would notify
 "them when he wished them to return, although they were never afterwards summoned.
 "But he had 100 Tumans given them to divide among themselves, and they received orders
 "to depart, each to his own abode and there remain and await any tidings. The division

"of the money was made in proportion to the numbers of the translators: our missionaries, "three in number, had 15 Tumans. . . ."

This must have taken place in 1741, or 1742. Between September 1744 and November 1744¹ Bishop Philip Mary set off for Tabriz and Tiflis in Georgia to give those districts of the diocese of Isfahan which had never had it previously from their bishop the Sacrament and chrism of Confirmation. His own letter of 28.4.1746, after his return to Isfahan, addressed to the Cardinal Prefect, gave the dates vaguely:

"In the month of October last" (i.e. 1745) "year from Tabriz I sent Your Eminence "news how with the help of the Lord I have visited almost all the diocese belonging to "the Bishop of Isfahan in the space of 17 months, administering the Sacrament of Confirmation to those baptized by the missionary Fathers in the principal provinces, i.e. "Tabriz, Ganjeh, in Georgia, in Gilan, and I now find myself back in Isfahan, ready to "repair to the Holy See in accordance with the oath taken at my consecration for the "ten-yearly (visit *ad limina*), which will expire on the 17th of next June. . . . On this "journey I had the fortune to re-find the book of the new translation of the Holy Gospels, "done in Isfahan in accordance with the information given to Your Eminence; but the "Persian translator refused to give me the copy, saying that he could not give it without "an order from the reigning monarch; and I have had one copy made, and now in Isfahan "I am having another made . . . and I shall have it done by one of those scribes, who "were of the number of the translators and, although I have written that the translators "of the Holy Gospel were Persians, still I repeat once more that neither I nor the missionary "Fathers have made the translation, but the Persians only from the Arabic text of the "Vulgate, with the constant assistance both of the Armenians and of myself accompanied "always by some other missionary Father."²

The Bishop had also received a circular letter from the Sacr. Cong. with the Bull of Pope Clement XII regarding the Freemasons: he thanked God that till then no such individuals were to be found in his diocese. A letter of August 1747³ shows that Bishop Philip Mary had received notice from the Sacr. Cong. that he was excused from making his proposed visit to Rome *ad limina*.

In poverty and debt—his stipend had not sufficed for the extraordinary charges falling on him in journeys and owing to the persecution, and the dearness of living owing to the political situation, and loans that had to be taken, he had even sent Religious to Mashhad to visit a number of Catholic families sent to quasi-exile there, so that after his death his successor inherited much financial adversity⁴—Bishop Philip Mary died on 13.8.1749:

"Almost of a sudden his strength failed him, except for his speech which failed four hours "prior to his death. . . . He began to recite the 'clamavi in toto corde meo exaudi me, "'Domine' and other Psalms, until he fell into the death agony. . . ."

His last recommendations in the presence of Religious and lay folk were with regard to the selection of a Vicar General, to beg the favour of the Sacr. Cong. for the Shariman family, and a companion for the sole Dominican missionary left in Julfa.

The Vicar of Julfa had to borrow 100 scudi in order to pay 60 to one local creditor, 10 for the servants' wages, 10 for the doctor and medicines during the Bishop's illness, and 20 for the funeral expenses.

¹ See his letter of 28.4.1746, *S.N.R.*, V, p. 167, mentioning that he had passed the winter of 1744 in Tabriz, as well as returning there in the autumn of 1745.

² That one copy reached Rome seems clear from *S.N.R.*, V, p. 223, a letter from Leghorn informing the Sacr. Cong. of its receipt, and that it would be forwarded.

³ Fr. Sebastian, *S.N.R.*, V, p. 201, 16.8.1747.

⁴ See a quantity of summaries and letters regarding the debts left by Bishop Philip Mary in *S.R.*, vols. 750, 753, 756.

The inventory attached to the letter quoted above is, except for episcopal ornaments, a list of pieces of "old and worn-out" clothing, e.g. "two sort of miserable carpets: two coverlets "and no more":

"he slept always on the ground, on one of the said carpets, and one coverlet under him, "the other over him, and in winter the second carpet over him. Money found after his "death—rupees 3, making 1½ scudi, which I distributed to the poor on the day of his "death. As to the remainder of the effects needed for his spiritual and temporal require- "ments as to church, sacristy, library, kitchen, canteen, articles of furniture for his apart- "ment, he made use of all in our said Residence, i.e. the Convent of Isfahan during the time "when he dwelt in Isfahan, and of that in our house at Julfa when he dwelt in Julfa."¹

"A prelate of all saintliness."²

Letters extant:

21.9.1724	Julfa	O.C.D. 238 u.
17.11.1724	Julfa	O.C.D. 238 u.
20.6.1725	Julfa	O.C.D. 238 u.
19.4.1729	Julfa	O.C.D. 238 u.
7.5.1731	Julfa	S.R., vol. 672
22.10.1733	Julfa	S.N.R., IV, p. 566
21.11.1734	Julfa	S.N.R., IV, p. 353
23.6.1736	Aleppo	S.N.R., IV, p. 575
29.9.1736	Baghdad	S.N.R., IV, p. 419
4.11.1740	Isfahan	S.R., vol. 708, p. 166
28.4.1746	Isfahan	S.N.R., V, p. 167

PHILIP of the Most Holy Trinity (later Praepositus General of the Order)

A Frenchman.

Family name: Julien Esprit, son of Jean E. and Gabrielle de Beldoni. Born at Malosenne, twenty miles from Avignon, 29.7.1603. Prov. in Order: Avignon. Professed at Lyons 8.9.1621. Studied in Paris, but in 1627 sent to Rome to the Carmelite seminary for missions.³ Selected by the Definitory General to be sent to Persia, 1.3.1628 (see *Regesta*, vol. II. p. 12). After having been, with Fr. Matthias of S. Francis then Praepositus General and Fr. Paul Simon, on 4.2.1629, to kiss the foot of the Pope, on 8.2.1629 he left Rome for Persia, accompanying the Visitor General, Fr. Epiphanius of S. John Baptist, and Fr. Ignatius. They sailed from Naples 24.2.1629. For their transport from Aleppo into Persia, and provisions, they paid 70 écus (crowns) each: in Baghdad they lodged with the Capuchins.⁴ They reached Isfahan 17.8.1629.⁵

¹ Footnote 22, page 29, of the biographical notice in *Hierarchia Carmelitana (Analecta, 1934)* by Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia "Julpha ubi semper residerat" seems to need revision: it is clear that after his consecration Fr. Philip Mary made the Convent in the City his episcopal residence during part of his 13 years' tenure of the bishopric—perhaps he spent the summer part of the year in the one, the winter in the other property of his Order. His last two letters of 1740 and 1746 are dated from Isfahan, not Julfa: and the Superior of the Jesuits, Fr. Arnulph Duhan, in his Latin reply to a questionnaire by the Sacr. Cong. in 1746 (see *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 365) giving the list of all Catholic clergy in Isfahan and Julfa, wrote:

"Dominus Philippus Malachisius, Episcopus nominatus a Sacr. Cong. ante annos decem, qui prius fuerat hic missionarius ex ordine Carm. Disc., supplet officium pastorale et residet in *Conventu Carmelitarum in civitate Isfahan*."

It is probably correct, as stated in the session of the Sacr. Cong. of 22.9.1750, *Acta*, 1750, p. 270, that he died in the Convent in the city. (See also *Catalog. Miss.*, "... reseditque Julphae prope Aspahanum, obitque Aspahanum.")

² Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia, *S.R.*, vol. 733, p. 429, on 25.6.1747, to Sacr. Cong.

³ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct. in *MSS. Hist. Miss.*, O.C.D. 285-6.

⁴ See *Voyage d'Orient*, Lyons, 1669.

⁵ Fr. Dimas, 28.9.1629, O.C.D. 237 b., although Fr. Philip himself in *Voyage d'Orient* wrote "19th August".

In May 1630 Fr. Philip was sent to Basra. The Vicar Provincial at the time explained in a letter of 12.8.1630:¹

"Fr. Philip has not applied himself to the oriental languages with all the diligence 'suitable, although many times begged to do so, being a subject who could greatly aid 'the mission. In the last months he begged me with great earnestness to send him elsewhere: and it was necessary for his peace of mind and the quiet of the House to satisfy 'him. . . . I gave him a commission for Goa, so that he may go and teach philosophy 'there, as he shows greater inclination for that than the study of languages. . . ."

Fr. Philip himself in his *Voyage d'Orient* gave other details: An army of Turks had invaded Persia and ravaged as far as Hamadan, only six days' march from Isfahan:

. . . "There is no doubt that, if the Turkish army had invested Isfahan at this moment 'when all was confusion and many had got camels ready to flee, they could have easily 'taken it. But they lacked the boldness, and went instead to besiege Baghdad (the walls 'of which city were almost all in a broken condition), but after 40 days the Turkish 'army withdrew for lack of provisions. The Fathers at Isfahan, then seven, decided to 'send some of their number to other missions, so that they should not be all over-'whelmed in the ruin of the city" (Isfahan): "they thought that three might hide, 'but not seven."

Having left Isfahan 19th May 1630 he reached Shiraz on the 25th of that month—rapid travelling it would have been accounted, even in 1910 or 1920, before motor-cars became a common method of transport, seeing that the distance, nigh on 300 miles, was 13 or 15 'manzils' (stages): and he gives his itinerary by the 'Sarhad', not the present 'post'-road:

"Je rencontray en chemin deux villes et plusieurs villages. Les villes sont Comcha et 'Main, les villages Aspahaneq, Majar, Madsudbeq, Annabat, où il y a quantité de très 'agréables jardins, Astecas scitué sur un ruisseau où l'on trouve du pain très excellent, 'Duguerdu, Gombet-el-Alla, où l'on exige le péage, Cuscusar, Aspas où il y plusieurs 'Chrestiens qu'on y a transportez du Gorgistan, Guion, où l'on voit très un beau jardin 'et une maison champestre qui appartenait autrefois au Kan de Syras, Imonzade où il y a 'un lieu qui est en très grande vénération chez les Persans, qui disent qu'un de leurs 'Prophetes y a esté ensevely. Il a là une montaigne assez scabreuse, derrière laquelle est 'la ville de Main, et tout auprès le petit fleuve dont j'ay parlè, qu'on passe à neuf milles 'de là sur un pont de briques. L'on rencontre après Deh Calenter et enfin Policour."²

He gave a little vignette of Shiraz, which makes the town of 300 years ago hardly different from that sojourners of recent years have known, with those sudden floodings of its stony river-bed bringing havoc to the NE. quarter, and the attractions of its gardens, and its wines, and its cypresses:

"L'on dit que cette ville a quatre lieues de tour, à cause qu'elle enferme dans son enceinte 'quantité de jardins. . . . Dans cette ville demeure le gouverneur de tout le royaume 'lequel lorsque j'arrivay estoit le premier de tous les Princes de l'Empire de Perse, et en 'richesses et en autorité et en majesté. Il avoit nom Imongolikan. . . . Il y a dans cette 'ville plusieurs mosquées très vastes et très belles, ornées de voutes fort hautes et peintes 'de diverses couleurs, il y a aussi plusieurs hautes tours qui l'embellissent merveilleusement. 'Ces dernières années quantité de maisons, qui pour la plupart sont baties de boue et de

¹ Fr. Dumas, O.C.D. 237 b.

² According to the rules for transliteration of Persian names, these places, existing today, should be spelt: Qumishéh, Mayin, Mayar, Maqsudbegi, Aminabad, Du Gardu, Gumbid-i-A'ala, Kushk-i-Zard, Asupas, Imamzadeh (Isma'il), Deh Kalantar, Pul-i-Khan, or perhaps the 'pul' (bridge) over the river Kur. The 'montagne scabreuse' is Dashtak.

“paille, furent abbatues par le débordement des eaux. La Cause de ce débordement fut
 “qu’ayant tombé extraordinairement de la neige sur les montagnes qui s’élèvent au dessus
 “de la ville, elle se fondit par la violence d’une grosse pluie, descendit impetueusement
 “sur la ville, ruina beaucoup de maisons, et si cela fut arrivé la nuit, il est sans doute
 “qu’elle eust renversé toute la ville entière: mais le commandement ayant esté donné à
 “tout le monde de travailler à faire quantité de canaux, ils furent faits avec une vitesse
 “incroyable et ces gros torrens d’eau s’espandirent par toute la plaine. Autour de cette
 “ville il y a quantité de vignes, et il y vient un très excellent vin, dont on fait mesme
 “provision pour la table du Roy. Il y a aussi plusieurs beaux jardins entre lesquels il y en
 “a un, qui a raison de son extreme beauté est appelé Ferdou c’est a dire ‘Paradis’.¹ Il y a
 “aussi le jardin du Roy embelly de longues et larges allées de Cyprès, si excessivement
 “gros qu’à peine trois hommes les pourroient embrasser: et si extraordinairement hauts
 “que la balé d’une arquebuz ne scauroit arriver à leur sommet. . . .

“ . . . Après que j’eus demeuré quatre jours en nostre Hospice de Syras je passay outre:
 “et le huitième apres mon départ j’arrivay en un Port du Golfe Persique nommé Bandel-
 “Regh. Ces chemins sont très difficiles à cause des montagnes et des collines qui s’y
 “rencontrent, et les trois dernières journées ils sont entièrement despourvus d’eaux, ou
 “s’il y en a, ce ne sont que des eaux salées et puantes. Car après que les montagnes sont
 “finies, on trouve une très vaste campagne,² qu’on peut à peine traverser dans deux jours
 “au milieu de laquelle court un petit fleuve³ dont les eaux mal-saines et salées augmentent
 “plustost la soif que de l’estindre. On le passe deux fois en cette plaine, après quoy l’on
 “vient en de certains puits, dont l’eau est si remplie de boue qu’elle en est très puante.
 “Entre Syras et ce Port l’on ne rencontre que la seule ville de Casaron fort peu de villages
 “qui sont encore bien méprisables et plusieurs cabanes portatives de pasteurs. . . .

“ . . . Bandel Regh est un bourg assez gros, tres fertile en Palmes, où il y a peu de maisons
 “de pierre, toutes estant presque faites de terre, de roseaux et de rameaux de palmes. Le
 “Cheq⁴ qui le gouvernoit estoit mortel ennemy de nos Pères pour ce qu’un d’entre eux
 “luy avoit enlevé un certain jeune homme Chrestien natif des Indes, qu’il avoit perverty
 “de la loi de Jesus Christ et converty à la sienne, et par conséquent qu’ils aymoient avec
 “passion. Toutefois il ne fut pas en son pouvoir de me nuire, d’autant que j’avois un
 “passe-port du Roy de Perse et du Kan de Syras, par lequel il estoit commandé sous de
 “griefves peines que tous leurs sujets, bien loing de m’empêcher le libre passage, m’accueil-
 “lissent avec honneur. Quand je le luy eus présenté pour le lire, apres l’avoir baisé il se
 “le mit révérentement sur la teste suivant la coutume du pays, donna ordre à un de ses servi-
 “teurs de me pourvoir d’un logis, ne visita nullement ce que je portois à Bassora, c’est
 “à-dire un tapis pour nostre église et du vin pour les Messes, ny n’en tira point le péage
 “qui luy en estoit justement deu. Ayant obtenu quatre jours après la licence de partir,
 “nous entrames dans une barque. . . .”

Fr. Philip reached Basra about mid-June. Fr. Basil there had a better opinion of his capacity for oriental languages:

“I think Fr. Philip will learn the Arabic language well. I am beginning to teach him,
 “as he came but a short time ago from Persia. . . .”⁵

At Basra he remained 15 months,⁶ and about September 1631 set out for Goa (“Fr. Philip
 “had been summoned to Goa from Basra”⁷). His *Voyage d’Orient* gives the course sailed down
 the Gulf:

¹ This is probably the garden known as ‘Bagh-i-Jinnat’ (Garden of Paradise) today, some 4 miles on the road towards Bushire, but may be the ‘Bagh-i-Firdous’.

² *Dashistan*, the plain.

³ *Rudhilleh*, the river.

⁴ The Shaikh of Bandar Rig was probably of the family of Hayat Daud, who were feudal lords in the district in the eighteenth century, at any rate.

⁵ O.C.D. 241 g., 24.8.1630.

⁶ Fr. Philip in *Voyage d’Orient*.

⁷ Fr. Dimas, 24.6.1631, O.C.D. 237 b.

"Ayant passé après cette isle celles de Cais et de Pilore nous vinsmes donner fond le
 "deuxième jour dans le Port de Congo, où nous nous arrestames quelques jours pour
 "charger de nouvelles marchandises que nous n'eusmes pas si-tost prises, qu'en estant
 "désmairez et ayant rasé les Isles d'Angan, de Quexomis, et d'Ormus . . . nous abordames
 "dans fort peu de temps à Mascati. . . ."¹

According to the Vicar Provincial in 1634 Fr. Philip had written to him desiring to be allowed to return to Persia;² he did not, however, move. By that year the Religious in the two Carmelite houses at Goa had become divided, all unity sundered, over a question of nationalism largely (contemporaneously with the movement in Portugal which was to throw off the Spanish domination and return to the native Portuguese dynasty of Braganza kings by 1640): backed by lay Portuguese influence, even the Viceroy, a number of the Religious worked for the jurisdiction over the Carmelite houses in Goa to be taken from the Congregation in Italy and given to the Carmelites of Portugal, and for the removal of foreign, especially Italian, Religious from control and residence in Goa. There are numerous references in letters of the Religious to show which side, which theory Fr. Philip favoured, e.g. in 1636:

"Frs. Philip and Matthew were thinking of sending away their legitimate superiors from
 "that house, and that it was their duty to reform the Order.³ . . . At the time when I
 "was in the said town of Goa, Fr. Philip and Fr. Matthew, heads of the revolt, said
 "publicly. . . ."⁴

In 1640 Fr. Stephen was appealing to the Praepositus General to recall

"the leaders, who are Fr. Matthew and Fr. Philip. . . ."⁵

Early in 1640 Fr. Philip, together with Fr. John Stephen, left Goa: his voyage is described in Book 10 of the *Voyage d'Orient*, from which the following extract may be quoted to provide additional proof of the identity of the port of 'Congo' (as the missionaries invariably spelt it) with Kung:

"De là nous traversames la mer durant toute la nuit, et parvinmes à l'Isle de Angam:
 "le jour suivant ayant passé l'Isle de Quexomis, nous abordâmes le quatrième de mars au
 "port de Congo. Il y a en ce port de Perse un certain procureur des Portugais, qui suivant
 "le traité qu'ils ont fait avec les Persans tire la moitié des Péages. Nous demeurions tous
 "là dans la maison des pères Augustins. Avant que nous partions de Congo il faut que
 "je die que ce lieu de forts petits commencemens ou pour dire mieux de quelques mauvaises
 "cabanes de pasteurs est devenu une grande ville à raison du trafic des Portugais, des
 "Gentils et des autres nations. . . . Nous demarâmes du port de Congo le 17 de mars,
 "le troisième jour nous arrivâmes à l'Isle de Cais. . . ."⁶

On 20th May 1640 he reached Isfahan,

"announcing that he was going to proceed to France . . . they brought us the following
 "news, viz. that two of our Religious . . . in the island of Java had been martyred on
 "28.II.1638. . . ."⁷

¹ Correct transliteration of the names given in this extract would be: Qais, Farur. the port of Kung: the islands of Hangam, Qishm, Hurmuz—the position of the port relative to those islands enabling the identification of 'Congo' with Kung.

² Fr. Dimas, 20.5.1634, O.C.D. 237 b.

³ Fr. Dimas, 2.12.1636.

⁴ Fr. Melchior, 18.8.1636, O.C.D. 238 b.

⁵ 23.3.1640, O.C.D. 241 p.

⁶ Transliteration of the names: Hangam or Hanjam; Qishm; Qais. A letter of 17.3.1631 from the Agents at Gāmburūn of the British East India Company (see the archives of the India Office, London) confirms this 'treaty' and Customs moiety at 'Counge' = Kung, "which is 3 daies' journey from Gombroon" and shows the Portuguese went to that port in 1630-1 first.

⁷ Fr. Dominic of Christ, 24.5.1640, O.C.D. 237 c.



FR. PHILIP OF THE MOST HOLY TRINITY, O.C.D.
Later elected the 21st Praepositus General of the Order, 25 4.1665

"In the month of June there left here Fr. John Stephen and Fr. Philip, Frenchmen, "who have let it be known that they were going there" (to Rome) "to defend and champion "Fr. Matthew and his adherents, and all that they had done against three Visitors "General. . . ."¹

After finishing his business in Rome he returned to his province of Avignon, where he filled in succession the offices of Prior, Definitor and Provincial. Then he was for two periods of three years Definitor General of the Order in Rome, and for another two periods of three years, 1665 to 1671, he occupied the highest position in the Order, Praepositus General of the Congregation of Italy. On a visit to the provinces of Naples and Sicily, and already ill, his complaints were made worse by the effect of a terrible storm which he experienced on board a ship, and from the results he died a saintly death at Naples 25.2.1671, aged 68 years. This learned Carmelite wrote many works of philosophy, dogmatic and mystic theology;² his *Decor Carmeli* was published in 1661, the translation into French from the Latin of his *Voyage d'Orient* was published at Lyons, 1669, by Antoine Jullicron.

No letter from him has been traced in the correspondence of the missionaries from Persia and Basra, but one regarding the missions, written when he was Praepositus General in Rome:

26.1.1669 Rome S.R., vol. 418, p. 385

PHILIP of S. Francis Xavier

A Portuguese, from Goa.

Born . . . Professed at Goa . . .

His name is not given among the Religious at Goa and Diu in the two lists of 1671 (S.R., vol. 428). "On 13.9.1681 Fr. Philip of St. Francis Xavier, a professed Religious of ours from "Goa, arrived here" (i.e. at Basra): "he was sent to us by the Prior of Isfahan."³ Though it is stated that he was at Shiraz at the time of the election for Prior, December 1682,⁴ evidently already by 1683 or 1684 he had returned to Goa from Basra or Isfahan, because in the course of his visitation in 1684 Fr. Agnellus objected that the Prior of Isfahan had sent Fr. Philip to "India without the faculty to do so. . . ."⁵

PLACID of S. Nicolas

A Neapolitan.

Born in 1691.⁶ Prov. in Order: Naples. Professed . . . Sent from Italy 1720, via Baghdad "on 7.2.1721 he reached Basra".⁷ Signed register of baptisms, Basra, 28.4.1722: 21.5.1723: 20.10.1724: 29.10.1724: 10.6.1725: 22.9.1726: 8.4.1728. On the departure of Fr. Paul Augustine from Basra 8.10.1724, "I, brother Placidus of S. Nicolas, remained alone". He was an active builder of the premises attached to the Residence there. He describes how in January 1725 he decided to rebuild an old house (presumably that adjoining the Residence, and called elsewhere the 'caravansarai'), some money having been accumulated

" . . . since there was no Vicar Provincial, from whom to obtain a licence, accordingly on "22.1.1725 I began pulling down the old house and, after it had been razed to the ground, "I planned the construction of the new house . . . on the 19th February I decided to lay "the first stone . . . on the 1st June 1725 everything was finished and at the same time "the house was hired to certain merchants coming from Bengal and Surat. . . .

" . . . In November 1725, the 'commission' as Vicar of this Residence, which the Rev. "Fr. our General, P. F. Bernard of Jerome, had sent me, reached my hands.

¹ Fr. Dominic of Christ, but unsigned, 30.1.1641, O.C.D. 236 b., 237 c.

² See Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus, O.C.D., in *La Orden de Sta Teresa* . . . y las Misiones, Madrid, 1920, p. 109.

³ and ⁷ *Chron. Basra*. ⁴ Fr. Elias, 14.7.1683, O.C.D. 237 h.

⁵ 26.10.1684, O.C.D. 238 k.

⁶ *Catalog. Miss.* says "1691": S.R., vol. 671, on 10.3.1732, when his name was suggested for the bishopric, gave him "forty years old".

"... In January 1727 I asked for a licence from the Vicar Provincial . . . for a new "house to be built in front of the gate of our House on the old site and, having obtained it, "began to prepare materials. . . . On the 17th March I laid the first stone . . . the house "by the favour of God was completed on 1st June 1727. I reduced the expenses to 5,325 "abbasi. . . . On the 2nd June of the same year a French ship arrived . . . to the captain "and to the merchant of it I rented the new house. . . ."1

On 17th September that year he fell seriously ill of the cholera or fever in an epidemic form, which had begun from the flooding of the land round the town, and of which 8,000 persons died in the town, ceasing with the cold weather by the end of November. He described the symptoms:

"Mr. French, an English Catholic from Ireland, had told Fr. Urban that I would die "during the night of the 24th September. . . .

"On the 21st December 1731, there reached me from Rome the 'commission' as Vicar "Provincial from the Reverend Father, our General Fr. Robert of S. Anne."2

In 1732 his name was one of those put forward to the Sacr. Cong. as suitable for selection as Bishop of Isfahan.³ In 1733, in the disturbed conditions of Mesopotamia, during Tahmasp Quli Khan's (Nadir Shah's) siege of Baghdad and advance to Hilleh, and the Arab marauders' threats against Basra, the church ornaments and vessels had to be hidden.⁴ On 26.10.1733 he set out for Bandar 'Abbas

"in order to establish a house there"5 . . . : . . . "at the end of October 1734, Fr. Placid, "the Vicar Provincial, returned from visiting the Residences in Persia."6

In a letter of May 1733⁷ it was expected that Fr. Placid would be reappointed Vicar Provincial at the end of his first three years of office: and, in fact, as "Vicar Provincial" he signed the register of baptisms on 5.11.1734: and continued in the office till October 1737,⁸ but he signed the baptismal register for the last time, 8.9.1738. On 6.10.1738 he left Basra by the desert route for Aleppo, *en route* for Europe.⁹ Returned to his province 1739. "Still, "this year 1775, he is living, venerable and an octogenarian."¹⁰

Some 35 paragraphs of the original of *Chron. Basra*—25 printed pages in the reprint and translation, *Settlement of the Carmelites in Mesopotamia*, by Sir H. Gollancz, were the composition of Fr. Placidus: but from 1733 the *Cont. Basra Chron.* was written up by a much later arrival, Fr. Angelus Felix.¹¹

Letter extant: 25.7.1726 Basra O.C.D. 242 b.

PROSPER of the Holy Spirit

A Spaniard.

Family name: Martino Garazzabal, son of Diego G. and Juliana Jimenez. Born at Nalda in Logroño (Rioja), Navarra, diocese of Calahorra, 22.5.1583. After finishing school he went to Rome, and took the habit at S. Maria d. Scala, 1607. Prov. in Order: Roman. Professed 1.11.1608.¹² He was sent to Palermo in connection with the founding of that House: then to Naples, where he was occupied in preaching and was much appreciated by the viceroy, the

1, 2, 4 and 5 *Chron. Basra*.

6 and 9 *Cont. Basra Chron*

3 *S.R.*, vol. 671, on 10.3.1732.

7 Fr. Urban, 26.5.1733, Isfahan, O.C.D. 242 h.

8 Footnote to *Cont. Basra Chron.*, p. 8, by Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist of the Order.

10 *Catalog. Miss.*

11 Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia in introduction to his edition of *Cont. Basra Chron.*, Rome, 1934, p. 5.

12 See *Series Professionum* at S. Maria d. Scala, by Fr. Marcellinus a S. Theresia, O.C.D., 1934; and Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus, O.C.D., in *En Persia*, Pamplona, 1929.

Duque de Osuña ("the Duke gave him a donation of 100 scudi, the Duchess 50 . . ."—see his letter of 27.8.1621). After that he was for a time in a hermitage of the Order near Genoa. So that he had already experienced the two other modes of life in the Order¹ when, after his return to Rome, he was sent to the mission in Persia in company with the Visitor General, Fr. Vincent of S. Francis. They left Messina in the end of September 1620 for Malta, whence after waiting several months they took ship, which brought them in fifteen days to Sidon. Thence by way of Tripoli, Aleppo and Baghdad "eleven months after leaving our convents" they reached Isfahan on the Friday before Pentecost (? 18th May) 1621.² Almost immediately, on 23.7.1621, he had been elected Prior—Fr. Redempt had been the last canonically chosen—but there arose some doubt as to the validity of the election and on 4.6.1622 in the conventual chapter he resigned the office: the same day, however, he was re-elected by four out of six votes for a three-yearly period, until the provincial chapter of 1625.³ For their first teacher of Arabic, at which they were doing three hours daily, he and the other new arrivals had

"a Scottish gentleman" (his name was George Strachan, of the Mearns) "a good Catholic, "who had studied in Rome . . . a man eminent in Hebrew, Greek, Chaldaean and "Arabic, who sent his books by the Fr. Visitor. . . ."

Fr. Prosper had arranged with him that in return for the six months he would be with them the Fathers would help him towards his journey back to Europe with 50 scudi.⁴ That he went seriously to work at the languages Fr. Basil may be cited:

"our Father Prior at present Fr. Prosper, having seen how necessary this language, Arabic, "is, gave us orders not to have any other books in our cells except in that language, so that "we might succeed in learning it well. . . ."⁵

On 2.12.1621 he begged the Praepositus General to obtain sanction from the Pope for Mass to be said by them in Arabic, as also Armenian, and to say the Divine Office in Arabic too; but he added that missals in Arabic should be sent out (by 1625 this request as regards Arabic had been granted).⁶

After the 'Salve' on Saturdays they recited in Persian the 'Christian Doctrine'.⁷ Finance was the great difficulty at that time, and much of the Prior's letters were taken up by the problem.

'From Rome the Visitor General had given them in Isfahan only 325 scudi, all spent 'while he was still in the House, and after his departure they had begun to get into debt. 'The Duke and Duchess and others in Naples had given Fr. Prosper 190 scudi in donations. 'It was P. della Valle who helped them greatly in 1622 by a loan of 500 ducats. There 'were fifteen to feed in the House at Isfahan; but more was given away to the poor than 'spent on food, for were not they the ambassadors of the Pope: only in bread, vegetables, 'rice they had spent 1,000 ducats.'

Later, with the new houses opened, the position got worse:

'They had received 534 scudi of the money brought from Italy, and 310—half—of what 'Fr. Leander had sent from India: while they owed 300 gold scudi (apart from the 500 'ducats of della Valle), 200 scudi had been spent on the business of the House at Shiraz

¹ See Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus, O.C.D., *La Orden de Sta Teresa . . . y las Misiones*, p. 101, Madrid, 1923.

² His letter, 27.9.1621, O.C.D. 238 d.

³ His letters, 8.9.1621 and 14.6.1622, and document signed as secretary by Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 4.6.1622, O.C.D. 238 d.

⁴ His letters of 27.8.1621 and 27.9.1621.

⁵ Fr. Basil, 22.9.1622, O.C.D. 241 g., quoted by Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus in *En Persia*, cited.

⁶ Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus, O.C.D., work cited.

⁷ His letter, 27.8.1621.

'and putting it in order (not the purchase money), 100 scudi had been given Fr. Dimas 'when he went to Shiraz, and 300 scudi spent in five months at Isfahan; and they had 'lost everything at Hurmuz.'

Even when on his way to Europe from Aleppo in 1625 he was appealing for help—1,300 scudi for the Houses at Shiraz and Basra, only 100 having been paid.¹

As to the missionary work at first all went encouragingly: "in four provinces of the kingdom "they are asking for us".² Then came just before the fall of Hurmuz the persecution of the native Christians and the blow to the influence of the missionaries with the Court: to Fr. Prosper is owed the fullest account of the events leading up to the martyrdom of the five Persian converts, at Isfahan and opposite Hurmuz in February and March 1622, accounts dramatically told.³ His earliest impressions of Shah 'Abbas I were forcibly expressed: he wrote of being "in the land of the greatest tyrant the Church has had since it began till our "time", and went on to describe the ways in which the Armenians were being forced to become Shiah: "What is it to have a House at the Court of a hostile king!"⁴

He gave a number of details regarding events and 'Abbas I, e.g. (27.9.1621) how the king

"no longer appears to pay any account of us, for the moment seeming to be all for the "English, with whose help it is to be feared very much that he wants to break off relations "altogether with the Portuguese and make war on Hurmuz . . . the Portuguese, from what "I hear, are few both on land and at sea, and with scant accord between them. . . ."

Finally the position seemed so threatening politically, so difficult financially that the Fathers held a chapter, and decided that it were best to send one of their number to Rome to give a report on it: Fr. Prosper himself was selected, and on 12.9.1624 he set out, to reach Aleppo 13.12.1624. He was still there 27.2.1625, when he wrote that he was taking to Rome relics of the bones of the martyrs of Isfahan and a book written by a Mulla against the Catholic Faith. While at Aleppo, the project of founding a house there commended itself to Fr. Prosper and, after his return to Rome, it was discussed and approved until on 30.1.1627 the Sac. Cong. authorized it and also the founding of a mission on Mt. Carmel, the spot where the Order had its origin and whence it took its name. Appointed to it, 10.3.1627,⁵ and dispatched therefore to Syria Fr. Prosper arrived at Aleppo early in September 1627 (see his letter thence 8.9.1627).⁶ It was 1631 before matters had been arranged in Rome for him to set about the re-foundation on Mt. Carmel and 23.6.1632 when 150 scudi were assigned as journey-money for him and three companions.⁷ Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus in his *La Orden de Sta Teresa . . . y las Misiones*, Madrid, 1923, tells the story:

"In order to get there as quickly as possible he bought a mule . . . but as it did not "move as the Father desired he sold it in Damascus, and with the proceeds bought some "attractive cloth to offer as presents, in oriental fashion, to whomever might be the owner "of Carmel; and, continuing his journey on foot as far as Sidon, he took a small boat "there, but . . . suffered shipwreck with the loss of the cloth and his baggage. The lord "of Carmel at that date was the Amir Tarabe, petty chief of some nomad Arab tribes "which roamed the mountain: the Amir . . . was a tributary of the Sublime Porte. . . . "After much coming and going to and from the tents of the Amir Tarabe, and much "bargaining . . . Fr. Prosper finally obtained the required permission to reside, and come "and go freely about those holy places on Carmel. On 29th November 1631 Dimitri of "Mytilene, as agent for the Amir, put Fr. Prosper in possession . . . and the latter cele- "brated the first Mass; by the title-deed Fr. Prosper, in the name of his superiors in Rome,

¹ His letters, 8.9.1621, 11.4.1622, 14.6.1622, 23.9.1623, 27.2.1625.

² 10.3.1622, 11.4.1622, 22.11.1622, and evidence taken 5.4.1622.

³ See *Regesta*, vol. I, p. 165.

⁴ *S.R.*, vol. 147, p. 203.

⁵ Letter, undated as to month, 1622.

⁶ Letter, 2.12.1621.

⁷ *Regesta*, vol. II, p. 92.

"bound himself to pay to the Amir Tarabe and his successors annually the tribute of 200 piastres. . . . In the Chapter General held in Rome in 1632 it was unanimously agreed that the Praepositus General of the Congregation of Italy should add to that title the "one of 'Prior of Mount Carmel': this title was confirmed the following year by Pope "Urban VIII . . . who by a Bull of 3rd December 1633 granted to the Discalced Carmelites, exclusively, the possession of Mount Carmel, so that no other religious Order "should be able to found monasteries on that holy mountain. The venerable Fr. Prosper "restored on Carmel the life of the hermitage, the convent and of the mission . . . he also "founded the Residences of Haifa and St. Jean d'Acre. . . . In Haifa" (that was 1633) "Fr. Prosper bought some cottages, and established a hospice and a chapel, which later "was converted into a church. . . . In Acre he founded a hospice with its small church, "in 1634: there was no fixed residence there. . . ."

On 30.12.1633 the Definitory General of the Order directed that, as Fr. Prosper had contracted a debt of 400 Spanish reals for payment of the site on Mt. Carmel, this debt should be met out of the income of the missions (i.e. presumably the bequest of Baron Cimini): and on 1.5.1634 that 100 scudi taken at interest by Fr. Prosper to pay the annual sum due to the Amir, lord of the said Mt. Carmel, be also paid (see *Regesta*, vol. II, pp. 121, 123). Again, 29.3.1635, the Definitory General ordered that from the income of the missions annually 200 pieces of eight should be paid to meet 150 reals, which Fr. Prosper had bound himself to pay the Amir Tarabe, and 50 reals to Demetrios, procurator or agent for the mission with the Amir: while, 8.12.1635, the Definitory General allotted another 200 scudi annually to the mission at Mt. Carmel "on account of its necessitous state and trials suffered". Indeed, as stated in *Regesta* (vol. III, pp. 8, 29, 30) under 12.2.1636, to avoid imminent dangers Fr. Prosper had left Mt. Carmel and come to Rome.

"On Carmel Fr. Prosper lived a saintly life for 30 years, dying there on the 20th November "1653 in the odour of sanctity, lauded with one voice by Turks, Arabs, Druses and Christians of all rites in the country. He was buried there in the Sanctuary of the Virgin, next "to the grotto of Elijah. . . ."

He wrote a *Compendium of the History of the Mission* during the years 1621 to 1625, now in the Vatican Archives, Fondo Borghese, Ser. III, 19, ii (p. 170); the *Martyrium quinque neophitorum persarum*, a history of the foundation of the mission at Aleppo: a history of the recovery of Mt. Carmel: his life has been treated by several Carmelite writers.

Letters extant:

	27.8.1621	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 d.
(jointly)	23.9.1621	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 d.
	8.9.1621	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 d.
	27.9.1621	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 d.
	20.10.1621	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 d.
	2.12.1621	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 d.
	10.3.1622	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 d.
	5.4.1622	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 d.
	11.4.1622	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 d.
	14.6.1622	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 d.
	22.11.1622	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 d.
	4.7.1623	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 d.
	23.9.1623	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 d.
	8.1.1624	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 d.
	19.6.1624	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 d.

9.7.1624	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 d.
27.2.1625	Aleppo	O.C.D. 238 d.
8.9.1627	Aleppo	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 147, p. 217
9.5.1628	Aleppo	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 147 . . .
18.3.1630	Aleppo	O.C.D. 238 d.

PROSPER of S. Cornelius

A Belgian (French subject).

Family name: Pierre Alexandre Laudemont. Born at the village of Pronville (Belgium) 1701. Prov. in Order—Gallo-Belg. Professed 10.2.1733. Sent to missions 1737,¹ arriving Basra 29.5.1738. Succeeded as Vicar 2.9.1739.² Signed register of baptisms 26.5.1741. On 20.12.1743 the news that he had been confirmed as Vicar reached him:³

“On 6.10.1746, as he was versed in medicine, Fr. Prosper, summoned by Ahmad Pasha, “went to Baghdad, and on 22.1.1747 returned to Basra. On 10.6.1748 with the permission “of the Fr. Vicar Provincial Fr. Prosper left for Europe; but at Aleppo, having learnt of “the death of Fr. Benedict of S. Mary” (at Basra on 25.6.1748) “he returned and on “28.11.1748 resumed the direction of the House.”⁴

He had ceased to be Vicar of Basra, 20.7.1752, when Fr. Elias was nominated, and at some later date apparently left for Europe, because in December 1756 he arrived at Basra from Europe and took over the vicariate.

(This was a period of warfare in Europe, and national dislikes: the records show that at Basra, too, there was no little friction between those Religious of Italian race and others who were French, such as Fr. Prosper.)

“On 5.6.1761 Fr. Prosper of S. Cornelius, Vicar of this mission, left for Europe.”⁵

Then in 1765, and again in 1768, M. Claude Pyrault, nephew by marriage of Bishop Emmanuel of Baghdad, agent of the French East India Company and consul for France at Basra, wrote to Rome, complaining that “for 10 years past” there had been no vicar of French nationality at Basra: now that the French Company had resumed operations at Basra he considered it an additional reason why there should be one and suggested Fr. Prosper should be brought back. The Procurator General of the Order on this reported to the Sacr. Cong. that Fr. Prosper had again gone to the East some two years previously (i.e. about 1767) as Visitor of the missions in Syria, commissioned also to visit those of Baghdad and Persia. When the visitation was concluded, at the request of certain Religious of his own province he was retained by the Praepositus General as Vicar of Tripoli and Mt. Libanon, “for which reason “the Residence at Basra would be spared discord”, seeing that Bishop Cornelius of S. Joseph was then residing there, and had previously asked that Fr. Prosper should not return.”⁶

The footnote on p. 53 to *Cont. Basra Chron.* states that Fr. Prosper died in 1771, *Catalog. Miss.* in 1770 at Basra; but there is no mention in the text of *Cont. Basra Chron.* of his return, and it is suggested here that perhaps Tripoli was the place.

Letter extant: 29.7.1758 Basra O.C.D. 242 b.

¹ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, in footnote, p. 53, to his edition of *Cont. Basra Chron.* ², ⁴ and ⁵ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

³ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia in his footnote to p. 53, *Cont. Basra Chron.*, states that Fr. Prosper was from 1742-6 at Hamadan, the authority is not given, and there is no mention in *Cont. Basra Chron.* of his having left Basra.

⁶ *S.N.R.*, VII, pp. 528-30.

RAYMOND of S. Margaret

A Frenchman.

Family name: Jean de la Bellandière. Born¹ 14.11.1604 at Noyal-sur-Vilaine (Ille-et-Vilaine). Prov. in Order: Paris. Professed 21.12.1624 (see *Necrologie*, Prov. de Paris). On 16.6.1632 (see *Regesta*, vol. II, p. 92) the Definitory General directed he should be sent to Constantinople:

“The ambassador of the king of France to the Sultan of the Turks of his singular devotion ‘towards our Order has obtained a certain site at Constantinople for our Religious, and ‘it was accepted’” (see *Regesta* for 4.6.1632),

and on 30.6.1632 he and his companion were assigned 140 Roman scudi from the mission funds.

In O.C.D. 270 i. there is a ‘Relatio missionis Constantinopolitanae’, undated, over his signature: in it it is mentioned that he had left Rome on the 17th July for Ancona, and, delayed in the Adriatic, had reached Constantinople on 15th November. He had left Constantinople on 18th January, with the intention of making for Italy, but had been taken by storms into Marseilles. He mentioned that at the time of his visit there were in Constantinople only 40 Catholics; but 40,000 Armenians, more than 100,000 Greek schismatics and 50,000 Hebrews. On 20.6.1634 the Definitory General nominated him as one of two companions to go with Fr. James of S. Teresa to Persia (*Regesta*, vol. II, p. 127).

According to the MSS. *Hist. Miss* by Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct., part III, chap. 17, together with Fr. Dionysius of the Crown of Thorns, (who certainly did so), he accompanied Fr. James of S. Teresa (q.v.) from Rome to Isfahan, when the latter went out as Visitor-General and arrived in May 1635 at Basra.

As Visitor General “and also Apostolic Commissary”² he arrived at Basra on 10.3.1660.³ He was at Shiraz 20.8.1660, about to leave for Bandar ‘Abbas, in order to embark on an English ship for Surat, then to go to Goa.⁴ But he died at Bandar ‘Abbas in 1660.⁵

RAYMOND of S. Michael

A Pole.

Family name: Albert Laskowicz. Born 1660. Prov. in Order: Poland. Professed 30.10.1681. In his noviciate he had been under Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary.⁶ He arrived at Isfahan 26.12.1696, accompanying Fr. Conrad on the latter’s return from his mission to Poland and Europe.⁷ On 23.7.1697 he arrived at Basra, having been sent from Kung to be companion to Fr. Antony Mary, but returned to Shiraz about the end of the year, by permission of the Vicar Provincial, having suffered from fever.⁸ In February 1705 he signed as “Prior of Isfahan”,⁹ and on 13.9.1707 another letter in which he mentioned that he had been alone at the Convent in Isfahan city for five years past,¹⁰ i.e. since 1702. A communication from the Praepositus General to Card. Sacripante on 27.3.1708 alluded to him as being in Persia.¹¹ Probably he died at Shiraz about March 1715, because a letter of January 1716 mentions him as already¹² dead, while Fr. Paul Augustine, writing 8.9.1715, stated that only Fr. Jerome Francis and Bonaventura, besides himself, remained in the mission houses,¹³ and the Vicar Apostolic in June 1715 used the words:

¹ From the record of the province of Paris, in O.C.D.; but *Catalog. Miss.* would make it that he was born in 1614 or 1615, which must be wrong by the date of his profession.

² *Catalog. Miss.*

³, ⁸ and ⁹ *Chron. Basra.*

⁴ *S.R.*, vol. 238, p. 62.

⁵ *Catalog. Miss.*; and Fr. Felix, 20.12.1661, Basra, O.C.D. 241 k., mentioned it.

⁶ *Études Carmelitaines*, January–June 1925, article on Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary by R. Chabrie.

⁷ See *Vita P. F. Elia a S. Alberto*, O.C.D. 320 c.

¹⁰ O.C.D. 238 g.

¹¹ *S.R.*, vol. 562, p. 95.

¹² Fr. Jerome Francis, 26.1.1716, O.C.D. 238 u.

¹³ *S.R.*, vol. 603, p. 39.

"Fr. Cherubin died 28th May 1715 . . . *two months* previously the Carmelites lost "another Father at Shiraz. . . ."¹

Letters extant:

(jointly) 10.2.1705 Isfahan *Chron. Basra*, pp. 266-7
13.9.1707 Isfahan O.C.D. 238 g.

REDEMPT of the Cross

A Spaniard.

Family name: Pedro Lagar y Baylo, son of Pedro L. and Sabina (? Burbaganem). Born at Daroca in Aragon 1574. Prov. in Order: Roman. Professed at S. Maria d. Scala 9.4.1606. He had already a degree in theology, and was a canon of the church at Daroca, when he was sent to Rome on the business of his church in 1605 and arrived at the time of the Conclave after the death of Pope Clement VIII, the confessor of the Cardinals in conclave being Fr. Peter of the Mother of God, a nephew of the father of Fr. Redempt and at that time Prior of the Carmelite Convent at Rome. Fr. Redempt obtained permission from his relative to occupy his cell during his absence at the conclave, and became so attracted by the Carmelite life that he begged to be received into the Order, when the venerable Fr. Peter returned after the end of the conclave.² He was thus over 30 years old when selected in 1608 to go with Fr. Benignus to the Persian mission. Having left Rome in November, on 16.12.1608 they sailed from Marseilles by the ship *S. Victor*, which that spring had brought Fr. Paul Simon back from Alexandria to Corsica: and their passages were given gratis. On the morrow of the Epiphany, 7.1.1609, they disembarked at Alexandretta, where they lodged with the Franciscans. Leaving there 12.1.1609 they reached on Thursday 16.1.1609 Aleppo, where they also were at the Franciscan mission, the Father Guardian from Jerusalem being there at the time for the collection of alms. As no caravan was available they had to halt at Aleppo till 7.3.1609; the consul for Venice supplying transport animals, they set out via Bir, where they found Indian traders from Lahore. Thence on 19.3.1608 they travelled by raft for 22 days (on land by camel caravan across the desert route it would have been a 40 days' journey). The long account, from which these details are taken³ and which they jointly signed, though its compilation must have been by Fr. Benignus, gives their observations on various matters of no small interest—the foreign consuls at Aleppo, condition of the countryside, Turkish taxation at Baghdad, Customs procedure, 'foreign exchange' regulations of the day, courtesy of the Baghdadis. After 29 days in Baghdad, when they were unable to celebrate Mass, as no wine made from grapes could be obtained (though they erected an altar, and sang the Office during Passion week for the few Christians then resident or passing) they departed on 10.5.1608 with a large caravan, fifteen arquebusiers and many more men with bows accompanying it. The Baghdad-Khaniqin road was infested by robbers: across the Persian border the robbers were hunted down and the road safer than on Turkish territory, though the Kurdish tribesmen along this route lived miserably. On Thursday in the Octave of Pentecost (11th June) they reached Isfahan, in native dress, as the city gates were opened at dawn. Their report gives a lengthy account of an audience with 'Abbas I after their arrival, of some importance to the Carmelites, and 'Abbas I's own relations with the European princes. In January 1612 he was elected "Superior" of the Convent at Isfahan,⁴ or—as the office was also called—"sub-Prior". Early in 1613 Fr. Redempt decided to make an attempt to treat with the Armenian schismatic patriarch Melchisedech in person with regard to reunion with the Roman Church, and to go himself to Echmiadzin (near Erivan and Mt. Ararat) in addition to another Carmelite Father, who seems to have been Fr. Bartholomew Mary—rather to the disapproval of Fr. Vincent, who from Hurmuz objected to the extra expense, and to Isfahan Convent being left with one priest.⁵

¹ *S.R.*, vol. 603, p. 94.

² See *Series Professionum* at S. Maria d. Scala, by Fr. Marcellinus a S. Theresia, part 1, No. 65, Rome, 1934.

³ O.C.D. 234 c., dated 10.8.1609.

⁴ Fr. Leander, O.C.D. 239 c., narrative undated, but of 1615.

⁵ Fr. Vincent, Hurmuz, 9.5.1613, O.C.D. 239 b., to Fr. Benignus, then at Isfahan.

After discussion of the main points in the presence of his bishops, the Katholikos expressed his own readiness to submit to the Holy See; but intrigues against him by the Armenians of Julfa who moved Shah 'Abbas, with whom they were in trading relations, to place obstacles in the way, resulted in Melchisedech being deposed and replaced by his chief opponent, David. Fr. Redempt then proceeded to Tabriz, where 'Abbas I was then staying, and found the king full of complaints against the Christian princes: however, he was able to move the king to take effective measures for the release of Fr. John Thaddeus, a captive at Astrakhan and an emissary of the Shah himself: and he had also the courage to take up the cause of the 'Frank' or Catholic Armenians of the district of Nakhchiwan, and represent to 'Abbas I that they were being oppressed by a certain governor, so that the Shah consented to another appointment being made.¹ Getting no answer to letters, on 23.1.1614 he left Isfahan to confer with Frs. Vincent and Leander of Hurmuz, but Fr. Leander having known of this met him on the road. So returning to Isfahan together they began to put in order the House and church, half in ruins, and performed the Offices of Holy Week together.² Till June 1613 in letters³ Fr. Redempt was styled sub-Prior, and it must have been only after the return to Isfahan in the spring of 1614 of Fr. John Thaddeus (appointed Vicar General during his captivity) and consequent vacation of the post of Prior, that Fr. Redempt held the substantive position; and his commission from Rome as Prior, "though expected eagerly", actually came to his hands, forwarded via Basra only while Fr. Redempt was in Goa, 6.2.1617.⁴ For, after the fall of Bandar Gāmburun fort on 23.12.1614 some fifty Portuguese prisoners had been sent to Isfahan and were in danger of losing their faith, when 'Abbas I determined to send them to Spain via Goa together with an ambassador or envoy, as a gesture to the Court of Spain and Portugal: and, almost simultaneously, early in 1615 Robert Sherley having returned from his mission of 1608 carrying letters from the Christian princes, 'Abbas I set his mind on sending him back to Europe, together with these prisoners, on various matters of state. Weary with years of travelling and hardships, and desiring for his wife's sake, too, to rest in some comfort, Sherley tried to escape the commission, but in vain: he was *persona ingratis* at the Court of Spain and feared for himself, were his reputation with 'Abbas I compromised by failure in the objectives: finally he yielded, but stipulated that one of the Carmelite Religious should accompany him not only as spiritual adviser but mainly to make his task at Madrid the easier. At that time only Fr. John Thaddeus and Fr. Redempt were residing at the Convent, and the lot fell on the latter. Though greatly loath to leave the mission work, then promising, when workers were so scarce, Fr. Redempt was duly summoned by the Shah on Michaelmas day 1615,⁵ and given a 'farman', dated Ramazan 1024 (which is preserved in the Carmelite archives at Rome, and is reproduced in this book), by which 'Abbas set forth:

"whereas the venerable and respected Padres, Juan and Redempto, have come to the Royal Court from Europe and have been in these parts, and whereas, in the meanwhile, We have sent the honourable and most worthy knight's son, Don Robert Sherley, as an envoy and ambassador to Europe to the exalted Frank Sovereigns, We have ordained that the Father Superior, Padre Juan, should depute his companion, Padre Redempto, to accompany the above-named knight's son for the purpose of inspiring confidence,⁶ so that together they may go to the Courts of the Frank Sovereigns, and communicate messages on behalf of his Majesty, while he himself should remain in these parts in attendance on his Majesty. He (Father Juan) in accordance with the royal command sent off Padre Redempto with the said knight's son, and We have kept Padre Juan here. Wherever the above-named Padre Redempto may come in our royal realm, the respected local governors, the headmen and people should accord him a hearty welcome and show him the utmost honour and respect.

¹ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct., in MSS. *Hist. Miss.*, O.C.D. 285–6.

² Fr. Leander, O.C.D. 239 e., narrative undated, but of 1615.

³ Fr. Vincent, 3.6.1613, O.C.D. 239 b.

⁴ See Fr. Redempt's own report in Spanish in O.C.D. 234 e.

⁵ See Fr. Redempt's own account in Spanish in O.C.D. 234 e.

⁶ The words in Persian convey the idea that the Carmelite Father's company was to guarantee the genuineness of the Shah's instructions to the Englishman, an object of suspicion on his previous journey to Madrid.

"They must not hesitate to carry out this command and everywhere consider it their
"bounden duty, in which they must not fail. . . ."

With Lay Brother Elisaeus of S. John Baptist as his companion Religious, Fr. Redempt set out from Isfahan and reached on 10.10.1615¹ Shiraz, where the party were delayed in extracting from various houses in which they were detained as slaves a number of Portuguese prisoners. From Jahrum, 7 days' march from Hurmuz, Fr. Redempt was sent on in advance to the Portuguese officials, to show them Sherley's letter of credence and indications from the Shah that he desired certain articles of peace to be arranged. It was 2.1.1616 before Sherley made his entry into the Portuguese fortress, and then they discussed terms with the aid of Fr. Redempt. Having waited for a fair wind, on 30.1.1616 they sailed for Goa, reached 24.2.1616. Sherley was entertained with courtesy and proper formalities, and had interviews with the Viceroy. But the sailing of the fleet for Lisbon was already past that year and they had to remain at Goa till 2.2.1617 before they sailed in the ship *Our Lady of Carmel*. In the interval, although seeing Sherley from time to time, Fr. Redempt had resided in the convent of the Recollects of S. Francis: Lay Brother Elisaeus was professed: and he accepted four young Portuguese as novices and dispatched them to Hurmuz. His own patents as Prior of Isfahan reached him here in February. The account describes at length the voyage, celebrations of the chief feast-days, the Masses and religious exercises performed by Fr. Redempt and other friars and chaplains in the great ship, often with all the ship's complement participating, one altar being in Sherley's private apartments. They passed the line 24.2.1617. After a great gale on 25th May they made the Cape of Good Hope. Driven by shortage of water, but contrary to the viceroy's orders, they touched at the Azores on 24.8.1617 and there found the two sister ships of the squadron, which had left Goa before them, awaiting an armada convoy from Portugal to escort them and the treasure carried. Finally they came to land on 25.9.1617, and to Lisbon on 28.9.1617, having been seven months, twenty-five days at sea owing to contrary winds.² While in Spain he obtained verbally the 'placet' of king Philip III to the founding of a House of the Order in Goa.³ Over a year he was in Spain (perhaps in Rome, too, though there is nothing on the record to show it)⁴ when his dispatch back to Persia was arranged: and the archives of the Order preserve a translation (in Italian) of the "Instructions from the King of Spain to Fr. Redempt of the Cross, O.C.D., who by command of his Majesty goes to Persia":

"Fr. Redempt of the Cross, because of the satisfaction I have of your person and your
"proceedings and of the zeal with which you have dealt with the matters of the embassy
"sent me by the king of Persia with Don Robert Sherley, it being necessary to send to Don
"Garcia de Silva y Figueroa (whom I have dispatched as ambassador to that king) and
"inform him of what has been concluded and approved in the negotiations with the king's
"ambassador and to give him these instructions, so that he may be well informed of the whole
"position, and give the king of Persia to understand the esteem, in which he ought to have
"the good will, with which I accept the peace which he has sent to offer me and request,
"as also the favours which I grant his vassals for trading, it has seemed fit to me to commit
"to you this service and commission, which I hope that you will execute in a manner that
"I remain well pleased and ever happy to recompense it and show you favours and grace in
"this respect.

"You have to embark in two galleons, which now are fitting out in Lisbon, and of which
"Ruy Freire d'Andrade is the captain in chief: and I am giving him commands to provide
"you with the expenditure needful for the voyage, with the best of attention up till your
"arrival in Hurmuz, where you will give to the Captain of that fortress the bundle of
"letters, which you are carrying for him, inside which is another for Don Garcia de Silva,

¹ The above dates confirmed by report of Edw. Connock from Isfahan to East India Company, 2.4.1617.

² From his account in O.C.D. 234 e.

³ Fr. Prosper, letter of 1623, O.C.D. 238 d.

⁴ A report on "his Legation in Spain", mentioned in the biographical notice in *Series Professionum*, part I, No. 65, as extant in O.C.D., has not been consulted.

"my ambassador, which the said Captain of Hurmuz is to give you in the ways which I am commanding, so that you may pass on with it into Persia, as I bid you do with the greatest speed possible: and for the expenses of the journey whatever is necessary will be given you in Hurmuz charged to the account of my household.

"You will go straight to the place in Persia where the ambassador Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa is, and, giving him my letters, you will inform him of all that has passed in this matter, so that, duly informed, he may go and conclude the peace to establish with the Shah, taking you with him: and I refrain from charging you in greater detail with the good offices which you will have to use in this with him" (the Shah) "and with the other persons, whom it will be necessary to make to understand the great amount they have gained, and how useful it will be to them, because I have confidence in you that you will make it fully clear.

"And if the Ambassador should be dead or have left Persia, you will act in that case as the Captain of Hurmuz will order you on my part, which I am notifying him at length. Written in Madrid this 14th March 1619,

"I, the King.
"(Countersigned) The Duke of Villa Hermosa."¹

On the voyage, off the coast of Guinea, however, after nursing his companion, Fra Elisaeus, Fr. Redempt himself caught an infection and died 30.5.1619. All unaware of the loss sustained in this capable Religious, by the instructions of the Praepositus General, on 30th June of the following year, 1620,² the Visitor General, Fr. Vincent, was directed (paragraph 7) on his arrival "in those parts to give to Fr. Redempt the letters patent as Vicar Provincial in Persia".

Letters extant:

(jointly)	10.8.1609	Isfahan	O.C.D. 234 c.
(joint declaration)	2.10.1613	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 a.
Report	—1617(?)	Lisbon	O.C.D. 234 c.

SEBASTIAN of S. Margaret (later Bishop of Isfahan)

A subject of Savoy.

Family name: Marcantonio Piacentini, son of Giov. Domenico P. and Margarita. Born 3.9.1713 in the village of San Sebastiano, in the diocese of Ivrea. Prov. in Order: Piedmont. Took the habit at Mondovi 18.10.1731. Professed there, 19.10.1732. Studied at Asti from September 1734 to November 1739, when he was sent to the Carmelite missionary Seminary, San Pancrazio, and thence dispatched to Persia in November 1741.³ He was Superior at Julfa when he wrote in 1745 to the Sacr. Cong. reporting on Armenian malice: on the purchase of a house at Bushire by Fr. Urban for a mission "for which the Fathers had been sighing". His letter of 16.8.1747 announced how the tyrant Nadir had been cut to pieces by his own men and how in consequence the whole country was breathing more freely: though directly the missionaries had not been attacked during his reign—the Armenian schismatic patriarch and their enemies had been afraid of so violent a sovereign—indirectly constant extortions from the Catholics and Christians had been a trial. Still "Superior" of the mission at Julfa when in his letter of 1749 he gave details of the death-bed of Bishop Philip Mary of S. Augustine.

On 22.7.1750 in the Session of the Sacr. Cong. Mgr Lercari, the secretary, reported⁴ the death of Bishop Philip Mary, and added—as regards a successor:

"Fr. Sebastian, already many years a good and exemplary missionary, left as Vicar General by the dead bishop, and judged by the latter worthy to succeed him would be

¹ This translation in O.C.D. 236 a.

² O.C.D. 284 g.: on 16.6.1620 the appointment made by the Definitory General (see *Regesta*).

³ Quoted from the *Catalogo de' Religiosi Coristi* of the province of Piedmont, O.C.D. 144 b., by Fr. Ambrosius a. S. Theresia, Archivist of the Order, in his biographical study of Bishop Sebastian, *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, part 1, 1934.

⁴ See Fr. L. Lemmens' *Hierarchia Latina Orientis*, No. 10, part 2.

"altogether suitable. Decision: They considered that the Holy Father should be petitioned to choose Fr. Sebastian of S. Margaret as Bishop of Isfahan. This opinion of the Sac. Cong. on 15th November was reported by Don Nicolas Lercari to the Holy Father and "graciously approved by His Holiness, who ordered that the Apostolic Briefs in that respect should be dispatched as conveniently as might be, together with an indult permitting the said Fr. Sebastian of S. Margaret to receive the office of consecration from any Catholic bishop in favour and communion with the Holy See whom he might prefer, "together with two priests, secular or regular, instead of the usual three bishops."

He was promoted in the consistory of 15.3.1751: the Bull, which was received at the Basra mission on 29.10.1751,¹ is to be found in full in *S.N.R.*, V, p. 377, and the form of oath signed before his consecration on p. 69, *S.N.R.*, VI. Bishop Sebastian's letter of 25.4.1752, written from Baghdad, related how, taking advantage of a caravan from Isfahan, he had come to Baghdad, and been consecrated on the second Sunday after Easter, 16th April, by Bishop Emmanuel assisted by two other missionaries of the Order, Frs. Fidelis, the Vicar, and Constantius, in the presence of other missionaries (one destined for Isfahan), two Chaldaean Uniat priests, and a great crowd of people. But he pointed out that the 50 scudi (the usual allowance for a journey of a bishop to and from his place of consecration) had not even sufficed for his journey to Baghdad, since he had had to pay over 100 scudi (i.e. 40 scudi for transport of himself and a servant from Isfahan to Baghdad: 20 scudi at the tolls: 40 scudi for the 500 musketeers who were taken as escort for the caravan) on account of the indescribable extortions at the *Rahdars*, which had become so onerous in these troubled times in Persia. So he begged that he might be allowed to delay his return till the roads opened, and not risk his life. He had been bidden by his Praepositus General to give frequent news of the state of the mission to the Sac. Cong.: he supposed that

"the Sac. Congregation will have learnt only too well, how apart from the great scarcity" (of food) "all our churches had been despoiled by force of those few ornaments, and the silverware which they possessed: and how we have been obliged to pay 400 scudi, cash down, and, not possessing such a sum, I as the best known and having the greatest credit "had been taken and retaken to the tribunals and put into prison until I found" (someone to make me) "a loan and paid for all the unjust impost. All that happened towards the end "of last year" (1751) "at the time when the Lurs, or Bakhtiaris, a race of robbers by profession, took Isfahan by assault, and entered the city: by whom a levy was made on "all. . . ."

On the same day as his consecration, Bishop Sebastian by a document, copies of which are preserved, appointed his elder brother, Fr. Hyacinth of S. Teresa, Vicar General of the diocese.² Another letter of his from Baghdad³ proposed that he should be given the right to pontificate in Baghdad, Basra and Surat (India), on the ground that the people of Julfa had fled to those places. Instead of making his way back to Isfahan direct from Baghdad, he descended the river to Basra, where he arrived 5.7.1752⁴ and whence his first letter (of November 1st) was almost entirely taken up by pleading for monetary help from the Sac. Congregation—he could not go back to Isfahan without money, let alone remain there afterwards: money was needed to keep alive those missions at Julfa formerly so flourishing and now at their last gasp for lack of funds: protests against the debts of his predecessor being deducted from his own emoluments: money needed for the two Armenian Uniat priests in Julfa. Urged from Rome and elsewhere to proceed to his own diocese, on 17.5.1753 in company with his brother he landed at Bandar Rig from an English ship and after forty days spent there went on to Bushire, where they remained over five months in the hope of being able to make their way to Isfahan; but such bad news from Julfa and Isfahan reached them at the end of October 1753⁵ of Karim Khan Zand (till then governor of Isfahan, on whom the Christians and missionaries

¹ and ⁴ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

² *S.N.R.*, VI, pp. 245, 249, 252.

³ *S.R.*, vol. 753.

⁵ Fr. Hyacinth of S. Teresa, *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 184, and his own letter, 16.4.1754.

relied for protection) having been defeated and made to withdraw by the Lurs and Afghans, and of an imposition of a fine of 60,000 Tumans on the city and Julfa, of men being taken away as slaves and held to ransom ("men, women, boys and girls being sold like oxen, sheep and "horses"), that the Bishop considered he had been prudent in not going to Isfahan and falling into like case only to constitute a source of financial embarrassment for the Sacr. Congregation. So, as nearly all the Catholic Armenians had fled from the country, he too turned back to Basra, where he had learnt from his Praepositus General that he was allowed to reside. He returned to Basra 5.10.1753.¹ Not content to reside merely at Basra, his last letters pressed for Basra district to be made part of his diocese in exchange for Hamadan, and thereby caused offence to Bishop Emmanuel of Baghdad: he also asked for some title as Vicar Apostolic so that he might pontificate while at Basra. Doubtless it was in response to this request to Mgr Lercari that a Brief of 1.9.1755 nominated him Vicar Apostolic for the dominions of the Mogul and Deccan.² However, by then Bishop Sebastian was dead, at the early age of 42, after an illness (perhaps dysentery) of 20 days on the 22nd June 1755 at a quarter past noon, having received all the Sacraments from his brother: and he was buried on 23.6.1755 in the church of Our Lady of Ransom. The English consul paid for a lined coffin, and the funeral expenses, and was present with his suite at the funeral.³ The inventory of his effects mentioned that he had been buried in episcopal vestments—rochet, mozzetta, manteletto.⁴

Those were difficult times—and perhaps there was lacking the spirit of ardour and boldness, which 130 years before had carried Fr. Basil of S. Francis on foot from Isfahan to Basra, disguised in old Arab clothing, without money and often in want of food, with such reward; it is possible to speculate whether, humanly speaking, the existence of the missions at Julfa might not have been preserved then and on through the nineteenth century, if only a young bishop had resolutely penetrated to Julfa in 1752 and put up with the hardships, as his predecessors had done, till conditions improved ultimately.

Letters extant:

29.5.1745	Julfa	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 729
16.8.1747	Julfa	<i>S.N.R.</i> , V, p. 201
15.9.1749	Julfa	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 747, p. 89
16.4.1752	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 69
16.4.1752	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, pp. 245, 249
25.4.1752	Baghdad	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 753, and <i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 71
7.—.1752	Baghdad	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 753
15.6.1752	Baghdad	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 85
1.11.1752	Basra	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 756
14.1.1754	Basra	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 759, p. 248
16.4.1754	Basra	<i>S.N.R.</i> , VI, p. 207
1.5.1754	Basra	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 759

SEVERIN of S. Joseph

A Neapolitan (?).

Born about 1633.⁵ Prov. in Order: Naples. Professed. . . . Arrived at Isfahan about the end of 1693,⁶ and was placed in the hospice at Julfa. About November 1694 sent by Fr. Elias, Vicar Provincial, to Kung;⁷ but was mentioned in a list of missionaries—presumably of August 1695—as at the Isfahan City Convent.⁸

"Died at Isfahan, Prior, 1695."⁹

¹ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

² See *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, part 1, 1934, by Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, p. 32.

³ Fr. Hyacinth of S. Teresa, 30.6.1755, O.C.D. 242 b.

⁴ *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 144.

⁵ See *Vita P. F. Elia a S. Alberto*, O.C.D. 320 c., writing of 1693, "already about 60 years old".

⁶ See *Vita P. F. Elia* . . ., cited above. Lay Brother Francis Mary wrote, "some months after I arrived", which was on 12.9.1693.

⁷ See *Vita P. F. Elia* . . ., cited.

⁸ *S.N.R.*, II, p. 149, Fr. Joseph Ignatius of S. Mary, Rome, 26.8.1695.

⁹ *Catalog. Miss.*, which may err as it surely errs in saying that he had been "sent to Persia as Vicar Provincial".

SEVERIN of S. Maurice

A Lombard (subject of the Duchy of Milan).

Family name: Giuseppe Ugoni. Born 1633,¹ at Codogno (Lodi diocese). Prov. in Order: Lombardy. Professed 12.5.1652. He was one of four students of the Seminary of San Pancrazio appointed to the missions by the Definitory General, 27.10.1662 (see *Regesta*, vol. V, 174). On 27.11.1662 the Procurator General of the Order in Rome asked for faculties for his journey to Persia.² He himself wrote later:³

"In the year 1663 I arrived in Isfahan, and after six months was sent to Basra, where for 'a year I stayed with Fr. Blaise till he left, when I remained alone for a brief time until 'the Vicar Provincial (Fr. Dionysius of Jesus) joined me. . . ."

He signed the baptismal register, Basra, 9.11.1665: was Vicar of Basra 10.7.1667 (*Chron. Basra*). His letters graphically describe the perils experienced by the Carmelites, and the condition of Basra at that period.

" . . . At that time" (1665) "the Pasha having revolted against the Turks, the wars 'began. The Turks, having come to besiege the fortress of Qurna near Basra, went off 'after coming to some arrangement, but in those three months that the siege lasted, Basra 'having risen against the Pasha, who afterwards recovered it, our House, like all the others, 'suffered the plundering of everything, even to the doors of the rooms, and we for some 'days were obliged to beg for food here and there. . . ."

(For a description of what passed see the biographical notice of Fr. Dionysius of Jesus: then about January 1666 Fr. Severin was sent to Shiraz—see Fr. Angelus' letter of 13.7.1667, Basra, O.C.D. 241 d., "Fr. Severin est revenu . . . 6 juillet 1667 après un an et demy d'absence "pour continuer son vicariat.")

"From here our Fr. Vicar Provincial sent me to Shiraz to recover my health, and also 'procure some financial aid for our House of Basra. From there" (Shiraz) "I sent at once 'the chalice, missal and holy oils so that our Fr. Vicar Provincial might be able to say Mass. 'I was in Persia from March till June, when I had a fresh order to transfer myself to Basra, 'where affairs seemed very quiet, but they lasted but a short time, because on arrival of 'the news that a powerful Turkish army was again coming the Pasha with unheard of 'cruelty on the 18th November 1667 issued a proclamation throughout the town that all 'without exception must abandon the town within the space of three days and go to Persian 'territory. Father, I believe that the picture of the universal judgment cannot be better 'portrayed than in the misery of those three days, because everyone being obliged to leave 'not only his home but his occupation and affairs and flee quickly was a thing enough to 'have made the stones weep. After various sufferings we arrived in Bandar Rig, where 'for a month and a half we suffered no common poverty and at last we were compelled, 'Fr. Angelus and I, to retreat to Shiraz. Meanwhile the Pasha, seeing that he could not 'resist the Turks, first caused his soldiers to sack the town and then burnt it, and in the 'general conflagration our House was also altogether burnt. After that the Pasha fled to 'Persia and thinking himself not safe there withdrew to India. The Turks having made 'themselves masters of the whole country without bloodshed began to restore Basra, which 'was quickly done, because Wali Aqa, an Arab and brother-in-law of the fugitive Pasha

¹ Register of burials of Religious, Basra; list of 1663 in O.C.D. 235 n.; *Catalog. Miss.*; and list in *S.R.*, vol. 238, p. 85, all agree as to 1633 for his birth.

² *S.R.*, vol. 238, p. 41.

³ His letter, 31.8.1669.

“being there as Pasha, all the Arabs after an absence of four months quickly returned. The Pasha himself wrote to me at Shiraz, inviting the Fathers to take up residence again in their house. So in the month of June 1668 I had orders to come once more to Basra together with Fr. Angelus. The Pasha received us with many civilities, and, seeing things very promising, with the donations of some merchants I rebuilt the church and part of the House, for which reason, i.e. for having made the church, some months later I was put in prison by the Aqa of the Janissaries and after various threats and sufferings I was obliged to pay 70 piastres in order to get my liberty. Fr. Angelus leaving at that time, I remained alone until the arrival in December of Fr. Joachim. But the Arab Pasha, seeing himself every day held to scorn by the Janissaries and others, and particularly as one had come from Constantinople and deprived him of the Customs receipts and, as it was said, had orders to deprive him of his head as well, on the 6th March of this year” (i.e. 1669) “fled by night, alone but for a single trustworthy man of his own, to the borders of Persia, whence having called to arms all the Arabs finally on the 18th April he appeared in sight of the town with an army of about 20,000 men. Though the Turks fortified themselves as best they could, after repulsing several attacks on the 29th of that month they were overcome by the Arabs, who assaulted the town in several directions and retook it. The Turks were put to the sword for the most part, and the sack of the town as well as the butchery went on for three days, during which cruelty of no ordinary kind was seen. Our Residence was once more robbed and for three successive days we lay hidden here and there, although not enough to prevent Fr. Joachim being seen one day by an Arab, and my being obliged to pay 30 piastres to buy his life: and in this way more than 100 persons were killed in cold blood.

“In those ten days that the siege of Basra lasted we were put in prison by the Turks, being accused of being friends of the Pasha, and of having gunpowder in our house. Finally they condemned us to be beheaded, but the sentence was afterwards mitigated and commuted to a fine of 1,000 piastres. After making several representations on our behalf some of our friends got the fine reduced to 120 piastres: and we having made a vow to S. Joseph, on returning to the House by a miracle of heaven they sent to tell us that they did not want us to pay anything, knowing well enough that we were poor and innocent. But we were obliged to give 20 piastres to the gaoler, scrivener, etc. After the town had been taken the Pasha went off at once to the siege of Qurna, a fortress situated at the junction of the two rivers, and the siege is still going on, because the Turkish army has not yet appeared from Baghdad, and the Arabs, having no artillery, cannot take it by brute force. Seeing the house in ruins and the city full of confusion I wanted to leave for Persia but the Shahbandar would not give me leave. All the same, amid such trials and anguish the Lord God has willed to comfort us, as there have arrived in this port on the 15th August two ships of the French Company (the third is not yet come). . . . There are about 150 French, all Catholics, aboard. But as now there are no merchants in Basra they have decided to leave in 3 or 4 days, and with this opportunity I am having put on board our poor furniture and we shall leave secretly for Kung, both in order to avoid the disorders on the coming invasion by the Turks, which will be a very cruel one in revenge for the blood of their comrades, and also because, if we remain after the monsoon, we shall be subjected to a thousand indignities. By going to Kung we shall always be in a position to return to Basra, when order is restored, so our Fr. Vicar Provincial and Fr. Felix from Shiraz have written me. I have written all this to Your Reverence in order to give you a brief account of my toils, because I can say that in the missions I have not had one day’s rest. But I thank God for it and am very satisfied with it all, because even in such disturbances there has not been lacking an opportunity of doing fruitful work, and if the French Company continue to come to these parts Your Reverence will learn of some exceptional fruitfulness. For the missions I consider Basra better than Isfahan and Shiraz; for worldly comforts greatly inferior: but when there is no warfare and the monsoon is on, it can maintain itself with very small aid from outside, because donations are made

"here: but in the past five years all almsgiving has failed, twice the House has been sacked, "once burnt, and with so many flights and so much travelling unusual expenditure has been "made: and so, when this House is again started, it will greatly stand in need of some extra "assistance. . . . The French Company not having taken a house here on account of the "disturbances, ours has been always full, and I am so busy that I have not a moment's "time, having to hear confessions and perform other spiritual functions in the mornings "and then too help the Captain as interpreter. . . ."

Of his straits so cheerfully borne Fr. Severin gave some other details in a letter of 25.5.1669, two months earlier. Of the sack of the town on the 29th April and days following he mentioned:

" . . . so too our own House towards evening was plundered, but with much politeness and "consideration, they contenting themselves with having roughly searched it. . . . After "the sack of the town, being without money and the house dismantled, because I had put "in a safe place the things of the sacristy and also the books that all might be saved, I had "decided to go to Kung, find our Fr. Vicar Provincial and seek for some alms for this poor "House. . . ."

He was accused of being about to carry off to Persia much money deposited with him by the Janissaries, but when the governor had had Fr. Severin's effects searched and found nothing except books and church effects he punished the spies severely.

"After that the Pasha gave orders, according to what the Shahbandar told me, that I "should not be allowed to leave, because he said that, if the Father were to depart, there "would be no calling of the ships, and for this reason today they have carried ashore all "our effects. This is what God has disposed and, as I hope, it is to punish my sins in this "life, so that I may be pardoned of them in the other. . . . As the Arabs make war at their "own expense, they pay no account of the Pasha or any officials, each one of them is master "of Basra and they commit a thousand outrages. . . . Food is very dear, and not to be "found. In short, everything is as bad as it could be, and I do not know what line to take "any more, as I feel a great weakness both in my head and my heart from so many alarms: "I have no one to aid or advise me. . . ."

After writing that it was to be feared that the governor and Arabs would set fire to the town once more before fleeing, as Hasan Pasha had done, he went on:

" . . . This too I must needs wait and accept at the hands of God in all patience: the "worst is that, as the little money of ours at Basra is in the hands of the" (Indian) "Bunias, "now that they have all been plundered and robbed down to their shirts, even should they "not deny having received it, they are not in a position to give it back to me: so that I "remain with only 20 'abbasi in cash. . . . I had forgotten to mention that, while we were "four days on the canal of Basra, which was full of corpses, and we being compelled to "drink that water, it made me vomit and gave me dysentery. Even till now fresh fishes "are not being eaten because they are too fat with human flesh. The dead on one side and "the other in that first day are said to have reached 4,000, and on the other days 1,000. "My writings together with other books and papers which I had hidden have been eaten "by mice,¹ even to a small quantity of writing-paper, as you will see in the sheet on which "I am writing, which is all that is left me except for 3 or 4 others: so that it would seem that

¹ Here seems to be the explanation of the statement of Fr. Agathangelus at the beginning of his diary in *Chron. Basra* from 11.1.1674:

" . . . for many years no record was kept of the things which happened in that Residence of Basra, or if it was, it has "been lost owing to the wars and the flight of the Religious . . .": destruction by mice in 1669.

"no kind of creature has spared us. We have no news from Aleppo, from Baghdad, and
"Kung, because the passes are closed. . . ."

(Another handwritten stated in a postscript, below the signature of Fr. Severin: "the
"victory of the Turks at Qurna was confirmed, afterwards they took Basra once more,
"Yahya Pasha the Arab fled to Persia, and he is staying at Durakh. In his stead there was
"put by the Turks Mustafa Pasha, who was formerly Kapiji Bashi at the Sublime Porte
". . . the Turkish army, composed of seven columns, some of which being already in
"Baghdad left for Basra with orders from the Sultan to massacre all Arabs and people of
"the country, but after that I do not know what was done, for I have had no further news
"of the Fathers.")

As he intended in his letter of the 31st August 1669, quoted above, Fr. Severin abandoned
Basra again on 6.9.1669 on the approach of Kara Mustafa Pasha and went to Bandar Rig
(having baptized a child on the 2nd September, according to the register): but "when peace
"was made by Kara Mustafa Pasha on the 17th October they returned".¹

"On the 3rd August in the year of Our Lord 1670 about midnight Fr. Severin of
"S. Maurice from Lodi . . . rendered up his soul to God. . . . He was buried on the same
"day in our cemetery, 'Isa wa Mariam, underneath a palm-tree in the middle of the
"cemetery. His bones were translated to our church on the 13th August in the year of Our
"Lord 1680, and interred in the chapel of the Most Holy Sacrament before the altar on
"the epistle side . . . a man of singular obedience, who never murmured against remaining
"at Basra, although taught by seven years' experience that the climate was most unhealthy
"for him, . . . and of remarkable patience."²

Letters extant:

25.5.1669 Basra O.C.D. 242 a.
31.8.1669 Basra O.C.D. 242 a.

STEPHEN of Jesus

A Neapolitan.³

Family name: Decio Minerva (see List of Professed, Prov. of Naples). Born, 9.7.1609,⁴
at Naples. Prov. in Order: Naples. Professed 1.6.1626.⁵ Appointed by the Definitory
General to the Missions, 1.4.1633:⁶ and on 18.7.1634 was at Erzerum after 34 days' continuous
journey:⁷ in company with Fr. Columban he reached Isfahan 9.10.1634.⁸ On 8.11.1634 he
left Isfahan for Shiraz, where he arrived 22.11.1634⁹ and remained "for some months"¹⁰—
probably till October or November 1635; but he was at Basra already before 8.1.1636.¹¹ At
Basra he signed the marriage register as 'vice-Parish Priest' 1.6.1636, as 'Parish Priest' in
the register of baptisms 29.3.1637, 5.10.1637, and in October 1638. Vicar of Basra from early
February 1636 till the end of July 1640¹² and his own letters of 8.1.1636, 25.11.1637, 23.3.1640
give confirmation; but in 1637 he was asking to be transferred to the projected mission going
to Japan and in that of 1640 he referred to the Visitor General, Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary,
desiring him to go to Goa, and added that he intended to leave Basra by the sailings of August.
He is named as then at Goa in a list of missionaries, which may be dated 1641–2.¹³

Owing to the proceedings of the Apostolic Visitor, Fr. John of Christ, intruded from
Portugal into the Carmelite missions in India, and to the 'separatist' movement in the convents,
Fr. Stephen abandoned his post at Diu and had reached Kung before 20.4.1643: he was still
at Kung at Easter 1644.¹⁴

¹ and ¹² *Chron. Basra*.

² *Idem*—Sir H. Gollancz' translation.

³ See his *Brief Narrative*, O.C.D. 236 a.

⁴ See list of 1671 in *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 224, also list of 1663, O.C.D. 235 n.

⁵ Cf. list of 1641–2, O.C.D. 235 n.

⁶ *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 224 (see *Regesta*, vol. II, p. 107).

⁷ His letter of that date.

⁸ Fr. Dimas, 31.10.1634, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁹ *Idem*, 26.11.1634, Shiraz, O.C.D. 237 b,

¹⁰ Fr. Ignatius, 7.11.1634, O.C.D. 237 l.

¹¹ See his letter of that date.

¹³ O.C.D. 235 n.

¹⁴ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 9.8.1644, O.C.D. 237 f.

Thence, in accordance with reiterated instructions from His Holiness, from the Praepositus General of the Order, Fr. Paul Simon, and the Definitory, as well as of the Visitor General, Fr. Charles, he set out from Gāmburun to seek a passage for Surat and from that port to embark for Japan (where most missionaries of other Orders had recently been massacred); but, while waiting at Surat, he was desired by the Archbishop of Goa to help the new representative of the king of Portugal, commissioned *inter alia* to restore the Carmelite houses in India to their state of government existing before the recent dissensions in Goa, the new Vice-collector of Portugal having assigned this duty to the Archbishop.¹ The situation—with the Apostolic Visitor from Portugal in effective control of the Carmelite establishments in India—was, however, far too difficult for Fr. Stephen to influence; and he left Goa in February or March 1645² and on 17.6.1645 arrived via Shiraz at Isfahan, deputed by the Archbishop of Goa to report at Rome on the situation in Goa.³ The Archbishop, among other things, had recommended that in future the Visitor General of the Carmelites should come out from Rome direct, as in the commission to the Apostolic Visitor from Portugal it was made clear that his authority would cease as soon as a Visitor General were appointed from Rome itself: and such commissions and instructions, he suggested, should be “registered” by the king of Portugal previously.⁴

The *Regesta* record (vol. IV, p. 77) on 17.5.1646 that Fr. Stephen of Jesus was being sent back “to the Persians and Indians”, etc.: and 25.5.1646 (p. 80) that:

“all authority of the Definitory General in relation to the business concerning our Houses ‘in Goa and elsewhere and all Religious and Superiors residing in them, when the two ‘Fathers mentioned agree together, is committed to the Fr. Visitor General of Persia and ‘the East, Fr. Stephen of Jesus, and to the Fr. Vicar Provincial of the same mission of Persia ‘and the East, Fr. Augustine of S. Teresa. . . .”

As if foreseeing the captivity of Fr. Augustine in Barbary the decree was

“extended so that if, because of death or sickness or unavoidable impediment one of the ‘same two Fathers should be wanting, the other can of himself alone settle such business”.

Himself thus named Visitor General with special authority⁵ Fr. Stephen on his return from Rome arrived at Baghdad 1.11.1646,⁶ left there 16.11.1646,⁷ arrived at Basra 2.12.1646 and left for Gāmburun in a Dutch ship (one had called at Basra “out of the ordinary season” on 7.12.1646) on the 12th December.⁸ At Gāmburun he took passage on an English ship on 6.1.1647, alone, his companions ultimately sailing by other vessels, for at first both Dutch and English vessels refused to embark him and his party in view of the ban by the Portuguese authorities, which was thought to extend to all Carmelites entering the Portuguese sphere, but found to apply only to certain Religious. He reached Surat on 22.1.1647.⁹

As Visitor General he remained in Goa and India from 1647 to 1649; but,

“forced to leave by order of the Viceroy and at the prayer of the Vicar Provincial, Fr. ‘Dominic of S. Nicolas, who exhorted him to go out of respect for our Religious, who insisted ‘on his departure *pro bono pacis*,”¹⁰

¹ Fr. Stephen's letters, 4.10.1644 and 28.1.1645, from Surat; and also Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, Isfahan, 8.5.1645.

² Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 18.6.1645, O.C.D. 237 f.

³ Fr. Dionysius of Crown of Thorns, 18.6.1645, in O.C.D. 237 c.; as also Fr. Stephen, Isfahan, 28.6.1645; and Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 18.6.1645, cited.

⁴ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, Vicar Provincial, to Praepositus General, Rome, 13 7.1645, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁵ *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 224.

⁶ Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, Basra, 9.12.1646, O.C.D. 242 a.

⁷ Fr. Stephen, 7.12.1646 and 8.12.1646; also Fr. Ignatius, 19.12.1646, O.C.D. 241 m.; Fr. Dominic, 21.6.1647.

⁸ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 21 6.1647, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁹ Fr. Ignatius, Basra, 20.12.1650, in O.C.D. 241 m.

¹⁰ See his own letter of 3.11.1646, O.C.D. 238 c.

he quitted Goa on 20.2.1650 to return to Persia.¹ In his letter of November 18th 1650 he himself wrote that from his arrival at the end of 1646 he had

“remained three years in Goa, working for the upkeep and reform of that convent, redeeming Portuguese slaves in the hands of Muslims,” etc.

That the cause underlying his departure from Goa cast no reflection on his worth, but was due to a wide difference of understanding of the essentials of Carmelite life between his own and those of the Goanese friars and to a certain austerity of Fr. Stephen's rule is evident from the facts that, in addition to his own wide powers as Visitor General which he continued to exercise for several years, the above-named Vicar Provincial, Dominic of S. Nicolas (who remained in Goa for the rest of his term of office), delegated his authority in Persia to Fr. Stephen, and also that at Isfahan—where he arrived about May 1650²—his authority was directed to the strict Observance of the Rule of the Order being followed rather than to encouraging evangelistic work among the Armenians, etc., so that the Convent was described by one Religious as:

“reduced to an enclosure of monks, in which there is no missionary activity at all”.³

Signed first as “Visitor General” his signature appears on a declaration made on 13.7.1651 by all Religious at Isfahan regarding affairs in Nakhchiwan.⁴

The sanction of the Sacr. Cong. having been obtained, in June 1653, ‘Sunday in the Octave of Corpus Christi’, he took a small house in Julfa and entered into residence in order to promote work among the Armenians: with his high sense of duty he devoted himself to the Persian and Armenian languages, with which he had had scant opportunity for previous acquaintance.⁵ Intrigues and disturbances by the schismatic Armenians caused the abandonment—for another forty years—not only of this Carmelite experiment and of a similar Capuchin effort, but of the Jesuit establishment in Julfa too for the time: and with Fr. Cornelius he was recalled to Isfahan,⁶ after a tumult on 4.12.1653.

In August 1654 (no longer Visitor General) he was sent back to Basra—he had arrived at that mission before the 22nd November:⁷ there he signed the baptismal register on 12.6.1655 and 20.9.1655; but with the new Vicar Provincial, Fr. Felix, he left Basra for Shiraz about 14.10.1655⁸ and joined the Convent at Isfahan as a conventual before 28.11.1655, “being at that time reluctant to undertake charge of the mission at Diu”.⁹ He was still at Isfahan on 9.7.1656,¹⁰ but in August was due to go as Vicar to Diu, where he was in 1661,¹¹ at that time being noted as having been 32 years in the mission field—he was in fact for 12 years Vicar of Diu, i.e. till 1668. Then he became Prior of the Convent at Goa, and so is given in the list of 1671:¹² and as being Prior in a letter of his own signed as such, as well as one of Fr. Cornelius of S. Cyprian.¹³

At Goa he died in 1673,¹⁴ so the Praepositus General in Rome informed the Sacr. Congregation—“the buttress of that mission . . . recently dead”. He was described by the Procurator of the Mission in his detailed list of Religious as: “a grave Religious, a good “preacher and theologian”.

He has left a fragment of value for the knowledge it gives of names of Religious who early came to the missions: “A Brief Narrative of some of the More Important Things of the Missions “of Persia and India” (undated) in O.C.D. 236 a.

¹ His own letter of 18.11.1650 in O.C.D. 238 e.

² His own letter, 8.4.1650, from Kung.

³ Fr. Felix, 15.11.1651, O.C.D. 237 i. ⁴ S.R., vol. 222, p. 261. ⁵ Fr. Balthazar of S. Mary, 9.8.1653, O.C.D. 236 k.

⁶ His report, 28.11.1653, and Fr. Felix, 20.6.1654, O.C.D. 237 i.

⁷ See his own letter of that date.

⁸ Fr. Casimir's letters, 29.11.1655 and 20.3.1656, O.C.D. 241 h.; and also Fr. Barnabas, Basia, 30.11.1655, O.C.D. 241 f.:

“ . . . about a month ago he left Basra for Isfahan, as he had urged on the Vicar Provincial that he could not support the climate, and suffered from gout there.”

⁹ Fr. Dionysius of Crown of Thorns, 28.11.1655, O.C.D. 237 c.

¹⁰ *Idem*, of that date.

¹¹ Fr. Felix, 10.6.1661, O.C.D. 238 p; and also list of 1663, O.C.D. 235 n.

¹² S.R., vol. 428, p. 224.

¹³ Both in *Idem*, pp. 186-97.

¹⁴ On 1.4.1675 in S.R., vol. 664, p. 188.

Letters extant:

	18.7.1634	Erzerum	O.C.D. 238 e.
	30.4.1635	Shiraz	O.C.D. 238 e.
	8.1.1636	Basra	O.C.D. 241 p.
	3.2.1637	Basra	Prop. Fide, <i>Lettere di Spagna</i> , vol. 146, p. 140
	3.2.1637	Basra	Prop. Fide, <i>Lettere di Spagna</i> , vol. 106, p. 141
	25.11.1637	Basra	O.C.D. 241 p.
	6.5.1639	Basra	O.C.D. 241 p.
	23.3.1640	Basra	O.C.D. 241 p.
	23.3.1640	Basra	O.C.D. 241 p. and O.C.D. 238 e.
	28.4.1640	Basra	O.C.D. 241 p.
	4.10.1644	Surat, India	O.C.D. 238 e.
	28.1.1645	Surat, India	O.C.D. 238 e.
	23.6.1645	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 e.
	3.11.1646	Baghdad	O.C.D. 238 e.
	7.12.1646	Basra	O.C.D. 241 p.
	8.12.1646	Basra	O.C.D. 238 e.
	8.12.1646	Basra	S.R., vol. 65, p. 339
(joint declaration)	4.11.1647	Goa	O.C.D. 236 b.
	8.4.1650	Kung	O.C.D. 238 s.
	18.11.1650	Isfahan	O.C.D. 235 d.
	22.6.1651	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 e.
	30.6.1651	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 e.
	13.7.1651	Isfahan	S.R., vol. 222, p. 261
	26.11.1651	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 e.
	4.12.1651	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 e.
	23.3.1652	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 e.
	12.5.1652	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 e.
	22.11.1654	Basra	O.C.D. 241 p.
	12.3.1655	Basra	O.C.D. 241 p.
	22.6.1655	Basra	O.C.D. 241 p.
	4.4.1656	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 e.
	4.4.1656	Isfahan	O.C.D. 238 e.
	14.1.1669	Goa	S.R., vol. 429, p. 196

THOMAS AQUINAS of S. Francis (Xavier?)¹

A Neapolitan (?).

Born 1702.² Prov. in Order: Naples. Professed. . . . At missionary seminary of San Pancrazio, Rome.³ Arrived from Europe at Basra 7.8.1729: and sent to Isfahan, 9.8.1730, by request of the Vicar Provincial in Isfahan.⁴ In letter from Isfahan it was mentioned in 1739 that the head of the Dutch Factory (i.e. the Royal Dutch Company) in Isfahan had been to dinner with Fr. Thomas in the Carmelite House at *Isfahan*.⁵ He again arrived at Basra 29.8.1740 from Julfa, where he was Vicar.⁶ Signed baptismal register Basra, 25.1.1741. He left Basra for Baghdad, 18.8.1741.⁷ Signing himself "Vicar of Julfa, and Provincial Visitor", he addressed a letter from Isfahan on 25.4.1741 to Cardinal Pietra (in which he mentioned that he had been acquainted with Pope Benedict XIV just elected, when the latter was created a cardinal).⁸ According to the *Secondo Viaggio* of Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia (who was at Baghdad during those years) Fr. Thomas was one of three Religious of the Carmelite Order in

¹ Called ". . . of S. Francis Xavier" under 7th August 1729 in *Chron. Basra*, but he signed himself ". . . of S. Francis" only, in his letter extant.

² *Catalog. Miss.*

⁴ *Chron. Basra*, and *Cont. Basra Chron.*

⁶ and ⁷ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

³ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia in footnote to *Cont. Basra Chron.*

⁵ *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 506.

⁸ *S.R.*, vol. 708, p. 399.

the commission ordered by Nadir Shah to translate the Gospels into Persian, but "he died during the time when the translation was being made" (and that took place between the summers of 1740 and 1741). Elsewhere, however, it is stated that he died in 1744.¹

Letter extant: 25.4.1741 Isfahan S.R., vol. 708, p. 399

THOMAS of the Most Holy Sacrament

A Neapolitan.²

Family name: Acacio Bandini. Born 1606 at Monopoli (diocese Bari). Prov. in Order: Naples.³ Professed 30.11.1627 at Naples (see List of Prov. of Naples). In 1632 sent to Persia in company with Fr. Melchior of the Kings by Fr. Paul Simon,⁴ and with him reached Isfahan in July 1633.⁵ At the end of that year he was sent, however, to Basra in order to be companion to Fr. Basil until another Religious could be sent;⁶ but Fr. Thomas had found that he had no spirit for the missions and desired to live in a House for novices.⁷ His letter of 7.11.1634 from Basra to the Praepositus General mentioned that he was shortly to embark in a Portuguese convoy for Goa, where he was to serve in the House for novices. He had sailed by 17.11.1634.⁸ The Vicar Provincial, Fr. Dominic of Christ, from Isfahan on 30.1.1641⁹ referred to instructions from the Praepositus General to send to Europe Fr. Thomas: and in another letter of that year from Shiraz it was expected that Fr. Thomas would soon leave Shiraz for Italy, in company of Fr. Basil, the 'Substitute' to the Chapter General in Rome.¹⁰

Letters extant:

19.9.1633	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 g.
19.1.1634	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 g.
7.11.1634	Basra	O.C.D. 242 a.

TUSSANUS (TOUSSAINT) of Jesus

A Frenchman.

Family name: Antoine Bouchez (see List of Dead Prov. of Paris). Born 31.1.1640 at Paris. Prov. in Order: Paris. Professed 15.1.1662.¹¹ Accompanying the Procurator of the Mission, Fr. Valerius, on his return to the East and Fr. John Mary, he left Rome 4.5.1671, travelling via Ancona and Venice, where they were 6.6.1671.¹² With his three companions, on Ascension Day, 27.5.1672¹³ he reached Basra, after a terrible storm on the Tigris the previous day, and by instructions of the Vicar Provincial was to remain in that mission as companion to Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary.¹⁴ Signed baptismal register, Basra, 3.9.1673 and 25.11.1674. "President" of the mission at Basra from 23.2.1674 to 14.12.1674,¹⁵ when Fr. Agathangelus was appointed Vicar. According to the account given by the latter in *Chron. Basra*, while Fr. Tussanus and he were working together fervently,

"finding in the book, in which the names of those who are baptized are entered, the names of some hundreds of the sect of the Sabaeans" (i.e. the Mandaeans, more properly called) "and also finding in the record of those buried that not one of the said sect was buried among us, and seeing that very few attended church, they became doubtful and greatly wondered . . . they invited them all to attend church and began to preach to the rest that they should abandon their infidelity and embrace the true faith. In a few days our

¹ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist of the Order, in footnote, p. 15, to his edition of *Cont. Basra Chron.*

² and ⁴ Fr. Stephen in *Brief Narrative*, O.C.D. 236 a.

³ and ⁹ Fr. Dominic of Christ, unsigned letter, 30.1.1641, O.C.D. 236 b.

⁵ Fr. Dimas, S.R., vol. 135, p. 507, 2.11.1634.

⁶ and ⁷ Fr. Dimas, 20.5.1634, O.C.D. 237 b.

¹⁰ Fr. Ignatius, 21.5.1641, O.C.D. 238 r.

¹² Fr. Valerius, of that date, in S.N.R., I, p. 278.

¹⁴ Fr. Jerome's letter, 7.6.1672, O.C.D. 241 l.

⁸ Fr. Basil, 20.11.1634, O.C.D. 241 g.

¹¹ Fr. Agnellus, 26.10.1684, O.C.D. 238 k.

¹³ His own letter to Vicar General, Rome, 31.5.1672.

¹⁵ *Chron. Basra*.

"church was full of catechumens, and there was no Sabaeen that did not say that he desired
 "to be baptized; but, when informed that it was necessary first to leave the *terminus a quo*
 "and then go on to the *terminus ad quem*, not a single one was found willing to quit the sect
 "of the Sabaeans. If the mission was fruitless as regards this sect, it was fertile in regard to
 "various Christian sects. . . ."¹

In February 1676 Fr. Tussanus went to Persia to be present at the election of a Prior for Isfahan; but he was back from Persia at Basra 23.2.1678, accompanying the Visitor General, Fr. John Baptist of S. Joseph, who made him his companion.² "Preaching in Arabic," wrote another Religious in August that year.³ On 2.8.1679 he was sent by the Vicar Provincial to Shiraz, where he was in 1684 (or previously)⁴ when Fr. Agnellus proposed to send him to Isfahan. He was certainly at Isfahan in July 1686 when there is a postscript in his writing to a letter of Fr. Elias of S. Albert,⁵ and on 19.6.1689 he signed, with other Religious, a declaration in Latin at Isfahan. He arrived in June 1691 at Basra⁶ and on 24.7.1691, the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Elias, reported to Rome⁷ that Fr. Tussanus was already at Basra, appointed to be companion to Fr. Hermengild, but added a request that his return to his province might be sanctioned without delay. After the departure of Fr. Hermengild in August of that year, Fr. Tussanus remained alone at Basra:

"he suffered much owing to the evil times, so that he also nearly went out of his mind:
 "nevertheless he governed this house in very good fashion until in the month of October
 "1693 . . . he departed for Kung, leaving the House open and exposed to all."⁸

(The author of *Annales de Bassorah* suggests that like his predecessor he had been ill with plague.)

He returned to his province in 1695: and died at Paris 25.12.1696.⁹

Letters extant:

	31.5.1672	Basra	O.C.D. 242 a.
(joint document)	19.6.1689	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 b.

URBAN of S. Elisaeus

A subject of the Duchy of Savoy.

Family name: Damiano Patrìti. Born at San Damiano (diocese of Asti) 19.4.1687. Prov. in Order: Piedmont. Professed 14.6.1706.¹⁰ On 20.3.1713 application was made to the Sacr. Cong. by the Procurator General of the Order for Fr. Urban to be sent to Persia, together with Fr. Silvester of the Conception, in place of two missionaries dead in Persia,¹¹ although next month, on 3.4.1713, the Procurator General asked permission to send Fr. Bonaventura of the Holy Trinity in place of Fr. Urban "whom it is not thought expedient to
 "send to those missions. . . ."¹² However that may be, in company with Fr. Cyril of the Visitation he was dispatched from Rome 30.5.1715.¹³ His own letter may be quoted:¹⁴

¹ It should be added, with regard to the 'hundreds of Sabaeans given as baptized in the book mentioned', that para. 39 of *Chron. Basra* continues:

" . . . In (this book) it is found written in the year . . . 1624, 'For some time now we no longer baptize any Christians
 "of S. John, since it appears to us a matter of evident scruple, as they remain in the power of their parents who are
 "pagans, and know not how to observe the law of Christ, our Lord.' (This was in Portuguese, by Fr. Basil.)" "Nor
 "in the book is anyone mentioned as having been baptized from that year 1624 until 1655, when they again began
 "to baptize them . . ."

², ⁶ and ⁸ *Chron. Basra*. ³ Fr. Aurelius, 7.8.1678, O.C.D. 241 e.

⁴ Fr. Agnellus, 26.10.1684, O.C.D. 238 k.

⁵ Fr. Elias, 19.7.1686, O.C.D. 237 h.

⁷ O.C.D. 237 h.

⁹ *Catalog. Miss.*

¹⁰ Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist of the Order, in footnote to his edition of *Cont. Basra Chron.*

¹¹ *S.R.*, vol. 586, p. 328.

¹² *Idem*, vol. 587, p. 78.

¹³ *Idem*, vol. 608, p. 222.

¹⁴ Fr. Urban, 3.6.1716, *Basra*, in *S.R.*, vol. 608, p. 217.

“ . . . Having taken the route by Naples and Malta, both of them places with long delays “for the journeys of poor missionaries . . . and at the end of 9 months arrived at Aleppo, “after having done on foot nearly all the journey from Mount Carmel, where I disembarked “coming from Malta, up to the said city of Aleppo and all the same with many expenses. “I had to rest in that city for nine days, awaiting the departure of a caravan. Six days’ “distance from Aleppo the Pasha of Urfa, having learnt that Fr. Cyril and I were Christians “and Franks, although we were disguised in clothing after the style of the country, had poor “Fr. Cyril put in chains, wanting to get money from us. . . . When we arrived in Babylon “we found there a letter from Fr. Paul Augustine, Vicar of Basra, in which he begged “most insistently that the first arrived there of our Religious would turn aside from his “journey to Isfahan and come to Basra, in accordance with the permission, or rather “instructions, of the Fr. Vicar Provincial of Persia. Wherefore, to execute that request, “after having waited a month in Babylon for a vessel to sail, I took the first boat that I could “find, and left alone. . . .”

Fr. Paul Augustine, Vicar of Basra, added the information that

“six days before arriving Fr. Urban was shipwrecked in the Tigris, and hardly escaped with “his life, while everything he had, down to his very breviary, was all lost.”¹

He reached Basra 2.6.1716, and after staying nine months, in March 1717 went to Shiraz by permission of the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Faustin. Sent back from Shiraz, “by way of Bandar “Rig on 2nd May 1718 after thirty-six days’ travelling” he came to Basra.² His health was far from good in the first years, e.g. in 1719 the Vicar Provincial wrote of him:³

“Fr. Urban . . . nearly always ill: he had been a year in Shiraz, and there also nearly “always ill, wherefore I do not believe he will last long . . .”:

and in 1721:

“ . . . the Residence at Basra has caused the mission at Bandar ‘Abbas to be served by “Fr. Urban, who remained there some months and returned with no little money and many “presents made to him for the most part by the English merchants, whose guest he was. “ . . . At Basra there are — and Fr. Urban, if the last-named has not left for Europe “because our Fr. Vicar General wrote to me that on account of his frequent illnesses it was “thought well that he should be sent back to Europe. . . .”⁴

Under the year 1722 *Chron. Basra* records that Fr. Urban left for Bandar ‘Abbas, but before reaching Kung, some two hours’ distance, the boat on which he was ran aground and was broken up by the force of the waves, without, however, anyone being harmed. After some days at Kung he proceeded to Bandar ‘Abbas, whence he wrote to the Vicar Provincial asking what he should do (the Afghan invasion of Persia having taken place)—and he had remained at Bandar ‘Abbas for nearly 3 years when on 6.3.1725 he landed at Basra from an English ship which had made the voyage in sixteen days.⁵ This is what he wrote to Rome about pastoral work in Bandar ‘Abbas at that period:⁶

“ . . . I assure Your Reverence that it is full of fruit for souls, and a most worthy place “for the employment of a missionary loving to aid souls, as I saw during the three years “(almost) that I spent there by order of the Fr. Vicar Provincial, so that I consider it the “best in all Persia. . . . And in truth I have always been astonished that till now no church

¹ See also *Chron. Basra*, para. 347, about his being wrecked.

³ Fr. Faustin, — 1719, in O.C.D. 242 b.

⁶ His letter, 4.6.1725, O.C.D. 242 b.

² and ⁵ *Chron. Basra*.

⁴ Fr. Faustin, Isfahan, 26.5.1721, O.C.D. 238 g.

"has been built in this most famous port of Persia, where Christians from Europe and India
 "resort in such numbers. . . . Do me the honour, Your Reverence, of believing me when
 "I say that in the three years that I have dwelt there not only did I enjoy perfect health,
 "but also I have made sure that the cause of so many deaths among Europeans is their loose
 "living, immoderation in the matter of eating and intemperance in drinking everything at
 "all times and almost every hour. In a word, the bad ordering of their lives hastens their
 "deaths more quickly in this country than in others on account of the excessive heat, which
 "together with the causes mentioned above sets their blood on fire and dispatches them to
 "hell, since they are all English and Dutch, who stay there for the purpose of trade: whereas,
 "on the other hand, the French merchants who lately have resided there during the spring
 "and summer of two years, which are the most dangerous seasons, by their good conduct
 "in their mode of living all kept well, and went away safe and sound. . . . While I was at
 "Bandar 'Abbas I busied myself in renewing all the sacred ornaments and vessels for the
 "Mass, which our Fathers of Persia always kept there stored in a chest for the convenience
 "of missionary Fathers passing through the place, and of those who from time to time went
 "there from Basra to hold a mission: and aided in this by the alms of the Christians I have
 "spent a considerable sum of money, and at present with some small assistance from Rome
 "(always supposing that Your Reverence were to give permission) a small chapel with two
 "or three rooms could be built there in order to establish that mission. . . ."

What Fr. Urban wrote so strongly about the fate of heretics of riotous living and the English and Dutch of Bandar 'Abbas in particular needs to be read in the light of the remark about him by his esteemed compatriot, the Vicar of Shiraz—"always in the houses of the English "or Dutch gentlemen"¹—and of the disquisition in paragraphs 370 to 399 of *Chron. Basra* (which apparently was written by Fr. Urban with the authority of the Vicar of Basra, Paul Augustine) on the way a missionary should approach a European trader in the East, in order to understand that he had a great desire to profit spiritually his English hosts:²

" . . . It will be the task of the missionaries, observing the laws of humanity and courtesy
 "in the first place, to bring back to better ways the Europeans themselves by conversations
 "in private and public and exhortations, if the occasion require or permit, in order thus to
 "consult for the good of their conscience and to provide against the stumbling-blocks of
 "others. In the second place, if their exhortations and conversations bear no fruit, it will
 "not be out of place, taking due caution, to warn oriental Christians that matters are not
 "the same in Europe. . . . It will even be of service, if no other remedy be available, to
 "tell them that the Christians who come here from Europe are not among the better of
 "Christ's faithful ones, . . . and this as far as Christians professing the Catholic Faith are
 "concerned. But as to the Protestants, our missionaries must proceed by other measures,
 "lest they stumble on some rock of offence in their conversation: they must deal with them
 "in the greatest prudence and discretion, not only so that they" (the Protestants) "may
 "have no fear and nothing to say against us, but also because from their friendship con-
 "siderable advantages may result to our mission and the salvation of souls. In the first
 "place many of their servants and sailors are of the Catholic Faith and the missionary
 "Fathers will not be able to attend to their spiritual salvation unless their masters consent
 "that we should either go to their houses and ships, or they have permission to come to us
 "and perhaps to stay for some time so that due instruction may be given them in the way of
 "salvation and suitable guidance be employed. In the second place, it often happens that
 "there are boys and slaves among them who very willingly embrace the Christian Faith
 "and whose masters will send them to us for that purpose in order that they may be taught
 "and baptized, if the missionary Fathers do not withdraw from association with them and
 "their goodwill, and show themselves polite in visiting them and performing any services

¹ Fr. Cyril, Shiraz, 8.5.1725, O.C.D. 238 i.

² See para. 380 of *Chron. Basra, et seq.*, translation by Sir H. Gollancz in *Settlement of Carmelites in Mesopotamia*.

“that present themselves according to the position, dignity and rank of their particular calling. And although . . . little or no advantage is to be expected for them from the preaching of our missionaries, they will not lose their reward if, when the Lord has opened their mouths, the latter take care to utter to them the words of life. . . . For it is surprising how men of this kind are delighted with the odour of such virtues who, although they are separated from us by the false doctrines of their sect, are nevertheless closely united to us by the charm of an exhibition of uprightness and proved integrity. For we should not, as some perhaps think we ought, refuse to converse politely with them, if it will not prove prejudicial to our faith and the faithful. . . . Chiefly, therefore, our preaching must be exhibited to them by good example, not by keenness of argument, which provokes often rather than instructs them, exasperates rather than edifies them. . . .”

But in those days, too, the globe-trotter in remote parts of the East in search of material for a book was apt to become a nuisance, as evidently the Religious—who in those centuries were usually begged or expected to provide such with lodging and board—had experienced; for Fr. Urban continued:

“. . . Quite as much caution is required in dealing with certain travellers and strangers, whether Catholics or Protestants, who travel the world over by land and sea in order to collect information about different countries, nations, rareties, events, climates, the size of lands and seas, the nature of mountains and rivers, animals, flowers and fruits, which they may take with them to Europe, and publish to the world in the form of printed books (*Itineraries*). And their enquiries extend not only to unreasoning things, but also to the examination of men, their dress, . . . colour of their bodies, stature, general health, manners and customs, vices and virtues, so that their knowledge of them may be more abundant and their book may grow to a large size. In order to make the work more agreeable for curious readers, and more acceptable to lovers of novelties, they busy themselves with adorning and filling it with accounts of particular incidents and remarkable facts, in which there is generally nothing agreeable, nothing pleasing, nothing acceptable, nothing but certain caustic attacks upon men, neighbours, and especially the Religious, expressed in sharper language and set down with so biting a pen from their habit of speaking and writing that you would be unable to decide whether their work . . . should properly be called a book of travels or a work of insult. . . . My experience is that writers of this kind have converted the benefits and indulgence bestowed upon them into disgraceful arguments against their indulgent benefactors. If it happens, as in fact happened to our Fathers at Shiraz, that the missionaries prepare a frugal meal such as poverty dictates, to which they are admitted, they (the Fathers) will be accused by them of avarice. If, in order to honour and satisfy them, they load the table with a more ample and luxurious banquet, they will be accused of extravagance and perhaps of drunkenness. Would this were only said in so many words and not set down in writing. . . . Wherefore our Religious ought to take great care not to afford such people the opportunity of observing any defects in them, which those people may afterwards put before the whole world to read, not without great disgrace to themselves and to the Order. . . .”¹

“That good philosopher,” Fr. Cyril called him.²

Fr. Urban signed the baptismal register at Basra 24.6.1725 and 6.7.1727. In December 1726 ‘letters patent’ for Fr. Urban to be Vicar Provincial of the missions reached Basra from the Praepositus General, Fr. Bernard of S. Jerome.³ That same December Fr. Joseph Mary, Vicar Apostolic for the diocese of Baghdad, wrote that he had committed the charge of the diocese to Fr. Urban, and passed on to him the faculties granted by the Holy Sec:⁴ and in

¹ *Chron. Basra*—Sir H. Gollancz’ translation in *Settlement of the Carmelites in Mesopotamia*, Oxford, 1927.

² Letter quoted.

³ *Chron. Basra*.

⁴ *S.N.R.*, III, p. 594.

October 1727 he strongly recommended to the Sacr. Cong. that Fr. Urban be named as his successor.¹ In the autumn of 1727 Fr. Urban was ill from the epidemic of fever, following the flooding of the desert round Basra town, when some 8,000 persons died in two and a half months. On 12.1.1728 he left in a small boat for Baghdad, in order to make a visitation of the houses in Persia:² he reached Isfahan 13.7.1728.³ His two letters from Isfahan of 1730 are altogether taken up with financial matters—the mission at Isfahan was still crippled with debt owing to expenditure by Fr. Faustin in restoring and maintaining the episcopal residence at Hamadan of the Bishops of Baghdad, in which the Sacr. Congregation had an interest: and Fr. Urban made suggestions for a settlement; but he did beg for greater sympathy from his Order in

“this poor mission now more than ever in need, on account of the disasters suffered in the “past 8 years, and very cruel wars. . . .”

At the end of that year he must have continued his visitation to Shiraz and Bandar 'Abbas, for on 1.5.1731 he arrived from Bandar 'Abbas at Basra, to make a visitation “a second time”: signed the baptismal register on 1.7.1731. He left Basra for Isfahan again on 28.8.1732, his term of office having expired when on 21.12.1731 Fr. Placid of S. Nicolas received ‘letters patent’ from Rome

(“an answer having been received from Rome that an ex-Vicar Provincial, who had filled “office, could not choose for himself his residence like an ex-Provincial in his province.”⁴)

His letter from Isfahan of June 1733 included a short reference to the imprisonment of Shah Tahmasp II by the future Nadir Shah, the proclamation of Shah Tahmasp's infant son, and the siege of Baghdad by Nadir. From this period letters of the missionaries are hardly to be found in the archives—perhaps they were lost in transit in the state of warfare that prevailed or the zest for correspondence had ceased: at any rate, the next news of Fr. Urban is not till 1739 when, reappointed Vicar Provincial (in 1738 or October 1737 in succession to Fr. Placid, see footnote to *Cont. Basra Chron.*, p. 8), from Isfahan he reached Basra on 26th June. He signed the baptismal register 27.3.1739 and 26.7.1740, and following the revolt of the Arabs (Muntafiq) in January by way of Hawaizeh in Khuzistan left for Isfahan (Julfa) on 5.3.1741.⁵ It must have been after his arrival in the spring or summer of 1741 that, as recorded in *Secondo Viaggio*, Fr. Urban of S. Elisaeus, Vicar Provincial, was one of the three Catholic assistants in the translation of the Gospels ordered by Nadir Shah and at Qazwin took part in that scene, when the Muslim, Jewish and Christian delegates for the translation, having asked for an audience to present all together the results of their labours, were kept waiting outside the entrance to the royal garden, while eighteen men, one after another, were taken into the garden with halters round their necks, strangled in Nadir's presence and their bodies dragged out again like dead animals (see the full story under the biography of Fr. Philip Mary of S. Augustine). Recovering from their consternation, the

“Fathers were glad beyond measure, hoping that they were attaining the Crown of martyrdom, so ardently desired by them. Vying with one another they cheered each other “reciprocally: and the apostolic controversy there fought out between the Bishop Mgr “Philip Mary and Father Urban deserved to have the whole world as spectators—which “of them should be the first to give his life as a witness to the most holy Gospel. The “Bishop claimed the honour as the shepherd whom it behoved to give the example of “preceding his flock. Fr. Urban would not give way to him, on the ground that he was the “most senior missionary in Persia, and more than all the rest had laboured in the translation, “and it seemed to him that it fell to him to be the first to give his life and to Monsignor

¹ S.N.R., III, p. 608

² Fr. Urban, 20.7.1730, O.C.D. 242 h.

³ and ⁴ *Chron. Basra.*

⁵ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

“to be the last, because he, Fr. Urban, being the weaker in health ought to be allowed to “take his rest sooner than the others. . . .”

The actual reception accorded the delegation by Nadir was by way of being such an anticlimax to their anticipation of immediate death that the reader may well smile with Fr. Urban, who evidently possessed a sense of humour, seeing that, when sending a written account of the incident to the author of *Secondo Viaggio* later, he headed it “The Tale of the Neckties missed”, in genial allusion to the halters round the necks of the eighteen men strangled. Sometime in 1744 Fr. Urban reached Bushire, coming via Shiraz: a letter of May in the following year gives the reason:

“Fr. Urban, at present Provincial of the province of Persia and Arabia, went to Bushire “where he at once bought a house with the aid of the Christians there, who for some time “past had been sighing for the Fathers, and he established a mission with the opening of “a church. . . .”

He was therefore the founder of the original Carmelite church at Bushire, refounded about 1704. He must, however, have been back in Julfa some time in 1745 or early 1746, in which year must be dated the Latin reply by the Superior of the Jesuits at Julfa to a questionnaire from the Cardinal Prefect, where it was stated:

“. . . tres sunt (conventus) Julphae, Carmelitarum in quo residet nunc R. P. Vicarius “Provincialis, scilicet Fr. Urbanus a S. Eliseo. . . .”

Then for nearly ten years there is complete silence in the archives as to his residence and activities—he was certainly not at Julfa when Bishop Philip Mary died in 1749: the Residence at Shiraz had been abandoned in 1738, and that he was not at Basra would appear from absence of mention of him in its chronicle; so that he was perhaps for a time at Bushire but more probably at Bandar 'Abbas till 1755, when from Bandar 'Abbas he had come to Kharg island. There in the beginning of the year he was visited during Lent by Fr. Cornelius of S. Joseph, Vicar Provincial, who had caused him to come to Kharg from Bandar 'Abbas.¹

But on 26.5.1755, after thirty days' illness, he died at Kharg “in the odour of sanctity”.

“On account of his exceptional virtues, he was much respected by all, so that the governor “of the island, Baron Kniphausen, himself prepared for him a very beautiful tomb as a “sign of veneration.”²

“Baron Kniphausen, consul for Holland and governor of Kharg, wrote to the Bishop of “Isfahan and to me a letter full of praises for the deceased Fr. Urban, saying that ‘the “Saint is dead.’ . . . Baron Kniphausen, governor of Kharg, had his corpse buried in “the vicinity of the castle and fort, and he himself on horseback with his officials and “soldiers accompanied him, enclosed in a great coffin, to the grave with great funeral pomp, “and had him buried in the tomb prepared.”³

The compiler of *Cont. Basra Chron.*, Fr. Angel Felix, in his turgid Latin style in the register of Religious dead at Basra wrote a panegyric of Fr. Urban, in which the words are used:

“. . . aedificata illuc domo, prima Religiosorum nostrorum cura fuit ejus exuvias accurate “conquirere, ut selectiorem in locum tumularentur, at . . . post mortem, tantum sibi “felicissime notus, licet aliis ignotus, in Christianorum coemeterio promiscue quiesceret,”

¹ Fr. Hyacinth of S. Teresa, 23.6.1755, O.C.D. 242 b

² *Catalog. Miss.*

³ Fr. Hyacinth of S. Teresa, letter above cited.

a strange statement, considering that Fr. Angel Felix was himself in the following years 1756 and 1757 resident in Kharg, and necessarily dealing frequently with Baron Kniphausen and others present at the burial in the 'tomb prepared'.

Letters extant:

2.6.1716	Basra	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 608, p. 217
4.6.1725	Basra	<i>O.C.D.</i> 242 b.
20.7.1730	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 242 h.
20.8.1730	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 242 h.
21.1.1732	Basra	<i>O.C.D.</i> 242 b.
13.6.1733	Isfahan	<i>O.C.D.</i> 242 h.

VALENTINE of the Conception (Lay Brother)

A Lombard (subject of the Duchy of Milan).¹

Family name: Marcantonio Sacchi, son of Domenico S. and Margharita Moni. Born at Pavia, Lombardy—probably before 1684. Prov. in Order: Roman. Professed at S. Maria d. Scala 11.12.1701.² Sent to the East from Malta by the Vicar General,³ in 1717 presumably. From 1717 to 1721 at Isfahan City Convent,⁴ being mentioned in the list of Religious. On 26.5.1721 the Vicar Provincial wrote⁵

"I had been thinking for some time of sending a Religious to Europe as an ocular witness 'of our miseries, to inform the Sacr. Cong. more efficaciously than I can by my pen. . . . But the Bishop (i.e. Fedeli, O.P.) has decided me by urging me to write and take the 'opportunity of' (his) 'sending to His Holiness and to the Republic of Venice the replies 'of the king of Persia, which have been lying in his hands more than a year. I am sending 'you therefore Brother Valentine of the Conception, a son of that Roman province, who 'has laboured here in this Convent of Isfahan for four years with much edification. . . ."

Acknowledging receipt from Persia of letters for dispatch to Rome—two of them from the king of Persia, one for the Pope, the other for the Doge of Venice—one of the Carmelites at Aleppo stated in a letter of 20.9.1721⁶ that they had been

"brought by Brother Valentine of the Conception, who died in the desert of Babylon of 'heat-stroke, when bringing them from his Vicar Provincial'".

VALERIUS of S. Joseph

A Lombard (subject of the Duchy of Milan).

Family name: Giuseppe Landriano (see List of Professed, Prov. Lombardy). Born about 1626⁷ at Campa (diocese of Milan). Prov. in Order: Lombardy.⁸ Professed 24.5.1642. Arrived out in the missions in 1658,⁹ and he mentions having passed through Tripoli in Syria in that year,¹⁰ and that he had afterwards stayed at Basra for eight months (Fr. Barnabas being Vicar), on his way out to Tatta in Sind, where he was still in 1663.¹¹ No further details

¹ *Catalog. Miss.*

² Fr. Marcellinus a S. Theresia kindly supplied the information from *Series Professionum* at S. Maria d. Scala.

³ Fr. Faustin, *O.C.D.* 242 b.

⁴ Vide Latin 'responsio' of Fr. Philip Mary, 20.6.1725, in *O.C.D.* 238 u.

⁵ Fr. Faustin, 26.5.1721, *O.C.D.* 238 g.

⁶ Fr. Jerome of S. Barbara, Aleppo, in vol. 634 of *Scrittura Riferite*.

⁷ According to the list of 1663 in *O.C.D.* 235 n., and also he himself stated so in the list of 1671 given in Rome (see *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 229); though *Catalog. Miss.* makes the date 1615, and so does his own province in *Cat. Def. Lomb.*, when saying that he died in 1675 'aged 60'.

⁸ *Cat. Def. Lomb.*

⁹ According to the list of 4.4.1671, in *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 229, cited, which he himself gave in Rome.

¹⁰ See his *Relazione (Narrative)* in *S.N.R.*, I, p. 252, docketed in the Sacr. Cong., 26.3.1671, so given while he was in Rome.

¹¹ See list of that year in *O.C.D.* 235 n.

are available until 1668, when on the 15th November he left Goa, elected representative of the Indian missions to attend the Congress of Carmelites for the election of a Procurator.¹ He arrived at Gāmburūn 10.3.1669,² and left on 1.4.1669 for Kung, summoning for 5th April a Congress, at which he himself was on 13th April elected Procurator to attend the Chapter General in Rome.³ Afterwards travelling north, he left Shiraz on 9.6.1669 for Isfahan⁴ and—though in his *Narrative* of 1671 he related that he was on the road between Shiraz and Isfahan in August—his letter of 6th July written in Isfahan stated that he arrived there on 19th June, and that he was intending to leave for Baghdad at the end of July. While in Isfahan he had been with the Vicar Provincial to visit 'Itimad-ud-Dauleh (the chief minister of Shah Sulaiman) in order to obtain confirmation of the title of the Carmelites to the royal property they occupied in the Convent, and other privileges.

The descriptive list of Carmelite missionaries serving in Persia and India which he handed to the Sacr. Cong. while in Rome, dated 4th April 1671, is valuable because of the information as to the personalities of the Religious of that period, no other Procurators from the East in the past or future appearing to have deposited similar lists: and his *Narrative*, endorsed in the Sacr. Congregation with the date 26.3.1671, gives many details regarding the position in each mission at that time.

On his return to the East he quitted Rome 21.5.1671 for Ancona *en route* for Venice in company with Frs. John Mary and Toussaint, and from Venice, whence he wrote on 6th June, joined by Fr. Celsus the party was to travel with the Consul for the Venetian Republic at Aleppo, Signor Bernardo Bembo. But it was 27.5.1672 (Ascension Day) before they reached Basra,⁵ where they remained till September or October presumably.⁶ Fr. Valerius was at Kung before 25.11.1672, when he wrote from there and had conferences with the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Dionysius of Jesus,⁷ and was about to go on to Goa.

His death occurred at Goa 22.8.1674.⁸

Letters extant:

	15.4.1669	Kung	O.C.D. 238 s.
	16.4.1669	Kung	O.C.D. 238 s.
	6.7.1669	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 b.
(report: list)	26.3.1671	Rome	<i>S.N.R.</i> , I, p. 252
(report)	4.4.1671	Rome	<i>S.R.</i> , vol. 428, p. 224
	6.6.1671	Venice	<i>S.N.R.</i> , I, p. 278
	25.11.1672	Kung	O.C.D. 238 s.

VICTORINUS of S. Iodoc

A Fleming.⁹

Born 1682.¹⁰ Prov. in Order: Gall.-Belg. Professed . . .

Signed at Aleppo, 17.10.1708, on his journey out to Persia, a statement that he and his companion, Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, had been detained there 2 months by then:¹¹ and it was about 26.3.1609 before he reached Basra, and he "died two years later" (i.e. 1711) "at Isfahan, "having contracted a malady at Bandar 'Abbas."¹²

Writing extant: 17.10.1708 Aleppo *S.R.*, vol. 567, p. 280

¹ See his *Relazione* in *S.N.R.*, I, p. 252.

² Fr. Athanasius, 12.4.1669, Gāmburūn, O.C.D. 236 b.

³ Fr. Valerius' own letter, 16.4.1669, Kung, O.C.D. 238 s., and Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, 13.4.1669, O.C.D. 238 s.

⁴ Fr. Angelus, 10.6.1669, O.C.D. 238 l.

⁵ Fr. Tussanus, 31.5.1672, O.C.D. 242 a., and Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary, 7.6.1672, O.C.D. 241 l.

⁶ Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary, Basra, 14.11.1672, O.C.D. 241 l.

⁷ Fr. Celsus, 1.9.1675, O.C.D. 238 i.

⁸ Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary, Shiraz, 17.2.1675, O.C.D. 238 q.—the date given in *Cat. Def. Lomb.*, 4th September 1675, must be that of receipt of the news at Milan.

⁹ *Chron. Basra.*

¹⁰ According to *Catalog. Miss.* in 1677.

¹¹ *S.R.*, vol. 567, p. 280.

¹² Calculated by statement in *Chron. Basra* 1711 might be the year of his death, but *Catalog. Miss.* gives it as 1712.

VINCENT of S. Francis

A Spaniard.¹

Family name: Juan Gambart, son of Martin G. and Juana de Andiu. Born at Valencia, Spain, 1574. Prov. in Order: Roman. Professed at S. Maria d. Scala, Rome, 25.4.1599.²

He was the third in seniority of the three original missionaries and ambassadors sent by the Pope to Persia: from the time he set out from Rome, 6.7.1604, the narrative of their journey through Poland, Muscovy (with the long detentions at Moscow, Tsaritzin, Astrakhan) until their arrival in Isfahan on 2.12.1607 is to be found and read in the biographical notices of Fr. John Thaddeus and Fr. Paul Simon (q.v.).

After being all 1608 together alone with Fr. John Thaddeus in Isfahan, on 30.1.1609 he drew up and signed jointly with the latter a declaration that, owing to the inconstancies and uncertain attitude of 'Abbas I in their regard, they considered it prudent that one of them should proceed to Hurmuz island, and set up a hospice there; and as the senior Fr. John Thaddeus added to the document instructions to Fr. Vincent to leave for Hurmuz, the establishment in which was to be the seminary for the Persian missions. Fr. Vincent must have reached Hurmuz early in March 1609: he was well received by the governor of the fortress, Henriques de Noronha, and other local people, who on 22.3.1609 signed a parochial petition for Fr. Vincent to be allowed to open a mission.³ There are also extant copies⁴ of two deeds drawn up by the notary, Enrique Pereira, and dated Hurmuz 6th and 13th April, the first relating that Fr. Vincent had already spoken to various persons, who had signed a petition for a Residence of the Carmelite Order to be permitted in Hurmuz, and that, in consequence, a memorial had been presented against such project: the second was a declaration that a notice had been served on Fr. Vincent of an order by the Vicar Forane in Hurmuz, Emmanuel d'Souza Correa, prohibiting the making of an oratory in Hurmuz, and that Fr. Vincent had lodged a protest based on the privileges accorded by the Pope to the Carmelite mission in Persia. Finally on the 14th April⁵ the Vicar Forane on behalf of the Archbishop of Goa certified that he had forbidden Fr. Vincent to preach, or confess, or make any church, and any of the faithful from hearing any Mass said by him under pain of excommunication: whereupon Fr. Vincent had appealed to the higher authorities in Goa.⁶

Fr. Vincent returned to Isfahan, where he arrived 28.6.1609, and the Carmelites decided to obtain sanction for the opening at Hurmuz from the highest possible authorities, and that it was best for Fr. Vincent to go to Rome;⁷ although by a certificate, dated Hurmuz 29.4.1609, printed in the *History of the Discalced Carmelites in Portugal*, vol. II, p. 775, para. 1088, Don Henriques de Noronha, governor of the fortress, certified that since his arrival Fr. Vincent had edified all by his conduct and piety, and so the inhabitants generally desired that the said Father would found a house of his Order in Hurmuz, as also that the Archbishop Primate of the Indies and the Viceroy had been desired to grant a licence. The next step was to obtain the consent of 'Abbas I to Fr. Vincent returning to Europe—to 'obtain his passports'. On 9.7.1609, accompanied by Fr. John Thaddeus, Fr. Vincent found the king at a villa outside the city just as he was about to ride out, and informed him of the proposed journey: the Shah wanted to know whether it was being taken at his wish or that of other people, and for what object. The Fathers pointed out that Fr. Vincent was being sent to explain matters in person because of the opening of letters in Aleppo by the Turks and their contents becoming known, and assured the king that any route he wished would be taken; but 'Abbas I evaded giving a direct reply. After the return of the Court to the city the Fathers daily tried in vain to get word with or even see the king, until on 21st July at a garden outside the city, when he gave

¹ When the notary in Hurmuz on 6.4.1609 attested a memorial of the inhabitants (see copy in O.C.D. 239 b.) and stated in the attestation regarding Fr. Vincent: "... as this Father is not a vassal of his Majesty the King . . ." doubtless the 'king of Portugal' was meant, although Philip III was sovereign over both Portugal and Spain at that date.

² From *Seres Professionum* at S. Maria d. Scala, by Fr. Marcellinus a S. Theresia, 1934.

³ See printed *Cronica de Carmelitas Descalcos do Reyno de Portugal*, vol. II.

⁴ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct., part 1, book 2, chap. XX.

⁵ See report of Fr. Benignus, 10.8.1609, in O.C.D. 234 c.

⁴ and ⁵ O.C.D. 239 b.

the Fathers at night an impromptu meal, sitting beside a fish pond, and discussed with them at length various matters. This delay was mainly due to the wish to extract from him a reply to the most recent letter from the Pope, so that Fr. Vincent might present it in Rome with reference to the *entente* against the Turks. The dispatches, several times promised, not coming to hand, Fr. Vincent on the 23rd July set off and after three days' journey reached the camp of the Shah, who received him with a show of esteem, and admitted him to long familiar talks: at last duly furnished with the dispatches, one of them from the Catholic Armenians in Isfahan, Fr. Vincent was able to get back to Isfahan by the 3rd August, and on the 10th, S. Laurence's day, in lay clothing he set off with a caravan for Baghdad, whence he passed to Tripoli in Syria, taking the opportunity of meeting the Maronite communities in the Lebanon. He reached Rome early in 1610. Pope Paul V received him with benevolence, and considered how work among the Armenians might be encompassed, should the Shah not prevent it: and the Definitory General of the Carmelites decided to approve of the establishment of a mission at Hurmuz, appointing Fr. Leander of the Annunciation to accompany Fr. Vincent, who after a final audience of His Holiness received the Briefs he was to take out.¹ These included letters not only to Shah 'Abbas, but to the Archbishop of Goa, commending Fr. Vincent and his Order, all dated the tenth of the Kalends of July 1610 (*vide Epistolae ad Principes*, Arm. XLV, 6, p. 18, v. 84, in the Secr. Archives of the Vatican). After being present at the solemn celebration of the Feast of Our Lady of Carmel 16.7.1610 in Florence, Fr. Vincent left via Bologna for Venice, whence he sailed 28.8.1610. He was at Zante in the Ionian Isles on the Feast of S. Matthew, 21st September; at Paphos, Cyprus, 19.10.1610; at Tripoli, Syria, 31st October; arrived at Aleppo on S. Andrew's Day, 30th November; and, after being at Baghdad, 20.2.1611, reached Isfahan 21.5.1611, Whit-Sunday.² In January 1612 the community at Isfahan (from which Fr. John Thaddeus was absent at Astrakhan) declared Fr. Vincent "President" of the mission: and he left for Hurmuz, where in a very short time and to the pleasure of the local people, notwithstanding opposition from the Augustinians, he established an oratory,³ for which in the previous year licence had been obtained from the Archbishop of Goa, Cristobal de Sà, and the Viceroy, Fernando de Albuquerque, by Fr. Benignus. After clothing a novice to be his companion, and leaving another lay-brother novice in charge of the oratory with instructions to bring a priest to say Mass daily, Fr. Vincent set out from Hurmuz for Goa to deliver the Papal Brief to the Archbishop early in April—he called it the "monzone" (monsoon—though that nowadays is usually reckoned as beginning late in May): after 29 days' sailing he reached Goa safely (i.e. in May 1612).⁴ In his letter No. 2, after his return to Hurmuz Fr. Vincent reported to the Praepositus General in Rome all that he had done in Goa.⁵ The Archbishop elect had explained that the difficulty about starting a mission there was that the king had strictly prohibited viceroy, archbishop and council to allow any new ones, the Dominicans, Augustinians and Jesuits in the Portuguese Indies already costing the state a large sum in grants. Of his goodwill, however, the Archbishop advised Fr. Vincent to buy a small building near a country house where the Archbishop himself sometimes resided: Fr. Vincent bought one, made an oratory in it, and was authorized to say Mass in it on condition that no seculars came there to hear it. Thinking it imprudent to press for more, Fr. Vincent remained there from May till September 1612, finding that the Archbishop became less friendly when he understood that the Carmelites of the Congregation of Italy were separate from those of Spain, all Italian Religious in the Portuguese Indies being at that period suspect for certain political reasons. So, having written both to the Pope to explain that without permit from the king he could do nothing, and to the king in favour of the Carmelites opening a mission at Goa, the Archbishop recommended Fr. Vincent to return to Persia and deal direct with King Philip III. Fr. Vincent in his letter quoted therefore proposed to the Praepositus General that his Majesty should be petitioned to address a letter to the Archbishop of Goa in general terms, recommending to the latter's help the procurator of the Carmelites in Persia,

¹ and ² See Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct., MSS. *Hist. Miss.*, O.C.D. 285-6.

³ Fr. Leander's undated report, but of 1615, in O.C.D. 239 e.

⁴ His letters, Nos. 1 and 2 of 3.6.1613, O.C.D. 239 b.

⁵ O.C.D. 239 b.

whom they needed to keep in Goa for their business: and that His Holiness should be moved to recommend to the Dean and Chapter of Goa to provide the procurator of the Carmelites and his companion with the hermitage of San Amaro, which would serve as a dwelling for the Order. Fr. Vincent went on to mention some of the reasons why it was important to have a footing in Goa—the plentiful alms to be obtained there for financing the other missions, the large numbers of youths who yearly came from Portugal in the fleet and provided material for novices for all the Orders; but he went on to discuss the question whether only pure-blooded Portuguese, or *mestizos*, or pure Indian Christians should be accepted as novices. Finally he asked for Fr. Raphael, a painter of pictures, to be sent out as being likely to be useful to the missions. On leaving Goa he journeyed along the coast to collect alms, in accordance with a suggestion of the Archbishop, but obtained little owing to the poverty of the people much troubled by raiders:¹ he reached Hurmuz island on 20.2.1613² and there found letters from the Definitory General dated 25.8.1612, from which it appeared to the Religious that it was the mind of the Definitory to make the foundation at Hurmuz independent and Fr. Vincent Superior of it (the Pope, in giving the Bishop of Cyrene his commission as Visitor in Persia had expressly excluded the Carmelite houses from its scope³). In Hurmuz in 1613 he busied himself in making a more convenient oratory than the first—37 feet in breadth, and length proportionate, with two side altars: the site was the best in Hurmuz. In his letter No. 2 of the 3rd June 1613 he explained to Rome the reasons which led up to the opening of an oratory at Hurmuz—the permit obtained which might be annulled if left unutilized, the desire of the population, and the manœuvres of the Augustinians against it (these apart from the need to have a ‘haven of refuge’ to which to withdraw in case of forced closure of the mission at Isfahan). In eight days with alms he had paid for the cost of the site and premises, 600 ducats, almost entirely. His letter No. 3 of 3rd June 1613 gave his views on certain deviations from the Rule and Observance of the Order which seemed necessary—the employment of one or two servants, the Religious should not ride horses, and even if presented by the Shah these should be sold at once, but a mule might be kept in the stable, what food might be given as alms, visits to Muslims, no food or drink to be taken in houses of Armenians, for instance. His letter of 16.4.1613 from Hurmuz is of interest, apart from its contents, because it acknowledged the receipt of letters from Isfahan dated 14.3.1613—which indicates a remarkably rapid delivery of mails over so great a distance, far more rapid than later in the century. In 1614 letters came from Fr. John Thaddeus appointing Fr. Vincent ‘Vicar’ of Hurmuz.⁴ At some later date, either before the middle of 1615, but more probably early in 1616, Fr. Vincent left Hurmuz for Isfahan—he was certainly not in Isfahan in the autumn of 1615 when Fr. Redempt was chosen to go to Europe: and thence he left again for Rome in 1618, according to Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct. in his MSS. *History of the Missions*: on the other hand a letter of Fr. John Thaddeus to the Captain of Hurmuz, dated 8.3.1618, would seem to imply that Fr. Vincent had then been for some time past in Italy:

“ . . . on account of Fr. Vincent’s worth and parts, the Chapter General had appointed him
 “Prior and Prelate of so important a Convent as that of Palermo, capital of the kingdom of
 “Sicily. . . .”

On 16.6.1620⁵ he was selected by the Praepositus General, Fr. Matthias of S. Francis, to be Visitor General of the missions in Persia and India; and his “Instructions”, after according him faculties, authorized his settlement, in collaboration with the Vicar Provincial, of the following matters:⁶ acceptance of hospices or Residences with or without an oratory, acceptance of Persian or Indian novices not under 18 years, the questions of riding on horseback through the city of Isfahan and accompanying the Shah to his camps, the eating of eggs and butter during fasting times, the vineyard utilized by the Fathers at Isfahan, the entertainment of guests; and he was to make a full report on the state of each House at Isfahan, Hurmuz, Goa

¹ His letter, No. 2, O.C.D. 239 b.

² Fr. Leander, O.C.D. 239 e., undated letter (? of 1615).

³ Fr. Vincent, letter of 16.4.1613, O.C.D. 239 b.

⁴ Fr. Leander, letter of 1615, O.C.D. 239 e.

⁵ See *Regesta*, vol. I, p. 76.

⁶ O.C.D. 284 g., dated 30.6.1620.

and Tatta. Accompanied by four new recruits for the mission, Frs. Prosper, Dominic of S. Mary, Basil and Peter Thomas, he sailed from Messina in September 1620, travelling via Sidon, Tripoli, Aleppo and Baghdad: they reached Isfahan in May 1621. On 5th June 1621 he had an audience of 'Abbas I in company of Fr. John Thaddeus, in which were presented the Briefs from the Pope: the English representatives of the East India Company were also present, and the Shah led the discussion on to the differences between Catholic and Protestant faith and practice, which seem to have always been of interest to him—the primacy, free will, veneration of images, three or four nails in the Cross of Christ, fasting. The talk, which lasted "half the day till the evening", is given at length in Fr. Vincent's report (O.C.D. 235 l.) and reference is also made to it by Pietro della Valle in his letter of 21.11.1621 (?), chap. VI, p. 285, he being at Isfahan at the time, although not actually present at the discussion. (On p. 306 he mentioned that Fr. Vincent—who had been for some seven years away from Persia, it is true—"however can still utter a few half-mutilated Persian words".)

As the result of his visitation Fr. Vincent found that the Fathers were leading too austere a life, not even availing themselves of the dispensations granted them by the Definitory General: and, in the matter of observance of poverty, on account of their constant alms-giving to needy Christians he found it needful to limit the amount to be spent on charity by the Prior. A copy of his visitation 'orders' is to be found in O.C.D. 236 a. dated 22.9.1621: they follow the ideas expressed in his letters of 1613. No. 2 permitted the clothing by the Vicar Provincial of novices, whether Portuguese or Indians, sons of Portuguese or Armenians, but in consultation with the three senior Religious at Isfahan. No. 3 laid down that the Religious should not ride on horseback in the city except for some grave reason approved by the Provincial and three senior Fathers, but they might keep a mule. No. 4 permitted Christian boys to be taught, but except for two Mass servers they were to be sent home at night. No. 5 specified, as regards the vineyard attached to the convent, no vegetables were to be planted near the part used as a burial-ground. By No. 6 all priests were bidden to write at least twice yearly to the Praepositus General their impressions as to the state of the mission and their desires.

Fr. Vincent did not fulfil that part of his visitation which concerned Goa and Tatta in Sind, or even Hurmuz for that matter: in O.C.D. 238 l. there is a paper in Spanish worded:

"We, the undersigned Fathers certify that our Rev. Father Fra Vincent of S. Francis, "Visitor General, having consulted us whether he should continue his journey to Hurmuz "and to India, or return to Rome, we were of the opinion that, as the passes are closed on "account of the war between the Portuguese and the Khan" (i.e. Imam Quli Khan of Fars) "allied with the English, and as he has been unable to obtain a permit to pass from the "king, and for many other reasons we have, which the Father himself will give verbally, it "is not expedient for the said Reverend Father to go to India, and that it will be of greater "service to God and the Order if he were to return to Rome and give an account to our Fr. "Praepositus and the Definitory General—in faith and witness of which opinion, and as "to the truth of the same we sign our names. Given in this our convent of Jesus Mary "of the Discalced Carmelites at Isfahan 23rd September 1621: fr. Prosper of the Holy "Spirit; fr. Dimas of the Cross: fr. Jhoan Thadco de San Elisco."

Shah 'Abbas had gone to pass the summer at Ab-i-Kurang (about 30 farsakhs, i.e. some 100 miles, from Isfahan, a branch of the upper waters of the Karun separated from the Zayandeh Rud at its source by a mountain only: the Shah had begun an aqueduct here, which was carried forward for several farsakhs and then abandoned: a project for making a connecting tunnel and so increase the water supply round Isfahan has been examined again during the first quarter of the twentieth century). When the Visitor General—at the end of August or in early September—had been to try and find the king in order to obtain his *congé*, he was unable to get into touch at all, because another of those tragic events of 'Abbas domestic life had suddenly occurred—on some slight imagination the morbidly suspicious monarch had already had his second and eldest surviving son, Khudabandeh Mirza, blinded.

The exact date of Fr. Vincent's departure from Isfahan does not appear to have been recorded, but it was later than 26th September when he wrote in Latin and signed a receipt

"of a coffer in which are contained Arabic, Persian and Turkish books, the number and names of which are contained in a catalogue No. 61, from Mr. George Strachan, a Scottish gentleman, which books and all those in the name of the said Mr. George, which I shall recover in the city of Aleppo, I promise with all diligence and care to take with me to Italy and to the city of Rome, at the expense and cost of our Order, and, having had them in safe charge and keeping until the arrival of the said Mr. George in Italy in our Convent of S. Paul for the Missions of the said Order of Discalced Carmelites existing in the City, immediately on the arrival of the said Mr. George in the City to return them to him on payment of the cost to our Order of the transport of the said books: and all this I undertake with no risk nor liability resting on me and, if by chance which God forbid in any way the books should be lost, I shall not be held liable to make restitution, as I undertake this task voluntarily out of my affection and kindness for the said Mr. George. Given at Isfahan in Persia in our Convent of Jesus and Mary of the Discalced Carmelites 26th day of September 1621. fr. Vincent of S. Francis, Visitor and Prior."¹

After his return to Europe Fr. Vincent was Procurator of the Convent in Milan, then of the missionary Seminary, and then resumed his post of Prior of the Convent at Palermo, where he died less than two years later, on 9th October 1623.² He was clearly a man of energy, founding missions and travelling constantly: his letters are remarkable for their businesslike construction, and general informativeness—how talented were the earliest Fathers selected for this Persian mission constantly impresses itself on the readers of their reports and letters which have come down to us! In the mention of him in *Series Professionum* at S. Maria d. Scala (he was third in serial order of all professed at that historic fountain of Carmelite activities, the second being that Fr. Matthias of S. Francis, twice Praepositus General, who sent him out as Visitor General) there are ascribed to him a *Narrative of the Persian Mission from 1604 to 1621*, and also a *History of the Mission at Hurmuz*—neither of which accounts has come to the notice of the compiler of the present work.

<i>Letters extant:</i>	16.4.1613	Hurmuz	O.C.D. 239 b.
	9.5.1613	Hurmuz	O.C.D. 239 b.
	3.6.1613	Hurmuz	O.C.D. 235 m.
(No. 1)	3.6.1613	Hurmuz	O.C.D. 239 b.
(No. 2)	3.6.1613	Hurmuz	O.C.D. 239 b.
(No. 3)	3.6.1613	Hurmuz	O.C.D. 239 b.
(No. 4)	3.6.1613	Hurmuz	O.C.D. 239 b.
(No. 5)	3.6.1613	Hurmuz	O.C.D. 239 b.
(report)	5.6.1621	Isfahan	O.C.D. 235 l.
(orders)	22.9.1621	Isfahan	O.C.D. 236 b.
	26.9.1621	Isfahan	O.C.D. 235 m.

XAVIER of S. Charles

A . . .

Born . . . Province . . . Professed . . . Arrived at Isfahan via Aleppo, Erzerum on 3.4.1689, having travelled with Frs. Gaspar and John Mary.³ One of the signatories to a document in Latin, dated 19.6.1689.⁴ He was certainly not at Isfahan in 1693, when Lay Brother Francis Mary of S. Sirius gave a list in his *Vita P. F. Elia* . . .: and no further mention of him has been noticed.

Letters, etc., extant: (joint declaration) 19.6.1689 Isfahan O.C.D. 236 b.

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¹ O.C.D. 239 b.

² *Series Professionum*, and Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct. in MSS., *Hist. Miss.*, O.C.D. 285-6.

³ Fr. Elias of S. Albert, Isfahan, 18.6.1689, in O.C.D. 237 h.

⁴ O.C.D. 236 b.

PART IV

SITES, CONSTRUCTION, VICISSITUDES AND DURATION OF EACH
SEPARATE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DISCALCED CARMELITES IN
THEIR MISSIONARY PROVINCE 'PERSIA AND THE INDIES'

(A) In *Persia Proper* (modern Iran)

(a) Missions integrally complete with permanent Residence, church, priest-Religious:

ISFAHAN, the Convent at
HURMUZ, the Residence at
SHIRAZ, the Residence at
JULFA, the Residence at
KHARG, the Residence on

(b) Semi-missions, i.e. without permanent Residence, church, priest-Religious, or else
not belonging to or administered for the Order:

BANDAR 'ABBAS
BUSHIRE
HAMADAN

(c) Proposed mission, never effective:

KUNG

(B) In *Mesopotamia* (modern 'Iraq)

Mission integrally complete with permanent Residence, church, priest-Religious:

BASRA, the Residence at

(C) In *Western India*

Missions integrally complete with permanent Residence, church, priest-Religious:

GOA, the Convent at
TATTA, in Sind, the Residence at
DIU, the Residence at

(D) The house owned at Masqat

(E) Notes on the Residence at Baghdad, and Carmelites in Mesopotamia.

PART IV

SITES, CONSTRUCTION, VICISSITUDES AND DURATION OF EACH SEPARATE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DISCALCED CARMELITES IN THEIR MISSIONARY PROVINCE 'PERSIA AND THE INDIES'

THE CONVENT IN ISFAHAN CITY

WHEN THE three Carmelite Fathers entered Isfahan on 2.12.1607 they were conducted to a house "prepared inside the city". But "the house that they gave us was not very good".¹ In the audience that Fr. Paul Simon had with 'Abbas I on 7.1.1608 the king

"ordered that they should give us *another* house and a good one, because *the first* was not *convenient* for making a church or chapel. . . ."

The king departed on his expedition, and the Wazir gave them a spacious and well-arranged house:

"This was, as Fr. Paul said, larger than that of the Augustinian Fathers, and had a "good garden with abundance of 'flowing' water, and was of size sufficient for many "Religious to live in it, with a very large hall which could serve as a church. . . ."²

"One room was adapted as a chapel, which was dedicated to the Names of Jesus and Mary 'in memory of the churches of the Order in Rome and Genoa: and on the Feast of the Purification, 2.2.1608, Mass was celebrated there for the first time.'³

But in that second stopping-place the Carmelites were not allowed to remain long and the chapel so hopefully dedicated was desecrated. In the document which Frs. John Thaddeus and Vincent jointly signed, 30.1.1609,⁴ they related:

"The king has given the Augustinian Fathers a house (not for them to be always here, "but rather for them to lodge and put up there during the time that they stay here) in "one chamber of which they have made an oratory. To us he has given another, and we "have set up another oratory.⁵ The owner of the house in which we live, and the owner "of the house in which the Augustinian Fathers live, are causing trouble every day and "persistently moving the king and the magistrate of the town to turn us out of their "houses. . . .

"While I, Fra Juan, was with the king of Persia, accompanying his army (in view of "the molestation they were continually giving us about the house) I begged him to grant "us a privilege which they call 'Farman' for the house in which we then were or for another. "The king gave me the said 'Farman' for the governor of Isfahan to give us the house of "a scrivener with running water, which is one of the best in this city. I returned to Isfahan "well satisfied with this; but a few days after my arrival the king returned to the city and "ordered that one hundred and fifty soldiers should go and turn us out of the house where

¹ See Fr. Paul Simon a Jesu Maria, *Narrative of Journey*, O.C.D. 234 b.

² See *En Persia*, vol. II, p. 132, by Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus.

³ Fr. Berthold-Ignace de Ste Anne, *Histoire de la Mission des Pères Carmes Déchaussés*.

⁴ *Vide* O.C.D. 237 m.

⁵ "An oratory smaller than that of the Augustinian Fathers, but much more decorated, on account of the pictures we "brought with us, and other ornaments we have made . . ." (report by Fr. John Thaddeus, 1608, O.C.D. 236 a.).

"we were. The governor" (presumably the Daruga was meant) "said that the king sent "to bid us go and live with the Augustinian Fathers, and he sent to tell them too to give "us the half of their house. But they declined to give it for certain reasons, and we were "forced to go and put up in a public 'manzil' " (i.e. a caravansarai). "Afterwards the "king's bidding was that we should be given another house belonging to a poor man, who "every day is importuning and worrying us to leave it, and we shall have to leave that "one soon. . . ."

Next, Fr. John Thaddeus wrote, 6.3.1609, from Isfahan to Fr. Vincent then in Hurmuz:¹

" . . . Yesterday I went to see the house of Namaki—it had been all ruined, the church "made into stables"—i.e. *the first* house occupied. "The owner of the house and the neighbours "weep because of our departure. The 'Wazir' of the town has sent to tell me that, if I am "agreeable to returning to it, I should let him know so that he could arrange it as I might "like. I replied to him that I would take neither that one nor the house of the king himself, "unless the king give me a Farman (permitting) the building of a church. . . ."

Let Fathers Benignus (and Redempt) continue the authentic history of the succession of lodgings which the Carmelites occupied: their narrative, which they signed and dated, 10.8.1609, is preserved in O.C.D. 234 e²:

" . . . Thursday in the octave of Pentecost" (i.e. May 1608), "when the gates were "opened at dawn, we arrived safely in the city of Isfahan. Fr. John was *in a small house* "given him by the king's officials *after they had taken from him that in which Fr. Paul had left* "him, and it being known to few caused us to wander for a long time through the city "before we could find it. . . ."

A few days later, at the first audience with Shah 'Abbas, when the presents they had brought were presented, on the Shah expressing his indignation and disgust at the princes of Christendom and the Pope for deceiving him about operations against the Turks Fr. John Thaddeus spoke up in rebuke, complaining, *inter alia*, that Christendom would be disabused of the notion of the Shah's reputation for hospitality:

" . . . as his Majesty had had the house, which he had assigned for them taken away from "our Fathers: he had also allowed that in the place, which these Fathers had fitted up as "an oratory and church, there should be put horses and that his Majesty's servants should "make a stable of it, thus showing most marked contempt for the Christian religion: and "after all this he had not even caused us to be given another place, in which we could "conveniently abide and perform those exercises which we are obliged by our Order to "observe. . . . To which the king replied that he desired in any case that we should stop, "and we were in no wise to depart and, having called the Mihmandar, he commanded "him to have us given at once a place and house to our liking and, to that end, that he" (the Mihmandar) "should conduct us round Isfahan to see all the houses, and that one "belonging to him which should please us most he was forthwith to have made over to us "gratis, adding that he would have given us his own" (i.e. the palace) "too, in order to "make into a church, if the Christians really made war" (i.e. against the Turk). . . . "The "same morning the Mihmandar also came, saying that he had come to execute the king's "orders about the house: and he proposed several to us, and appointed the following day "to go and see them. . . . He sent the next morning and other days divers men of his, "with whom we went to view various houses and finally one in which had already been "lodged a Portuguese ambassador, who with much pomp came years ago from India to "the king: and, this having pleased us, immediately it was cleared out and made free for "us and handed over to us by those men.

¹ O.C.D. 238 c.

"This is a house bought by¹ the king to lodge ambassadors from (foreign) princes, for which "reason it is in great repute; and according to the style of building in these parts it is "very suitable for us: it is situated like an island in the midst of a very large garden, in which "there is running water for irrigation, and another—spring—water for drinking which is "very good. It has a good hall, surrounded by many well-arranged chambers, and also "it is commodious and well supplied with (domestic) offices, and a stable in which more "than 50 horses could stand.

"In this house, therefore, we at once went to reside, and in the hall of it we immediately "arranged a very taking chapel, adorning the whole of it with some carpets which were "in the house: and we said for the first time Mass there on S. John's Day" (i.e. June 24, 1609) "and, having later had made some walls and adapted a place for a choir, we have arranged "the domestic offices and other things there in such way that we are enclosed after the "fashion of monasteries. We sing the whole Office after our own method, and the Mass "on feast and other days in the manner assigned in our Ordinal, with the greatest confidence "of having here shortly a very fine church and an immense convent, in which, as a begin- "ning, we have in all things introduced the ordinary acts of the community with all the "other ceremonies which are wont to be observed in our convents made in Italy. . . ."

Fr. John Thaddeus on 26.3.1616 (O.C.D. 237 m.) gave some details regarding the geographical position and size of the premises:

" . . . The site is situated in a very wide level open space: inside it passes a water-channel "four spans wide, with a constant supply of water flowing to the gardens of Allah Viridi Khan² "and the Chahar-bagh, which lies to the East of it: to the West there is Rustam's castle: "on the North Julfa and all Isfahan: to the South the mountains. It is 800 cubits round "the boundaries. I have planted a vineyard with 25,000 trees. As fast as can be the "walls are being made. All these races, pagans and Muslims are working with great gusto "at them: I did not wish to make use of the Armenians, until Khwajeh Nazar and Khwajeh "Safar begged me to take them too on the building. . . . And I told them that to please "them" (i.e. the two Armenian Khwajehs) "I would accept them. The wall will cost 500 "scudi, but the place will be worth 10,000."

(A translation, purporting to be of a *raqam* of Shah Sultan Husain given to the French envoy, Monsieur Michel, in Rajab 1125 A.H. (A.D. 1713), to be found in *S.N.R.*, III, p. 323, gives the name of the locality, or 'square', in which the property lay, as 'Maidan-i-Amir': and P. della Valle in his letter of 4.4.1620 (XVII, p. 42) refers to a house he himself had rented:

"it is a new house belonging to a certain Qazi Sa'adi: to my no small convenience it is "near the Discalced Carmelite Fathers in their quarter which they call Maidan-i-Amir. . . ."

Commenting on criticism from Rome of the Fathers in Persia possessing a vineyard, Fr. John Thaddeus, 3.1.1619, wrote:³

¹ In his study of the life of Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary, *Études Carmelitaines*, January–July 1925, Monsieur R. Chabré commented on the divergence between the statements of the traveller, Sir John Chardin, and of Fr. Berthold Ignace de Ste Anne, O.C.D., on this point, and considered that the former was the more likely to be correct, the better authority. In *Le Journal du Voyage du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et aux Indes Orientales*, Amsterdam, 1711, vol. III, p. 39,

"c'était le palais d'un ancien maître d'artillerie, qu'Abbas le Grand avait fait mourir avec toute sa famille au commencement "du siècle passé,"

whereas in his *Histoire de l'Etablissement de la Mission de Perse par les PP. Carmes Deschaussés, 1604–1612*, Bruxelles, 1885, p. 345, Fr. Berthold-Ignace related that Shah 'Abbas bought the building to house ambassadors from foreign princes. Doubtless M. Chabré was unaware that Fr. Berthold-Ignace had taken this statement textually from the manuscript narrative of Fr. Benignus of S. Michael, dated 10.8.1609, that Father having been present in Isfahan when the house was chosen. Between his first-hand, contemporary knowledge, and the information acquired by Chardin sixty years later (1665), which is the more acceptable, even admitting that it might be unlike 'Abbas to pay a price for the house of a vassal?

² The noted viceroy of Fars in the reigns of 'Abbas I.

³ O.C.D. 237 m.

"as to the vineyard . . . we obtained the ground for a graveyard for our Catholic Christians, it not being permitted in these parts to bury the dead inside the city, and much less for us (to bury them) in *our church*, which, being (in) a *house belonging* to the king, might one day be taken in exchange, as has happened (to us) before now. And it might befall, as the king said to an important official of his, and to his Secretary of State—"Tell Father John that, if he live for a thousand years, *he* has no need to worry about having to change his house, but that if he wish' (to secure) '*perpetual stability for the Fathers* his successors . . . I tell him to purchase' (one) 'and this is no small favour I am showing him.' And so I reckoned it. . . . (We cannot sell it) . . . because the ground is property owned by the king, given to us, as here is the custom with all real property, not in outright possession, but only as to its usufruct."¹

Then, regarding the buildings he had constructed, Fr. John Thaddeus continued that

'by gradually repairing here and there he had broken down the difficulties, insuperable in Turkey, and he had won the tacit consent of the king to build and repair. But all he had really done was to make more cells in the house temporarily occupied. . . . In the house a divan, humble but clean for visitors (Muslim and the like). The refectory is now screened off from the kitchen, the street-door made decent, so that the house, previously looked on as a stable for camels, is now known as a 'decent place': and "*the House of God and of Jesus Mary*" written in large gilt letters, Latin above, Persian below, over it, so that Muslims passing in the street and reading the names of Jesus and Mary often make signs of respect towards it. Now as to the expenditure . . . they' (i.e. the Curia of the Order in Rome) 'should learn that accounts made up of expenditure come to 145 sequins. The people who come to our church, besides the few Franks, are Syrians, Armenians and Georgians, Arabs and Chaldaeans especially since the marriage of Pietro della Valle. . . .'

In Ramazan 1038 A.H. (19.3 1629) Shah Safi granted the Carmelite Fathers a Farman, confirming the mandate, addressed by his grandfather Shah 'Abbas I in the month of Jamadi II 1027 A.H. (A.D. 1617) to the 'vice-regent' (? daruga) of Isfahan, Mirza Muhammad—unfortunately a copy of the original Persian is not given, but only a presumed translation in Latin in the archives of Propaganda Fide²—to the effect that, in accordance with the request of the 'Frank' Fathers to have a house in which to reside, with water flowing through it, it was decreed that two houses adjacent to each other be assigned them for a residence.

'Now, in this affair'—Shah Safi continued—'the *Discalced Carmelite Fathers belonging to His Holiness the Pope* having presented that rescript of the late Shah 'Abbas, he in his turn directed the then Daruga of Isfahan in confirmation and conformity thereof to take steps that in the place and abode assigned by the past governor' (i.e. Daruga) 'of Isfahan, in which from that time till now they have dwelt, they shall now too continue to dwell and perform Divine worship according to their own law and custom, that they should be disturbed by no one in it, and that in *the burial-ground near the Armenian cemeteries*, where up till now they have buried' (their Catholic) 'dead they may likewise still continue to bury them. . . .'³

Regarding this burial-ground the instructions of the Definitory General of the Order in Rome, 6.I.1630, were:

"effort should be made to retain the place granted by the Wazir" (i.e. Daruga or mayor) "of Isfahan for burying our dead, and there may be interred those who, being Catholic Christians, may wish to be buried at the hands of our Religious . . . in that place nothing should be planted or sowed, but it should be left uncultivated. . . ."

¹ The system of *tyul* and *khalish*, widespread in Persia till recent days.

² Vol. 115, *Lettere di Levante*, 1630.

³ This may indicate that the "vineyard" adjoined the schismatic Armenian cemetery outside Jullā, which still exists.

Application had been made for enlargement of the chapel, for on 8.1.1630 the Definitory neral in Rome (*Regesta*, vol. II, p. 48) gave sanction

"to the Fathers in the Persian mission that they may build a new church according to "the shape in lesser convents . . . in the Convent of Jesus and Mary already erected in "the city of Isfahan, so long as the same be built at the expense of the Shah or other lay "folk . . . or else in no wise may it be built".

Evidently by 1634 the chapel had been rebuilt and perhaps enlarged—see the letters of . Dimas (O.C.D. 237 b.):

"14.2.1631. When passing through here Signor Giovanni Cavallini, the Venetian, "thinking that our church was not as seemly as it was fitting, on account of it *being in a* "room of a house made in the style of the country, of his own accord and from the affection "that he has for our Order, he left us (to be given to us in Goa) 400 scudi in order to "construct a church in Isfahan with the money, having besides the intention to endow it, "as he is very rich and without children. . . ."

But the legacy was appropriated by the Visitor General (Fr. Epiphanius) in Goa, in the "st place, for the building of the Convent there:

"7.3.1632. . . . The Visitor is dissuading us from making a church in Persia with the "sum, of which Signor Giovanni Cavallini has given us hope, and which the Fathers in "Goa have discounted and used for their own building. . . ."

"20.5.1634. . . . Our new church" (i.e. at Isfahan) "is far advanced, to finish which "it only needs that our Fathers in Goa send us the bequest left us by Signor Cavallini, "who died in Babylon when coming in this direction, having by a codicil made before his "death devised that his body should be brought to Isfahan for burial in the church at "Isfahan. He left 1,000 scudi by his will the last time he passed here. . . ."

Before 1638 the church was finished:

" . . . We have made a new church, which already is finished, and has turned out very "inspiring and attractive, and pleases all very much: *it has five chapels* and is a little larger "than that of the Augustinian Fathers. . . . The King recently gave us a Farman, as they "call it in Persian, very favourable for us. . . ."¹

The chronicler in Rome of the eighteenth century, Fr. Eusebius, in his MSS. *Hist. Miss.*, without quoting his source of information, wrote:

"The Convent at Isfahan consists of a large house, granted by the king, with *two* spacious 'gardens surrounded by a wall 30 palms in height' (i.e. some 10 feet, the Roman 'palm' being some 25 centimetres) 'and of two adjoining houses. . . . The church has four side-'chapels besides the high altar, and on the façade there is a great cross, which can be seen 'from afar. There are two fair-sized bells, which are rung day and night at the hours 'observed by the Rule of the Order, a privilege rarely conceded in Muhammadan lands. . . .'

Presumably they were loth to leave a site and building so convenient, and with half a century of associations; but that the Convent was not the property of the Order must have often proved troublesome and unsettling. In 1654 the Vicar Provincial was writing that the Carmelites valued the house at Shiraz, because it was their own property and house, which they did not possess at Isfahan:

¹ Fr. Dimas, 1.1.1638, O.C.D. 237 b.

"The Convent of the Discalced Carmelites consisted of a large building, belonging to 'the king, which had been given them, for them to live in it as *the guests of the king*: that 'is the name which in Persia is given to all foreigners of consideration . . .", wrote Sir John Chardin, in his book of travels.¹

Indeed, as Fr. John Thaddeus had foreseen, at the beginning of July 1669 the Fathers were in imminent danger of being deprived of possession of the premises:

"A few days ago the viceroy" (? the Daruga) "of Isfahan sent to see our house, having 'orders from the new 'Itimad-ud-Dauleh" (i.e. the Grand Wazir, or chief minister, as many of the Safawi monarchs' advisers were entitled) "to sell the *house of the king*, who was "in need of money. We judged it well on such an occasion to present our letter from the "king of Poland² in order to free this house from any misadventure. So today we went "to the house of the 'Itimad-ud-Dauleh, and the Father Vicar showed him the writings "and orders of the former kings together with the letter for the king; and we made no "mistakes because the said 'Itimad-ud-Dauleh has given orders for the confirmation of "the (occupation of) the house and other privileges from the former kings. . . . It will be "necessary to incur some expenditure and spend a Tuman and a half, more or less, to "have the documents passed through the royal Chancery. So we hope to be free from "such vexations. . . ."³

In the period 1660-75 the missionaries in Persia were often hard pressed by lack of funds and still more by their numbers being reduced to two or three at Isfahan, and probably unable to cope with the care and constant expenditure required to keep up a large house and many walls, all made of sun-dried mud bricks in the usual Persian method, no doubt. The following story, however, evidently did not refer to the main building of the Convent, but to others in the garden. While Fr. Angelus of S. Joseph was Prior—i.e. 1670-5

"a *house in the garden*, where certain Oriental Christians"

(possibly of the Gioerida family—Chaldaeans, relatives of the first wife of della Valle)

"had been living for more than 50 years, as if in their own house . . . one night of heavy "rain that building, reckoned as 200 years old for the most part, fell, about 15 rooms being "completely ruined, ceilings, arches, walls; the upper vaults being ruined had damaged "those below, and the wall in the street also, so that the debris blocked the road. . . . I had "two or three other rooms knocked down, because damaged and threatening to fall, and "dangerous, so as to make the rest as strong as possible; so that there now remains a house "that can be inhabited without risk. I caused the *wall separating that house from ours* to be "knocked down, and thereby rendered a service, because several people in that house, "who had become renegades, made claims to ownership before the judge. . . . I went to "the Judge and proved that the house was ours. . . ." (Fr. Angelus, Basra, 7.3.1678, O.C.D. 241 d.).

¹ *Journal des Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et aux Indes Orientales*, Amsterdam, 1711, vol. III, p. 39. When he for the first time in 1665 saw the city, he estimated its inhabitants at 600,000 at the minimum—a far higher figure than the estimate of Tavernier a quarter of a century earlier.

² This was the letter which king Jean Casimir of Poland had sent at the beginning of 1668 with an embassy to Shah Sulaiman, desiring that the vexations caused by Muslims to the Carmelites at Isfahan should cease, and that Catholics in Persia should be allowed to practise their religion freely—*vide* manuscript in Library Keasinski, Warsaw, 3426, year 1668, p. 57, *Liber Fundationis Conventus Varsoviensis, 1643-1718*.

³ Letter of Fr. Valerius, Isfahan, 6.7.1669, O.C.D. 236 b.: and the same Religious in his report given in Rome to the Sacr. Cong., 4.4.1671 (S.R., vol. 428, p. 224) mentions that Fr. Blaise of S. Barbara, Vicar of Basra, had some time previously left Persia for Poland, sent by the Fathers of Isfahan Convent to procure the protection and intervention of the king of Poland with the king of Persia, in order to have the title to the said Convent confirmed and established, as the king of Persia was wanting to sell it, as being *his house*.

In 1691 the house was still called in a letter "domus Regia", royal property (*vide* Fr. Gaspar seph, 23.7.1691, O.C.D. 236 b.): and on the return of Fr. Conrad, Vicar Provincial (as ambassador of the king of Poland with letters to Shah Sultan Husain), he obtained from that monarch confirmation of the privileges granted by the Shah's predecessors, viz.:

"the donation of a house and garden together with water for the garden in Isfahan as
"guests of the king. . . ."

From the time that in pursuit of Fr. Elias' policy the missionary effort was concentrated adding to the numbers of the Uniat Armenians by reconciling schismatics, and a Residence as established at Julfa, i.e. from 1696, the Carmelites were for the most part stationed there, and in the town Convent left only one or two Fathers, e.g. on 13.9.1707 the Prior, Fr. Raymond S. Michael, was writing (O.C.D. 238 g.):

"now for 5 years past I have been remaining alone, attending to the very spacious house
"with its garden. . . ."

Mention has already been made of the *raqam*, i.e. rescript obtained in A.D. 1713 by the French envoy, Monsieur Michel, from Shah Sultan Husain (*S.N.R.*, III, p. 323):

"A *raqam* confirming that which had been given to the reverend Discalced Fathers
"(permitting them) to have repairs done to their house in Isfahan at the expense of his
"Majesty and to have the water in the garden without any hindrance. . . . At the request
"of the envoy We have issued orders for this *raqam* in confirmation of what precedes, and
"We will that, each time the house of the Fathers shall need repairs, these shall be done
"at the expense of the royal treasury, and that the water be allowed to flow into their
"garden without any hindrance . . . Rajab 1125. . . ."

In 1719-23, under the Vicar Provincial Fr. Faustin of S. Charles, life in the Convent was again more active:

" . . . here we are three in choir with one lay brother, and we carry out the Observance
"on the footing of the seminaries. . . ."

Indeed he was enthusiastic about the premises and, after referring to those of the Augustinian Hermits and the Capuchins, added:

" . . . Our house is, however, the largest and now the most beautiful and commodious of
"all, as I have repaired and rearranged it in a way that those who saw it previously would
"now no longer recognize it. And this without having spent even a penny of our subsidy,
"but with money obtained from the sale of some specimens of clocks and other things . . .
"unnecessary for this house. . . . Believe me, reverend Father, that in Europe we have
"many Convents not the half of this, and it seems to me a great glory for the Lord to have
"it—a house so fine, and a church where our Observance is followed. . . ."

Times were, however, difficult at this period:

"no lack of work with a large house and nothing on which to live,"

wrote Fr. Alexander of S. Sigismund, 23.6.1720:¹ and by 1724 the Convent had been abandoned in respect of community life:

¹ O.C.D. 238 g.

"In our Convent in Isfahan . . . there is (Lay Brother) Fra Ferdinand" (who had arrived from Europe in company of Fr. Jerome Francis) "with a servant, working in the "garden: they get their living out of fowls and other occupations . . .",¹

and the following year, 4.6.1725, this was confirmed:²

" . . . I notify you that in our Convent at Isfahan there is no one but Lay Brother Fra "Ferdinand. . . ."

The Afghan invasion and occupation of Isfahan in 1722 cut off residents in the city from the outer world so much that even in September 1724 from Basra Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus is found writing:³

"There are no communications with Isfahan for us to know what is happening there, "whether the missionaries be alive or dead."

The missionaries had, it would appear, left the city during the siege and perhaps gone to live at Julfa; see, for instance, statements in letters of the Bishop of Isfahan:⁴

" . . . the siege finished and city surrendered, after the Fathers had returned each to his "own House . . .",

although the Afghans did not interfere with them in their religious functions. At that time they had in their keeping part of the library of the bishops of Baghdad, in addition to what the Order itself had collected during more than a century:

"There are a fine chalice in silver with paten . . . and a great quantity of fine and "good books. . . . What is very useful to us are the books, and truly, if they were taken "away from our library, they would make it look empty to a large extent, and impoverish "it, because there are many and good books. The chalice is very necessary for us, as we "have in this church of ours no chalice . . . seeing that the *rest of our silverware*, which at "the time of the said siege was in pawn in the house of the Dutch merchants, *was all lost* "when the enemy invaders of this kingdom sacked that house. . . ."⁵

Here it might be mentioned that the Superior of the Lazarist Fathers, then in Julfa, in 1929 stated to the compiler of this narrative that in the Lazarist library at Julfa there were a number of books bearing evidence of past ownership by one or other of the Orders—Carmelites, Dominicans, etc.

Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia, who was at Isfahan 1736–7, has left in his book *Viaggi*, published at Rome 1757, p. 188, the following remarks—all too few—about the convents in Isfahan city, as they were at that former date, all more than a century in occupation of the respective Orders:

"In Isfahan there are three convents, two of which are very fine. One of them of the "Portuguese Augustinians, and the other is ours—both of them altogether perfect, and the "churches have nothing to envy in those of Europe, being also provided with towers and "bells. They do not lack their very fine gardens abounding in fruit, and that of our "Fathers has also a grove of elm-trees. The Capuchins are in the new perimeter made "by the Afghan king" (i.e. when Shah Ashraf in 1727 enclosed one-eighth of the old city within new walls): "but the site is very narrow, and the situation bad. Christians may not "lodge in the City, except foreign merchants who stay in the caravansarai. . . ."

¹ Fr. Philip Mary of S. Augustine, 2.9.1724, O.C.D. 238 u.

² Fr. Urban, O.C.D. 242 b.

³ S.N.R., III, p. 584.

⁴ Bishop Barnabas, O.P., Julfa, 2.5.1726 and 4.3.1727, S.N.R., III, p. 542.

⁵ Fr. Urban, Isfahan, 20.7.1730, O.C.D. 242 h.

There is a gap in sources of information: and then in 1746 the Superior of the Jesuits at Julfa, Père Arn. Duhan, was replying to questions put him by the Sacr. Congregation:¹

“ . . . Of the three churches, that there are at Isfahan, the title of that of the Discalced Carmelites is ‘Our Lady of Carmel’,² *Bishop Philip Malachisi*,” the writer added, “appointed by the Sacr. Congregation ten years ago . . . resides in the Convent of the Carmelites in the city of Isfahan . . .”:

and he also stated that the Catholics at that time were many more than formerly: at Julfa the Catholic Christian families were about fifty, besides people from outside who came there on commercial business.³

Presumably Bishop Philip Mary was the last Carmelite in sacerdotal orders to inhabit the Convent, where he died in 1749. But it would appear from the following allusions that the Carmelite Lay Brother Ferdinand of S. Teresa continued to occupy the premises for a number of years later, e.g.: Bishop Sebastian of Isfahan wrote from Basra on 16.4.1754⁴ of the

“terrible impositions in Isfahan, Julfa and other places . . . four missionary Religious remain, *one of them of my Order*. . . .”

The Dominican Fr. Raymond Berselli, in a letter copied by Bishop Sebastian at Basra, 30.4.1754 (*S.R.*, vol. 759, p. 251 *et seq.*) mentioned:

“In the end we have fallen into the hands of the rebel Afghans. Azad Khan, their leader, entered Isfahan victoriously and . . . has made his lodging in the Royal Palace, and his troops, composed of robbers, have taken up their quarters in the convent of the Portuguese Augustinian Fathers, and are putting their horses in the church, making a stable of it, just as was done to that of the Capuchin Fathers some time back, when the Lurs captured and sacked Isfahan. They sought to take up their quarters in their (the Carmelite) Convent too, but the wideawake Fra Ferdinand went in person to the chief of the rebels and so managed that he obtained a guard with orders that no one was to molest him. Notwithstanding, the soldiers are so insolent that many times daily they go and molest him. . . .”

and Fr. Lanza, O.P., in an undated letter, received in Rome, May 1758:⁵

“Lately I have received a letter from Julfa from — in which he writes to me that he has remained *there alone with one Carmelite lay brother* . . . that Julfa is depopulated of its proper inhabitants. . . .”

That this lay brother, still in Isfahan in 1754, but apparently living with the Dominican Father at Julfa in 1758, was Fra Ferdinand seems indicated by a letter of Fr. Hyacinth of S. Teresa, 30.6.1755:⁶

“ . . . The revolutions and wars in Persia wax always greater. . . . Lay Brother Fra Ferdinand writes to me that he is well. . . .”

Evidently, since the departure of the last Carmelite Father about 1752 or even before that, the Sacr. Congregation and the Order had failed to supply funds for the upkeep and repair

¹ *S.N.R.*, VI, pp. 361–7.

² Not “of Jesus and Mary”, as given by Fr. John Thaddeus: perhaps the church had a different dedication to that of the Convent house?

³ *S.N.R.*, VI, pp. 361–7. The report is undated, but the year 1746 is deducible from the years of work of the Bishop and others stated therein.

⁴ *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 207.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 392.

⁶ O.C.D. 242 b.

of the Convent, or a sufficient stipend delivered at Isfahan, so that the Religious had been forced to borrow money from Persians, without possessing articles to deposit as security: and in or about the year 1757 the Persian lender of the money had occupied the Convent premises in order to obtain repayment, for in his *Report on the State of Persia and the Missions* to the Sacr. Congregation in December 1772,¹ Bishop Cornelius suggested that:

"If they" (the Carmelite Fathers) "returned to Julfa it would be easy afterwards for them to recover . . . the very beautiful and ancient Convent, which they already possessed in the adjacent royal city of Isfahan, and *which for about 15 years past is occupied by a Persian, who calls himself a creditor of our Fathers for 25 Tumans*, which make 250 scudi in Roman money. Although to tell the truth, as there has not remained in Isfahan a single European resident, nor any Christian, it seems to me that, whenever that House be recovered, it should be let on lease, and from the proceeds something obtained for the benefit of the mission in Julfa. . . ."

The Vicar Apostolic for the dominions of the Mogul, Fr. Charles of S. Conrad, writing from Basra on 13.6.1774,² gives further information as regards this disastrous state of affairs:

"Our Church and Convent at Isfahan are in much better condition than those at Julfa, because of the Persian to whom it was mortgaged for 25 Tumans, or say 125 Turkish sequins which make a sum of about 400 piastres, at 9 per cent: he gets the interest on the money from the garden belonging to the Convent: and so, according to what two Armenians recently arrived from there tell me, if the Persian were to get the principal of his money, he would hand back the church and Convent. . . ."

Three years later, under date 20.4.1777, the Armenian Catholic priest John, son of Aratun, appointed Administrator of the diocese by decree of 8.6.1776, had reported from Isfahan itself to the Sacr. Congregation:³ and Cardinal Pamphilj, giving the substance in a session, said:

"Episcopal city of Isfahan. Three churches and the same number of convents, which at present are inhabited by 'Turks'⁴. . . . The first was that of the Discalced Carmelites. . . . These" (convents), "he" (i.e. the Administrator) "asserts, might with very little difficulty be redeemed from the 'Turks'; but, since there is no one to go and live in them, because there are no Catholics domiciled in Isfahan, he" (i.e. the Administrator) "adds in the existing circumstances, they would not serve any use. Should any Catholic merchants happen at times to arrive there, they can with very small inconvenience proceed to Julfa which is only half an hour's distance from Isfahan. . . ."

In *S.N.R.*, I, p. 43 and p. 334, there are to be found undated and brief summaries of the position of the missions in Persia: they must have been posterior to 1810 because the year 1806 is mentioned, and an event "under the Empire of Napolcon". Fr. John son of Aratun, the Armenian Uniat, had just died: Fr. Leopold Sebastiani, a Roman priest who had been sent out to Persia as 'Prefect of the Missions' was the vicar. By that time Tihiran had become the capital under the new Qajar dynasty:

"It is noted that at Isfahan at present there are no Catholics. The churches and hospices of the Augustinians, Discalced Carmelites and Capuchins have passed into the possession of Persians. . . ."

¹ *S.N.R.*, VIII, p. 6

² *S.R., nei Congressi*, No. 34.

³ *Acta of Sacr. Cong. de Prop. Fide*, 1778, p. 309.

⁴ Many Persian subjects are Turki—(which is not Ottoman Turkish)—speaking, belonging to tribes from the Caucasus region, or those in other provinces and the interior brought in by Jangiz Khan in the thirteenth century, or by Timur early in the fifteenth.

summarize:

- (a) The Convent at Isfahan was occupied by the Carmelites continuously from 24th June, 1609, to c. 1757 when, for non-payment of a loan of some 250 scudi, or 400 Turkish piastres, a Persian seized and occupied it. The premises were still in fair condition in 1774, and were in existence in or about 1810, though in Persian hands.
- (b) The Convent and its garden did not belong to the Order: by the Carmelites themselves the buildings and garden were recognized—at any rate till about 1700—as property of the Shah, assigned as *tuyyul* or *khaliseh* for the occupation of the Carmelites. This fact was presumably forgotten, or no longer known, by 1757, when the property was seized by creditors: on the other hand, perhaps because they knew that it was not their freehold property, the Order in Rome took no steps to recover and redeem the premises.
- (c) Even with the topographical details given by Fr. John Thaddeus its site in the modern city cannot be identified. According to a letter of the Superior of the Lazarist Order from Isfahan, 14.2.1935:

“Le Meidan-i-Emir n'existe plus. . . .” The ‘vineyard’ used as a burial-ground in part is also not to be definitely traced, for it is not clear whether it adjoined the Convent, or was outside Julfa (being near the Armenian cemeteries rather indicates the latter).

- (d) As to the numbers of Religious at the Convent in various periods:

On 2.12.1621¹ they were “fifteen in the house to feed, counting servants and boys”: in 1636 there were seven Religious at the Convent: on 1.1.1638 eight Religious:² in 1650 nine Religious³ and “another three missionaries were being sent out from “Europe”: Fr. Valerius’ report given in Rome 26.3.1671⁴ mentions that the “Convent “at Isfahan used to have 8 10 Religious”: in 1692 there were 4 Fathers and a Lay Brother at the Convent in Isfahan city in addition to five Fathers at Julfa.⁵ By 1702 there were only two missionaries, “Their business is to read the Gospel over sick “infidels, men, women and children, who daily come in large numbers to beg this “favour wherefore, when they” (i.e. the Fathers) “perceive some infallible and near “peril of death, they baptize the children: indeed during the past 16 years, as I have “seen in the register, they have baptized more than 7,000, all dead—none baptized “remained alive. . . .”⁶

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¹ Fr. Prosper, O.C.D. 238 b., that day.

² Fr. Felix, 31.1.1650.

³ See *Vita P. F. Elia a S. Alberto*, O.C.D. 320 c.

⁴ Fr. Dimas, 13.8.1636 and 1.1.1638, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁵ *S.N.R.*, I, p. 252.

⁶ *Vide Compendious Account of State of Missions*, *S.N.R.*, II, p. 291.

THE RESIDENCE (OR HOSPICE) AT HURMUZ

IT WAS the fickle moods of 'Abbas I in and after 1608, his resentment sometimes explosive, at others concealed, of the attitude towards him of the sovereigns of Christendom and of Spain in particular in connection with action against the common enemy, the Turks, a resentment shown also in making things uncomfortable for the Carmelite envoys of the Pope, that led directly to the foundation of a hospice at Hurmuz. The first step was taken in January 1609.

The two Fathers then at Isfahan placed it on record:

"... we fear that he" (i.e. the Shah) "will throw us out of it" (i.e. the house which he had allotted them) "soon . . . and, considering the instability of this king and his kingdom, "and desirous of something solid for our mission and its objective, which is the harvest of "souls from these provinces and districts of Persia, after having recommended it a great "deal to our Lord, we have resolved that it is *expedient that one of us go and make a foundation "in Hurmuz, which, being so near and contiguous to Persia, is the most suitable place for "aiding and increasing the good, which is contemplated in the conversion of this kingdom. "In confirmation of this unanimous opinion we have both signed here*

"John Thaddeus of S. Elisaeus

"fr. Vincent of S. Francis,

"and, in conformity with the above statement, I, Fr. John Thaddeus of S. Elisaeus, by "virtue of the seniority that I possess, tell your Reverence, Vincent of S. Francis, priest of "our Order, to go in the name of the Lord and of the Most Holy Virgin and carry out at "Hurmuz this holy work, on which depends all the harvest, and which *is to be the seminary "for the missions in Persia. At Isfahan 30.1.1609.*"¹

Whoever in the present century has sailed by the desolate, sun-baked, small island of Hurmuz (which produces nothing except for the ore mined and exported at times in recent years to provide the moderate quantities of red paint for the plates of steamships needed by the world's shipping) must have wondered at and thought, almost as a mockery, of Shakespeare's verse: 'The wealth of Ormuz and of Ind'. In Italian in olden time the even more romantically conceived and gracefully sounding proverb was current about the emporium of the East: 'Se fosse il Mondo un anello, sarebbe Ormus la sua gemma' ('Were the world a ring, 'its gem would be Hurmuz').

Yet it was not long after Albuquerque annexed it that the island became a great fortress—with a number of dependent forts and tributaries on the mainland at Gāmbnun, on Qishm island, in Bahrain, at Masqat. The galleons arrived from Europe and Goa once a year, but from all parts—India, and Far Eastern waters, the spice islands and East African coast, inland Persia, Mesopotamia and elsewhere traders brought, and came and bought, and had their places of business: except that pearls at that period were not 'fashionable' as jewels to the extent they became later, possibly one reason for it holding the palm in the imagination of untravelling Occidentals was that Hurmuz commanded the pearl-fisheries of the Bahrain islands which equally were a possession of the Crown of Portugal, and from Hurmuz these rich jewels reached the wealthy and the cities of Europe, those islands in fact forming one of the major terms of peace required by the king of Spain (and Portugal) in 1618, and the Portuguese made more than one attempt to regain them (as they had been taken) by a *coup de main* in the latter part of that century.

Even when the commercial value of Hurmuz was declining, as other ports in India and

¹ O.C.D. 237 m.

where attracted trade and Portugal had lost the monopoly, its population was given as 500 households—500 Portuguese, 300 Indian Christian, 800 "Gentile" (i.e. Hindus), 200 brew, the rest Muslim:¹ this at the usual assessment would mean some 15,000 persons, and garrison is not stated. Poor soldiers kept shops: others were married and trading—their number might be worth 30,000–40,000 escudos (crowns). Life must have been strict and oriental the seclusion for the Portuguese womenfolk for, wrote one of the Carmelite Fathers,

'the girls only enter a church once a year to make a confession: and, unless to hear confessions of the sick, one hardly dares enter their houses'.

It was, as it would be now, a purely artificial trading and strategical centre:

"All that is to be eaten comes from outside except salt, of which there is abundance. It has one virtue—that the bodies of the dead do not decompose. . . ."²

Even for its water-supply Hurmuz was dependent on the neighbouring island of Qishm. Heat, damp heat, whole nights without a breath of wind, makes its climate one of the most sufferable in the globe: for it is situated between Masqat and Bandar 'Abbas, often called 'the Gates of Hell'. The Carmelite chronicler of the early 1700's realized the heat and barrenness when he wrote:³

"Human cupidity found a suitable site for commerce among the horrid miseries of this piece of earth, possibly because of the safety its roadstead gave to ships by its two curved arms, east and west. . . ."

In the 1500's the Jesuits and Dominicans in turn had laboured at Hurmuz, but left it: and

"in 1609 there was only one House of Augustinian Hermits, twelve in number, who were also in charge of the Royal Hospital: besides their own church, within the fortress there was the mother-church with three chapelries on the royal foundation, and outside (the fortress) an Augustinian Hermit had to tend each of the other two little churches. Opposite the fortress there was the noted 'Hospital of the Misericordia', a place of pious devotion deserving remembrance and praise of the Portuguese nation. . . . Under the management of some well-qualified gentlemen, by its institutions it provided dowries for necessitous girls, in various hospitals it looked after the sick, foundling infants, weak-minded adults, it ministered to the condemned, buried the dead and had Masses said for their souls, it aided indigent families with alms, and kept others on their feet by loans. . . ."⁴

In his letter, numbered by him 'No. 1', from Hurmuz on 3.6.1613⁵ Fr. Vincent explained the General of the Order in Rome the course of negotiations about the founding of the mission, and licence for it:

"In this I shall report to Your Reverence on, and deal with the foundation of the Hospice at Hurmuz. The reasons why it was expedient to found" (a mission) "in this place . . . I shall repeat here briefly. As it is certain that the stability of the Convent in Persia" (i.e. at Isfahan) "depends solely on the will of a Muslim king of a temper far from stable, it is well to have in Hurmuz, a land where Christians live, a small corner where the Fathers from Persia can be given lodging and asylum, should they be driven away by the king or his successor on the throne; because it is certain that the greater part of his people

¹ and ³ Fr. Eusebius ab. Omn. Sanct. in his MSS. *Hist. Miss.*, part 2, book 3, chap. II.

² Fr. Louis Francis, 26th May 1615, O.C.D. 238 i.

⁴ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct., O.C.D., in MSS. *Hist. Miss.*, part 2, book 3, chap. II, O.C.D. 285–6.

⁵ O.C.D. 239 b.

"wish us ill 'in hatred of the Faith', but not to the extent (I think) or to go so far as to 'martyr the Religious, for they have dealings with them' (the missionaries) 'and cannot exist without Hurmuz, and so they will never go so far as to put them to death. In case of any change and the Fathers having to take asylum and lodging in this House' (i.e. at Hurmuz) 'and then there should come another opportune juncture, they will be at the gate' (of Persia) 'ready to return easily and pursue the conversion of that country and the mission initiated. Since there is such difficulty . . . in founding an establishment of a fresh Order in this India, it will be of no small help to the business to have planted a foothold in Hurmuz. For we see how the Augustinian Fathers, who came from Portugal¹ solely to make an establishment in this place' (i.e. Hurmuz) 'by order of the king Don Sebastian, afterwards set up an establishment in Goa contrary to the wish of the Cardinal Dom Henry, his successor, and contrary to his plans.

"Further, as the kingdom of Persia is so far distant from Italy, whence the (financial) assistance and upkeep of the Religious comes, there is need to have some nearer point of succour, such as Hurmuz, where—even if provision for everything cannot be managed—none the less there is a port of call on the way to India for the soliciting of alms and finding of recruits for the Order, required to keep up the Convent at Isfahan. From Italy few can come because of the great expense: and the Portuguese will take the habit the more willingly when we have a House at Hurmuz than if we were to have one in Persia alone. These and other reasons, which your Reverence will better be able to estimate, caused us to endeavour to get a footing here. . . ."

Early in March 1609 Fr. Vincent must have reached Hurmuz, for there is extant a document, dated 22.3.1609, signed by the governor, Henrique de Noronha and leading parishioners of the church of S. Mary, begging Fr. Vincent to begin a Carmelite foundation there.² On the other hand, there was opposition to the Carmelites, both official and from ecclesiastics—the Augustinian Hermits did not like to see their hitherto exclusive sphere of activity invaded, and by non-Portuguese. One 'Memorial of the Inhabitants of Hurmuz', dated 6.4.1609,³ signed before the notary Henrique Pereira, reads in the Italian translation extant:

"The inhabitants of this town of Hurmuz, who have subscribed their names below, learnt that a Discalced Carmelite Father wanted to found a new monastery in the town and with that object spoke to certain persons who gave their signatures to a petition, which was drawn up with this object of founding such a convent: and, because this Father is not a subject of His Majesty, nor did he come to this town with an order from His Majesty, nor has he the licence of the Lord Archbishop for such a foundation, and because the said Father is only waiting for the departure of your Reverence to carry out his intentions, therefore your Reverence is begged to remedy this business before he leaves. . . ."

In another document⁴ the same notary certified:

"On the 13th April 1609, in this town of Hurmuz, I . . . went to the house of Fr. Vincent of S. Francis, and communicated to him the rescript sent by the reverend Fr. Vicar Emmanuel d'Souza Correa, i.e. that he should produce the Briefs from His Holiness, which he carried, and that he should not make an oratory . . . that the said Fr. Vincent replied that the rescript was unjust . . . that he is able to say Mass on a portable altar without the licence of the Ordinary and his vicar, because he is a Religious of the mendicant Orders, and a missionary of His Holiness . . . and as such enjoys a privilege . . . and that the Father replies that for three days past he had been saying Mass on a 'decent'

¹ Not from Goa, be it noted.

² See *Cronica do Carmelitas Discalcos, particular do Regno do Portugal*, vol. II, p. 775, Lisbon, 1721, by Fr. Joao de' Sacramenti.

³ and ⁴ O.C.D. 239 b.

"altar, and so the suspension" (i.e. by the Vicar Forane) "is null, as the reverend Father "holds a Brief from His Holiness which he showed the Father Vicar, and which gives him "licence to build churches in lands of pagans and infidels, so that the reverend Fr. Vincent "cannot be suspended for the reasons given above, and he demands a certified copy. . . ."

On this the Prior of the Augustinians, Fr. Manuel de Sousa Correa, who was Vicar Forane in the town of Hurmuz for his Ex. Fra Alesio de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, the first person in the Council of H.M. the King, issued an injunction under date 14.4.1609:

" . . . after seeing the reply of Fr. Vincent, and a writing in which he showed himself "unwilling to produce the apostolic Briefs *in forma juris* as was his duty, and in view of "what the Council of Trent decides in such matters, and his disobedience in wanting to "act without the license of the Ordinary . . . we command under pain of excommunication " . . . that he neither preach, nor hear confessions, nor make a church or oratory, nor "allow any of our country-people to hear Mass in the said oratory or church. . . ."

Thus brought to a standstill Fr. Vincent hastened back to Isfahan, where he had arrived by 28.6.1609,¹ and it was decided that he should go to Rome forthwith in connection with the difficulty over the founding of a mission in Hurmuz, and with the situation in Persia in general: and after audiences with 'Abbas I, and being furnished with letters for Rome he left Isfahan on S. Laurence's Day (August 10th) and reached Rome early in 1610. The Definitory General of the Order decided to approve of the establishment of a mission at Hurmuz, and appointed Fr. Leander of the Annunciation to accompany Fr. Vincent on the latter's return journey. Pope Paul V provided Fr. Vincent, among others, with a Brief commending him and the Order to the Archbishop of Goa. This Brief was dated 10th of the Kalends of July 1610:²

" . . . Quia vero dilectus filius Vincentius Sancti Francisci eiusdem Ordinis frater in "Persidem reversurus erat unde superioribus mensibus ad Nos venerat . . . cum ipse Nobis "significaverit magno adiumento fratribus suis fraternitatem tuam esse posse ipsum et "Ordinis sui fratres, qui in Persidem commorantur, Tibi commendare diligenter volumus . . ." (. . . Because Our beloved son, Vincent of S. Francis, of that Order was about to return to Persia, whence some months previously he had come to Us . . . since he had intimated to Us that you could be of great assistance to him, We have desired earnestly to recommend to you him and the brethren of his Order, who dwell in Persia.)

On his return journey to Persia Fr. Vincent (accompanied by Fr. Leander) reached Isfahan on Whit Sunday, 21.5.1611. A brief narrative by Fr. Leander³ provides the following details:

"In January 1612 we elected for Superior . . . and then Fr. Vincent (whom we declared "President) left" (i.e. Isfahan) "with a lay brother novice called Fra John Baptist for "Hurmuz, where in a very short time to the general applause and delight of the people he "founded *an oratory* in an upper room, for which the previous year Fr. Benignus⁴ had "brought a licence from the Archbishop and the Viceroy (only the Augustinian Fathers "opposed it, and continue to oppose us). The Father" (i.e. Vincent) "also clothed a choir "novice named Balthazar and, leaving in the house the lay brother novice . . . with orders "that a priest should come to say Mass daily in the oratory, . . . departed in the beginning "of April for Goa.⁵ I left Isfahan with Brother Elias on the 5th May, and arrived at

¹ See report of Fr. Benignus, O.C.D. 234 c².

² Vide Vatican Secr. Arch., *Epist. ad Princ.*, Arm. XLV, 6, pp. 18-84.

³ A sheet undated and unsigned, but by its contents written in 1615, in O.C.D. 239 e.

⁴ This Father in 1611 had apparently been specially sent from Isfahan to Goa.

⁵ He reached Goa 29 days later, going there to present the Papal Brief to the Archbishop-elect, Cristobal d'Sa, who himself was awaiting from Rome the Bull of his appointment.

"Hurmuz on the day of the Commemoration of S. Paul" (i.e. 30th June 1612). "An oratory was afterwards made, sufficiently large and so bright and devotional that the Sovereign Pontiff could say Mass in it. On the day of the solemn Commemoration of 'our Lady of Carmel'" (i.e. 16th July 1612) "I preached and professed Brother Elias 'before a great concourse of people. On the day of our lady Mother'" (i.e. S. Teresa, 15th October) "I made a great festival: our house was well decorated, and in one room, 'in front of the oratory, an altar over the door with the picture of our Mother, which 'I had had painted. . . ."

Fr. Vincent began to send lay brothers and other novices from Goa: On 20.2.1613 he himself returned, and some 10 days later there arrived from Isfahan to aid Fr. Leander during Lent Fr. Louis Francis of the Mother of God:

"Fr. Louis Francis was never out of the confessional. Fr. Vincent preached on Thursdays 'in the house, on Sunday evenings in the guardhouse of the Fort, where the Captain was 'always present. . . ."

On Easter Day after dinner Fr. Vincent received a profession. Let him continue the story:¹

"The cause which moved me to get a footing here at once, when I came here from 'Persia" (i.e. Isfahan in 1612), "was that I found all the populace disposed for it and 'greatly desiring it, and because Fr. Benignus had brought from Goa a *licence from the last 'Archbishop to make a hospice and oratory . . .* and as I found . . . the letters of the new 'Archbishop had not been received, it appeared to me a good opportunity, and, in order 'not to lose it, I put the project into execution. . . ."

After citing an instance of bickering by the Augustinians, Fr. Vincent went on:

"This therefore made me resolve to make a hospice here forthwith, and *I bought certain 'houses, which cost 600 ducats*, of which I paid here the half from the alms which they collected 'for me within the space of 8 days and the rest will be paid next year.

"*The site*, in the judgment of all, *is the best there be in Hurmuz*: the only inconvenience 'there is lies in making an oratory, because in the whole house there is no place decent 'enough save one room upstairs and it was expedient for us to make it there. I said the 'first Mass there with a crowd of men and women who from the first day came to us; 'and in this place we have continued up till now to say our Offices, to preach and hear 'confessions. At present we are fitting up the oratory downstairs, when the enclosure will 'be closed off properly" (i.e. the portion where only the Carmelite inmates might go, separated from the chapel, etc., which was open to the public): "and I trust in God that 'this house will be one of the most devotional in India from the concourse of people coming 'to it and who will do so when it is finished, *for that in use up to the present is merely provisional*.

"When this hospice and oratory had been made, I left for Goa in the month of April" (i.e. 1612) "which is the monsoon season, i.e. the favourable season as regards the winds, 'as, when it has passed, there begins the winter when there is no navigation in these parts."²

"It appeared to me that I should not lose this opportunity to be present in Goa" (to answer) "the calumnies of our adversaries, if they should lay them before the governor 'who was a Religious of their Order (and let not your Reverence be astonished that I call 'him by that name, because it is incredible that this hospice should have been made 'contrary to his wish) and they even say that it has to be suppressed—but 'blessed is he 'who is in possession'. For, previous to the departure of the ships" (i.e. from Hurmuz

¹ From his No. 1, Hurmuz, 3.6.1613, cited, O.C.D. 239 b.

² This is of interest in indicating that at the end of the sixteenth century and later navigation to and from India practically ceased after August-early September (when the monsoon ends) till the following spring.

for Goa) "they sent off one of their Religious in a small vessel, which sailed first: and, "when I arrived in Goa and visited the governor, he complained to me that they had "informed him that I had made a *church* in Hurmuz *with its door in the street*. I satisfied "him that they had wrongly informed him, and that I had only done what I could, far "less than" (allowed by) "the licence from the Archbishop, his superior: and with that he "was calmed. . . .

"The Lord made provision that the day after my departure there arrived in this port" (Hurmuz) "a ship with a Dominican Father a passenger on board, who came to lodge in "our house and remained there till my return from India, so that there never lacked "someone to say Mass. I also went to Goa to give to the Archbishop-elect and to the "Viceroy the letters from His Holiness."

Here may be interposed details given in Fr. Leander's narrative cited:¹

'After Easter' (i.e. 1613) 'a church was made on the *ground-floor, to which the style of* "oratory" *was however still given*. On the day of the solemn Commemoration' (i.e. of the B.V.M. of Mt. Carmel, July 16th) 'the church was finished, the first Mass said in it by 'the Vicar (i.e. Vicar Forane of the Archbishop of Goa). Fr. Vincent and Fr. Leander 'preached in it alternately on all feast-days till S. Thomas'. They made a sacarium for 'the Host, completed when Fr. Leander left Hurmuz':

and Fr. Vincent mentions:

" . . . I forgot to say that we made an oratory down below, 37 feet in width, and in "length in the proportions of the temple of Solomon, with its high altar and two lateral "altars. . . ."²

Then—in his letter of June 1613 to the General of the Order in Rome—Fr. Vincent opens the question of the future status of the foundation at Hurmuz *vis-à-vis* the Convent in Isfahan, which remains more or less obscure in the correspondence that has survived:

"On my return to Hurmuz from India I found the letter from your Reverence of the "25th August last (which Fr. Louis Francis had brought, and it came to this house forwarded "by Fr. Redempt), in which you bid me look after the foundation of this Hospice . . . "and, since it is much against my wish to be a Superior, I desired that the Fathers should "see what your Reverence said in that letter, and that they should state" (what they judged it to mean). "They agreed in saying that your Reverence was by this letter bidding me "take charge of this hospice, seeing indeed the need in this place for there to be someone who "held authority from your Reverence for dealing with affairs of all kinds which might offer "without having to await instructions from the Prior or sub-Prior in Isfahan, who were "so far away, with the road in many months of the year little travelled, for which reason "they were not in a position to deal with circumstances arising as conveniently as was "fitting. Moreover, in this hospice at present there are usually 7 Religious, and those to "whom we shall give the habit will have to do their noviciate here, particularly if they be "youths, because in Persia it would afford scandal to the Muslims, who are evil-minded, "were we to have youths in the habit. Since in your letter your Reverence also tells me "that you *grant me all your authority 'in utroque foro'*, and that, should I have to go to Isfahan, "I shall be deemed there a guest and *not a conventual* of that Convent, it appeared to the "Fathers for that reason that the will of your Reverence was to create here a Superior "independent of that one at Isfahan: and to me it appears similarly from what was said "about the governance of everything, and that the Religious may have someone near at

¹ Undated sheet, but of 1615, from its contents, in O.C.D. 239 c.

² Fr. Vincent, Hurmuz, to Fr. Benignus, Isfahan, 9.5.1617, O.C.D. 239 b.

"hand to rule over them. . . . The Father Vicar of this place" (i.e. the Vicar Forane of the Archbishop of Goa) "is much our friend, and has shown us much kindness . . . in "the founding of this hospice, and has gone so far that *little is wanting to make it a Convent*, if "that should seem convenient, and your Reverence give his 'beneplacet'. . . ."

This matter of the status of the Carmelite establishment at Hurmuz—whether it should be a Residence (hospice) or convent—occurs in other letters of Fr. Vincent. Two months earlier, 16.4.1613, he had written to Fr. Benignus at Isfahan:¹

" . . . Our Father General bids me take charge of this house at Hurmuz, and of the "others to be founded in India, saying that this Hospice does not come under the control "of the Superior at Isfahan: all of which is to be seen from the letter of our Father" (General) "and from the declaration made by the Fathers in chapter" (i.e. at Hurmuz) "of which I "first sent your Reverence the duplicate. . . . And so, my Father, with this new mandate "of our Father" (General), "the position is altered as regards Fr. Redempt being the "Superior. . . . And so, now we are three priests,² one professed lay brother, two lay "brothers and one choir brother novices. . . . We are making an oratory down below, "and are all greatly occupied with building operations: for which reason Fr. Leander "cannot write, as he is overseer of the works. . . . The last Viceroy" (i.e. of the Portuguese Indies, with his capital at Goa) "did me the favour of giving me through your Reverence "200 X^{es} [*? sic*] to be paid in this fortress, and Julian de Campo promised me to pay "them by a letter written by the Archbishop. But afterwards he departed from Goa "without keeping his word, and here the new treasury supervisor has orders from the new "Viceroy to pay nothing. I have written to the Lord Archbishop, whom I did not see "(as I left before his arriving to take over the government) so that a fresh assignment may "be obtained from his Excellency. . . ."

In his letter, numbered '5', to the Praepositus General, 3.6.1613, Fr. Vincent again puts forward the status of the Carmelite house:

"Should it appear to your Reverence well to *make a Convent of this Hospice of Hurmuz*, "another Brief on this subject should be obtained from His Holiness and addressed to the " 'Conservator', whom we ourselves shall appoint in accordance with the law, so that he "may execute it. Another Brief may be addressed to the same person for us to be able "to take the houses and space, of which we might have need in order to enlarge the said "convent, and for the price at which assessors of this town may estimate its value. It "would be expedient that your Reverence send us a certified copy of the Brief by which "we are not obliged to take part in processions. . . ."

In yet another letter of the date cited Fr. Vincent related:

" . . . On Holy Thursday" (i. e. of 1613) "I placed the Blessed Sacrament in a closed "Tabernacle with many lights in this oratory: and the whole populace came with great "reverence. The Captain of the Fortress, the Father Vicar (Forane), and all the others "visited it. . . . We sang the Mass that day, and after dinner performed the Mandatum "and washing of feet: on the following Friday we said the Office and performed the adoration "of the Cross, on Holy Saturday the benediction of the pascal candle, and I said Mass. "In short, *if it be not a convent*, we leave nothing undone that we could do, if it were one. . . ."

After the return to Isfahan at Pentecost 1614 of Fr. John Thaddeus from his long detention at Astrakhan, having been himself invested with the authority of a Vicar General, he sent

¹ O.C.D. 239 b.

² Frs. Vincent, Leander and Louis Francis.

in 1615 a letter of appointment as 'Vicar' of the mission at Hurmuz to Fr. Vincent.¹ But the prior's plans and visions of making Hurmuz a convent independent of the jurisdiction of the Prior of Isfahan, and also of making there a seminary where youths from Goa and Hurmuz could be trained to staff the missions at Isfahan and elsewhere, were never fulfilled. For the all-too-brief story of the Carmelite Residence on Hurmuz island is largely that of the relations of the Portuguese authorities with the rulers of Persia during the years 1612-22, ending in the loss of the fortress, so disastrous not only in marking the beginning of the rapid decline of Portuguese activity and influence for good in the Persian Gulf, but also in its reflex action on Catholic proselytism in the region: that story is told in greater detail in another portion of this work. Here let it suffice to say more briefly that

'in 1609 'Abbas I—that *principe de' mercantanti*, prince of traders, as the Carmelite chronicler 'Fr. Eusebius dubs him, dispatched to the Spanish court for sale a consignment of silk 'in the charge of a Persian envoy (this was the individual who had in his suite that "Don "Juan of Persia" a subsequent convert to the Catholic faith of whom writers on the period 'make frequent mention) and as the mentor of the envoy in European affairs Fr. Antonio 'da Govea, an Augustinian, had been sent with him. The money derived from the sale 'was misappropriated and largely squandered by the Persian envoy: Shah 'Abbas, greatly 'annoyed at the loss of the trading venture, assumed wrongly that the Spanish Court and 'Fr. Antonio were directly to blame.

'Indiscretions of Fr. Antonio, who before June 1613 was back in Isfahan having been 'made titular Bishop of Cyrene by recommendation from the Spanish Court and sent out 'as "Visitor" to the Armenians, exacerbated relations still further, and the Shah's viceroy 'in the South, Imam Quli Khan, begged permission to attack the Portuguese in Hurmuz.² 'At this juncture there arrived a new Captain of Hurmuz—Dom Luis da Gama. There 'had been from long years before an edict of the king of Portugal (and Spain) prohibiting 'any Muslim or Gentile, on pain of death, from sailing those seas without written per- 'mission from the "Captain of the Straits", an edict which had not been observed on 'account of the damage it inflicted on the Treasury and difficulties it made with the rulers 'of Persia. However, lacking acquaintance with precedents and punctilious, after an 'altercation had arisen over non-carriage of such licences by certain barques laden with 'grain belonging to a place subject to the jurisdiction of the Khan of Shiraz' (probably Nakhilu) 'which had put in to the fortress, the new Captain had over 60 men from the 'vessels put to the sword. Further incidents followed; and, when the Khan of Shiraz again 'pressed 'Abbas for permission to attack the Portuguese, he was told in reply that he might 'do so, but would pay for it with his own head, should the event turn out unfortunately.

'It was then that Imam Quli Khan sent a herald to the Captain of Hurmuz declaring 'war in satisfaction of the injuries mentioned besides extortion in customs dues, and he 'began to prepare for his campaign all June 1614, when he calculated that all Persian 'traders would on account of heat of the season have withdrawn safely from the island. 'He had 12,000 men on land, and 4 ships with 300 *terrata* capable of carrying 30 men 'each, and began to move at the fall of August, first occupying the island of Qishm, whence 'Hurmuz drew its water-supply. All the other islands were emptied of their inhabitants. 'The Portuguese fort on the mainland at Gāmburun was besieged, but for 4 months the 'Persians failed to take it, after various assaults and despite its weak fortifications. The 'Captain sent help from Hurmuz thrice during the siege, on one occasion one ship taking 'fire and the rest being beaten back by the wind. Imam Quli Khan had his camp or 'headquarters half-way between Shiraz and Gāmburun (perhaps at Lar?): and 'Abbas I, 'learning the obstinacy of the defence, sent orders to him to retire his troops and treat 'with the Portuguese for peace. But on 23.12.1614 25 [*? sic 125*] men-at-arms, the sole

¹ See narrative of Fr. Leander, undated, but of 1615, in O.C.D. 239 c.

² The following account of the fall of Gāmburun fort, and its sequel is abridged from Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct., MSS. *Hist. Miss.*, part 2, book 3, chap. XVI.

'garrison surviving, capitulated. The Persians are said to have lost 4,000 [*? sic 400*] in the futile assault, and fearing to be taunted with the smallness of the number of the defenders broke the terms of capitulation by requiring that the Portuguese should buy their lives by apostatizing. Most refused, and were killed, the rest made slaves.'

"... But greater respect is paid to us than to the king of Spain," wrote Fr. John Thaddeus, 25.5.1610:

"the Persians recently took from the Portuguese, besides many other places, the 'Bandar' (i.e. Gāmbūn.) "They killed 60 or 70 Portuguese: the others left alive were tied with a piece of wood round their necks and taken on parade through all Persia to Farrahābad, together with the bell of the church on a cart and the sacred images, as in triumph. "Yet the king of Spain has to put up with this and dissimulates to such an extent that he has sent the king of Persia an ambassador with letters full of friendly expressions and very costly presents. . . ."

In the beginning of 1614 (after the return of the Bishop of Cyrene from Isfahan to Hurmuz) Fr. Leander of the Annunciation had left Hurmuz for Isfahan, in order to assist Fr. Redempt reported sick, and there he remained over Easter: he was coming back to Hurmuz as novice-master and sub-Prior, and at Shiraz at the end of that year simultaneously with Fr. Louis Francis, who was due to go to Rome, when the news of the fall of the Portuguese fort at Gāmbūn on 23.12.1614 reached them. Imam Quli Khan had previously sent for the two Fathers to go to his camp:

'Flushed with the success of his enterprise he communicated it to Shah 'Abbas, but, knowing that monarch's humours about being obeyed *sans paroles*, he bethought himself of negotiations for peace in such a way, however, that they should result in nothing. It would seem that during the first half of 1615 also the two Fathers were still with the Khan, either in Shiraz or at his camp (perhaps the military operations did not allow them to reach the coast and Fr. Louis Francis did not go to Rome), for the Persian satrap sent them to Hurmuz with his terms, viz.:

- '(a) half the produce of the Customs of Hurmuz to be ceded him;
- '(b) Michael Corai, with all his effects, to be handed over to him;
- '(c) youths coming from India to Persia via Hurmuz not to be detained there;
- '(d) a Muslim tribe, which had fled to Hurmuz, to be handed over.

'At Lar the two Fathers found five Portuguese of good position, who had been arrested on their way from Isfahan to the coast, and thrown into a filthy prison, where they had been in chains 7 months. The Carmelites gave them money and encouragement to hope for liberation. At Hurmuz Fr. Leander and his companion were warmly welcomed, for the state of affairs was desperate. Trade had been stopped with the Persian coast, whence provisions had previously come: there was lack of water since Qishm had been taken: no income from the Customs since the merchants had departed: the Persian ships were dominating the entrance to the island, and the only hope lay in aid coming from the Viceroy in Goa.

'Da Gama wanted to gain time so as to put Hurmuz in a state of defence and feigned sincerity in the negotiations, sending Fr. Leander backwards and forwards in the heat several times. A Jew, taken by the Fathers as interpreter though well paid, deceived them—"was as perfidious with men as his race with God": a Christian employed was even more iniquitous, writing to the Khan of Shiraz that the Fathers were tricking him, and working only in the interests of the Portuguese. The Bishop of Cyrene "before joining "us" also complicated matters by corresponding secretly with the Khan of Shiraz about terms, without telling the Captain of Hurmuz.'¹

¹ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct., part 2, book 3, chap. XVII, O.C.D. 285-6.

A letter of Fr. Leander from Shiraz, dated the Vigil of the Commemoration of Our Lady of Carmel, 15th July, concluded by saying:

“the Prince of Shiraz has written us from his camp, 70 miles away, to return to Hurmuz and inform the Captain that the latter must first send a present: otherwise peace would not be concluded. So after two days we shall leave, or three, if my tertian fever continues: it has three times attacked me. I console myself that I have not done else but hear the confessions of 12 Christians, reconciled three apostates, baptized a female child, and taken into the house to cure and look after them several sick Catholics who, thank God, are healed; but that is reward enough for greater sufferings. It may be that peace is concluded, but I consider it difficult, as the minds and desires” (of the two parties) “are so contrary to each other.”

Suffering much from fever on the road Fr. Leander reached Hurmuz on 20.8.1615. Fr. Vincent left Hurmuz, in 1616 perhaps, for Isfahan and never came back: a letter of March 1618¹ seems to imply that he was by then already in Rome. From 1620 onwards it was the convent at Goa which furnished the new material that according to his plan was to have passed their noviciate in Hurmuz: the semi-beleaguered position of the Portuguese there from 1615 onwards must have made it clear to the Religious that it was no time for expansion in Hurmuz.

In the autumn of 1615 Fr. Redempt was sent from Isfahan by Shah 'Abbas in company of Sir Robert Sherley on a mission to Spain and Portugal, ostensibly conciliatory: and the latter reached the island of Hurmuz 2.1.1616. The *Narrative of Fr. Redempt's journey and voyage*² throws light on the straits of the garrison and populace at the end of 1615:

“Hurmuz was in such great need, without provisions for its food-supply, without water to drink (all of that lying in Persia, except for some cisterns which are filled with rain-water), without ordinary or special food-supplies, because trade by caravans had ceased in Persia; and it was so great that they did not even have the wherewithal to pay the soldiers, and so daily the latter were mutinying: and they were running the risk of the Persians continuing the war. For the Persians were aware of the straits in which were the people in Hurmuz . . . and in the great confusion reigning in Hurmuz among the Portuguese themselves, soldiers having mutinied and others taken to flight, while the Muslims in the fortress were urging the Persians to come and seize it, as the Fathers well knew. Further, everywhere in India there was warfare—with the Mogul and with the Deccan and they were much troubled by other, European, enemies, so that they had more need then of being aided than of sending aid elsewhere. . . .”

Sherley had been directed by Shah 'Abbas to treat with the Captain of Hurmuz for terms of truce: so Fr. Redempt's narrative relates:

“they discussed . . . whether the friendly relations upset by the recent warfare were to be renewed, as he (Sherley) brought the terms which the king of Persia was asking . . . The ambassador entered Hurmuz the 2nd January 1616. . . . It pleased the Lord that, always in the presence of Fr. Redempt, all matters were settled satisfactorily between the ambassador and the captain-general, and so establishment of friendly relations was announced, and roads were opened for trade for the first time on the day of the Epiphany following, to the great joy and contentment of all the populace. . . .”

Over fifty Portuguese, taken prisoners at the time of the fall of Gāmburun in that fort and elsewhere, whom as an act of clemency and goodwill, Shah 'Abbas had released and repatriated under the charge of Sherley (some of the party had had to be extracted from the houses of

¹ Fr. John Thaddeus, O.C.D. 237 m.

² O.C.D. 234 c.

Muslims in Shiraz, where they were being kept in slavery and made to apostatize) were handed over to the Captain of Hurmuz.

On 2.1.1614-5 a commission had been given by the East India Company to Messrs. Steel and Crowther

‘to proceed from India to Spahaun for information respecting commerce, and to solicit the licence of the Shah for the ships of the Company to visit his ports’:

and by 26.12.1616, Edward Connock, the Chief Agent of the Company, was writing of his

“hopes in another year to settle even in the Portugall’s bosom, in the glorious port of “Gāmbnun. . . .”¹

Mr. Connock arrived in Isfahan 31.3.1617,² and a few days later went off to find ‘Abbas I in his camp: in vain one of the Augustinian Fathers treated with him in opposition to Connock, begging that he would not receive the English in Persia. On 2.4.1617 Mr. Connock was writing³ to the East India Company, apprehending an increase of Spanish influence from the mission of Sir R. Sherley, and describing how he had commenced to counteract in representations to the Shah—‘he *intended to propose* to the monarch to *take Hurmuz*’: and two days later⁴ the king’s lieutenant had already offered the Company silk on credit to the value of £100,000. Another letter in the same series,⁵ dated 8.5.1617, reported—‘The Portugall ambassador arrived ‘at Hurmuz’. This no doubt was the Spaniard of rank, Don Garcia de Silva Figueroa, who had been sent specially from Spain by Philip III to come to a settlement with ‘Abbas I; though from della Valle’s letters⁶ he would not appear to have reached Qazwin before June, 1618.

Fr. Leander had been obliged to proceed from Hurmuz to Goa at the end of 1617 or early in 1618, according to information sent by the Captain Dom Luis da Gama:⁷ but as a document signed by all the Fathers of the Convent at Isfahan, and by Fr. Leander himself as “secretary”, dated 15.4.1619,⁸ tells us:

“The Vicar Provincial, having long desired to take steps . . . summoned from Hurmuz “Fr. Leander, *Vicar* of that House . . .”,

and Pietro della Valle’s letter of 8.5.1619 describes how:

“On Sunday, March 3rd, we went out to meet certain Religious coming from Hurmuz, “i.e. two Discalced Carmelites, Fr. Leander of the Annunciation and his companion, who “were to stay in the convent at Isfahan. . . .”

With Fr. John Thaddeus early in June 1619 he went to deliver to the Shah in camp dispatches received from Sherley and Fr. Redempt in Madrid, and in that letter⁹ it was mentioned that Fr. Leander was about to depart for Hurmuz. When, after asking ‘Abbas for the restoration of the forts and islands the Persians had seized in 1614, the Spanish ambassador left Isfahan on his return journey to Hurmuz, 25.8.1619, it was Fr. Dimas of the Cross who accompanied him,

“going to Hurmuz on business of their Order(s). . . .”¹⁰

It comes as a surprise to read that, although the Carmelites both in Isfahan and Hurmuz were frequently assisting the authorities at Hurmuz as intermediaries with the Persian Court

¹ *List of Factory Records*, East India Company, Catalogue of Original Correspondence, No. 420, India Office archives, London.

² P. della Valle, XXVI, p. 164.

³ and ⁴ *List of Factory Records*, etc., etc., No. 464.

⁵ *Idem*, No. 476.

⁶ XVII, p. 55, and of 21.10.1619.

⁷ Fr. John Thaddeus, 8.3.1618, O.C.D. 237 m.

⁸ *Idem*, O.C.D. 237 m.

⁹ Fr. John Thaddeus, postscript to letter of 29.5.1619, O.C.D. 237 m.

¹⁰ della Valle, 21.10.1619.

and although both parties were subjects of Philip III, still in 1618 difficulties were being made as to the status of the Carmelite foundation in the island, indeed as to their remaining there any longer. Some Portuguese officials (not all, for others were good friends), jealous or suspicious, had actually obtained orders from Spain sanctioning their expulsion. Fr. Leander and his companions withstood the Captain of the fortress, who both threatened them and endeavoured to entice them to leave voluntarily. Testimony by principal laymen and clerics, and a statement from the Archbishop of Goa regarding the Pope's desires in respect of Hurmuz proved of small avail: the Carmelites even petitioned the king of Spain (and Portugal) and wrote to his viceroy at Goa. On one occasion, when officials were on their way to execute orders from Spain for their expulsion, the Fathers, vested and carrying the Blessed Sacrament, came in procession to the door of their Residence: the officials fell on their knees, and then withdrew, abashed: on another, the Carmelites rang their bells and not only the populace, even soldiers gathered to defend them. This is related by the chronicler, Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanctis;¹ but there is original correspondence extant to corroborate the aim to expel the Carmelites. On 8.3.1618² the Vicar Provincial, Fr. John Thaddeus, replied to a letter of Dom Luis da Gama, "Capitao de Ormuz":

"... In one paragraph of your letter you write that his Majesty orders you to dismantle "and close this Residence" (i.e. at Hurmuz) "and that the Religious return whence they "came, and go to Spain in the ships which he" (the king) "is sending to Goa to the viceroy "to embark them . . . and that I should see where I wish the Fathers to go, because, "against your will, you have to execute the king's order before April. . . ."

After going on to point out that, while to found a mission in Hurmuz the licence of the Ordinary was sufficient, whereas the Carmelites also held that of the viceroy and the Pope's Brief, the Vicar Provincial warned the captain of the fortress of the risks of excommunication and penalties he ran, should he take rash action.

A further letter, of 25.5.1619,³ to the Praepositus General, Rome, is more explicit as to the point at issue as the Portuguese saw it:

"... I have received a letter from the Archbishop of Goa, in reply to one of mine "regarding the business of Hurmuz, in which he answers that we had no competence to "be in Hurmuz in the manner we have been hitherto, as if in any other convent administer- "ing the Holy Sacraments, preaching, etc.: that *it is not a convent* at all, nor does it enjoy "the rights and privileges which are wont to be enjoyed by convents founded by authority "of the Ordinary" (i.e. the bishop of the diocese), "but that *it is only a hospice*; and for "that alone a licence was given by the Archbishop, his predecessor, although the Vicar (? Forane) "of Hurmuz had extended the licence, which (he says) he had no right to do: that we "could not claim more than allowed by the Brief of His Holiness, which says 'Hospice' "or 'Oratory'—as is stated in the licence held by Fr. Vincent. In my other letters I have "told you of the travail we are having over Hurmuz, and what they have done to try and "send us away from there, so that it seemed to the Archbishop himself that they had gone "to excess with us. *The Viceroy in Goa together with his Council* are resolved to take action. "But there should be a respite till a fresh order comes from his Majesty, and the Archbishop "exhorts me that, should such an order eventuate, we should depart and not wait for them "to use greater force in execution of the king's wishes: for in that case—should we not go "of our own free will and resist—the officials would be obliged to obey the order of the "king with all their might. The Archbishop further says that we ought to obtain a Brief "from the Pope dispensing our Religious from the decree of the Council of Trent (by which, "in order to make a Religious foundation application has to be made for a permit from "the Bishop and no one else). He *will not give us a licence*, not because he does not wish to "give it; but because, *knowing the great opposition to us in the Council of Portugal*, and that no

¹ In MSS. *Hist. Miss.*, O.C.D. 285-6.

² and ³ O.C.D. 237 m.

"one will speak in our favour, he thinks the second order will come to a like effect as the first, i.e. that we must depart from Hurmuz. For such case, and in order to assist us, he desires us to obtain those Briefs from the Pope; because, if we had neither the favour of his Holiness nor of his Majesty, he" (the Archbishop) "would have no ground on which to help us. The business in itself is easy to negotiate: and, if we were not waiting for your decision, we should already have negotiated it. . . ."

What the Order in Rome thought of the status of their foundation is to be read in *Regesta*, vol. I, p. 76, where, 16.6.1620, the Definitory General declared that until the faculty requisite for erecting a convent at Hurmuz were obtained from the Ordinary, i.e. the Archbishop of Goa, no canonical Prior or Superior should be appointed. If however, that faculty be obtained . . . the Definitory General would recognize the foundation to be considered as a convent, when a Prior could be elected. That decision was varied on 30.1.1624 (*Regesta*, vol. I, p. 123):

"The Fathers at Hurmuz cannot have a monastery" (i.e. convent), "but only a hospice until it be otherwise ordained by the Definitory General."

The chronicler of the early 1700's, Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanctis, affirms:¹

"Finally the Court of Spain came to some decision, by which the Carmelites in Hurmuz were left in peace. . . ."

Twice, however—in his letters of 4.4.1620 and 23.2.1621²—Pietro della Valle refers to the Father Prior of the Convent of *Discalced Carmelites in Hurmuz* (a strange error in terminology from one usually so accurate and withal so closely in touch with the Carmelites and their affairs: he may be referring to Fr. Leander. But a list³ extant of Religious serving in the four mission posts, Isfahan, Hurmuz, Sindi, Goa, undated—by deduction compiled between April 1620 and May 1621—gives Fr. Leander as at Goa, where he was engaged on steps for founding the Convent: and at *Hurmuz* Fathers Balthazar of the Mother of God, and George of the Holy Spirit, with two Lay Brothers):

"(a) The Fr. Prior of the Convent of the *Discalced Carmelites at Hurmuz*, who first of all of them, when the galleons had scarcely begun to be sighted from afar, had gone off to them in a boat to obtain news from the General's galleon, on his return the same night had dispatched with the news to Isfahan a courier, who also carried letters for the Fr. Vicar" (i.e. Provincial, John Thaddeus) "of Isfahan from the General of the galleons and the Captain of Hurmuz. All of them asked the advice of the Fr. Vicar (Provincial) of Isfahan and what seemed best to him, he being the best informed on Persian affairs. . . ."

"(b) On the 25th August of last year" (1620) "a courier came from Hurmuz to the Fr. Vicar" (Provincial) "of the Carmelites with letters only from the Captain of (the fortress of) Hurmuz . . . and from the Fr. Prior of the Convent of the *Discalced Carmelites*."

It is worth note here to remark the statement by della Valle:⁴

"On Monday last, the 3rd August" (i.e. 1620) "there left Isfahan Fr. Manuel . . . the Portuguese Augustinian, dispatched by his Fathers to Hurmuz to urge in the name of their Order that . . . no further negotiations be pursued, since it is waste of time, but that war should be commenced, and nothing else":

also that⁵

¹ Chap. 28, part 2, book 3, MSS. in O.C.D. 285-6.

² O.C.D. 235 n.

⁴ Letter of 4.4.1620.

² II, pp. 171, 191.

⁵ Letter of 23.2.1621, IV, p. 196.

"on the evening of the night following the 4th September" (i.e. 1620) "the Fr. Vicar" (Provincial, John Thaddeus) "left Isfahan to discuss with the king the business mentioned 'above'" (i.e. settlement about Hurmuz) "and . . . the Fr. Vicar" (Provincial) "arrived 'back in Isfahan on the morning of the 15th September, and found here other and more 'recent letters from Hurmuz—the General of the Galleons'" (i.e. commander of forces on board the fleet, Ruy Freire d'Andrade) "complained greatly at seeing affairs in Hurmuz 'go from bad to worse. . . . With this news it became clear to the Fr. Vicar that the 'officials in Hurmuz had small desire to act properly. . . .'"

Those relations of mutual antagonism might have continued indefinitely from impotence of the Persians to attack an island fortress when lacking the ships and, above all, the artillery, had it not been that Edward Monox and William Bell on the part of the English East India Company arranged terms of alliance with Imam Quli Khan, the viceroy of South Persia, who then had his quarters at Minab on the coast east of Gāmburun. The account in the *East India Factory Records* gives the date of the articles signed as 10th Rabi' II 1031 A.H. (i.e. about January 24, 1621–2), but states that in December 1621 Monox the agent and Thomas Rastrell, the President of the Company, in the name 'of his Majestie of England treated with the king 'of Persia, among other terms, that:

'for the assistance of the English shippes against the Portuguese in Hurmuz and Qishm halfe 'the spoile of Hurmuz (when taken) should be devided to the English and halfe to the 'Persians: that all shippes for India, as well English as Persian, should be for ever Customs 'free: that all strangers' Customs' (i.e. duty on goods and ships of foreigners trading in the Persian Gulf) 'should be for ever equally devided betwixt English and Persians. . . .'

"These articles being signed, Richard Blithe and John Weddell, who commanded the "English shippes (with the assistance of the Persian boates) fiered, sunke and tooke the "Portugal flecte and landed their soldiers with those of Ormuz and took the castle. . . ."

This was 17.3.1622:¹

"The Portuguese ships destroyed were 5 galleons, one galley and soe many frigotts yt "we left them destitute wholly of the means of escaping."

On 22.4.1622 the Fortress was surrendered by the Portuguese on condition that they were furnished with shipping to convey them to Masqat or India. . . . Two prizes given them, in which ships 2,000 persons depart. . . . 5.5.1622 two hundred Portuguese left at Hurmuz owing to want of conveyance supported at the Company's charge.

The Prior of Isfahan, Fr. Prosper of the Holy Spirit, in his letter of 2.12.1621, mentioned:

"No news from Hurmuz is likely . . . as the roads are all blocked";

and in that of 11.4.1622:

"The English and the Persians agreed to divide everything which they took: only the "fortress and land to go to the king. We have no news of our Fathers: only that they are "in tribulation and need. . . ."

A further letter of 1623, undated:²

"We have lost everything at Hurmuz: our three Religious came here" (i.e. to Isfahan).

¹ On the 10th February the Persians had landed 3,000 men on the island, and taken possession of the "city without", Portuguese and wealthy inhabitants with their portable goods retiring to the fortress.

² O.C.D. 238 d.

The views of the Carmelites, nearly all Spaniards or Portuguese—subjects, that is to say, of the same sovereign—on the loss of Hurmuz (and on the previous conduct of the Portuguese towards the Persians as responsible) are few and brief in the correspondence preserved.

Fr. Prosper, 14.6.1622:

“It has been a great punishment from God for our sins.”

Fr. John Thaddeus, the Vicar Provincial, June 1622:¹

“Although the Muhammadans have taken Hurmuz as a chastisement and correction ‘administered to the Christians. . . .’”

One relic of the hospice at Hurmuz did survive, for more than a century presumably at Shiraz:

“The steward of the prince” (i.e. the Khan of Shiraz), “much beloved by him, showed ‘himself singularly well disposed towards us. . . . As long as the ‘Prince’ lived, he maintained always on the same level his benevolence, and obtained for our church” (i.e. at Shiraz) “from him” (i.e. Imam Quli Khan) “the bell taken from that of Hurmuz. . . .”²

* * * * *

As a summary of the evidence quoted above it can be stated:

- (a) Fr. Vincent of S. Francis first arrived in Hurmuz in March 1609; but, difficulties being made by the Portuguese ecclesiastics and officials about the right of the Carmelites to open a mission post there, he left by May 1609 for Isfahan and Rome. He arrived back in Hurmuz in February 1612, bought premises for 600 ducats, set up in them a *hospice and oratory*, and in April 1612 left for Goa with a recommendation from Rome, in order to seek sanction from the Archbishop and Portuguese authorities for a permanent foundation in Hurmuz. On returning he reached Hurmuz 20.2.1613. In the interval Fr. Leander had begun to make a larger *oratory* on the ground-floor, where Mass was said for the first time, 30.6.1613.
- (b) The foundation at Hurmuz was first intended to be the novice house for the whole Persian mission: and it was recognized that Fr. Vincent occupied a position of independence *vis-à-vis* the Prior of Isfahan: it was looked upon by the Carmelites as a convent in the making (though no declaration of its status as such by the Order in Rome is extant, or was made in all probability).

But the Archbishop of Goa, Primate of the Portuguese Indies, Alexis de Menezes, had originally given Fr. Benignus in 1610 or 1611, a licence restricted to the occupation of a hospice only with a private oratory, not for a church open to the public. The Brief of Pope Paul V addressed to the Archbishop (3.7.1614, Arch. Vat. Arm. XLV, vol. 15, p. 386) had recommended to him the Carmelites but without specifying a ‘hospice or oratory’ in Hurmuz. The Vicar Forane in Hurmuz of the Archbishop had however ‘extended’ the licence of the Archbishop in some way favourable to the Carmelites (*ultra vires*, it was claimed).

Opposition by the Hermits of S. Augustine established in Hurmuz, refusal of the Viceroy and Council of Portugal in Goa to grant a licence for a convent or Residence with public church, and finally orders from the king for the voluntary departure or expulsion of the Carmelites (not executed) hampered development of the foundation in Hurmuz till 1619 or perhaps later, and harassed the Religious.

¹ O.C.D. 237 m. ² Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct., MSS. *Hist. Miss.*, vol. IV, chap. XXIII, O.C.D. 285, 286.

Sites, Vicissitudes and Duration of Each Separate Establishment. Hurmuz 1055

- (c) The Discalced Carmelites found ample to do among the Christian inhabitants of Hurmuz, were often usefully serving as intermediaries and interpreters for the Portuguese authorities in their difficulties with the Persians 1615-21, were instrumental, largely, in preserving the faith of a number of Portuguese captives in Persian hands. The Hospice came to an end, and the Religious were removed from the island on or after the surrender of Hurmuz fortress in April 1622, 'losing everything': it had existed and always had Religious in residence for just ten years.

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THE RESIDENCE AT SHIRAZ

THERE WERE two successive sites of the premises, as will be read below. The circumstances in which this mission was founded are given at great length in a letter of Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, written from Shiraz itself on 27.9.1626, to the Praepositus General in Rome:¹ and he began by saying that he had had the opportunity of obtaining precise details from Fr. John Thaddeus, who knew all that passed concerning the foundation and had been the Religious sent to Shiraz for the actual establishing of the Carmelites there.

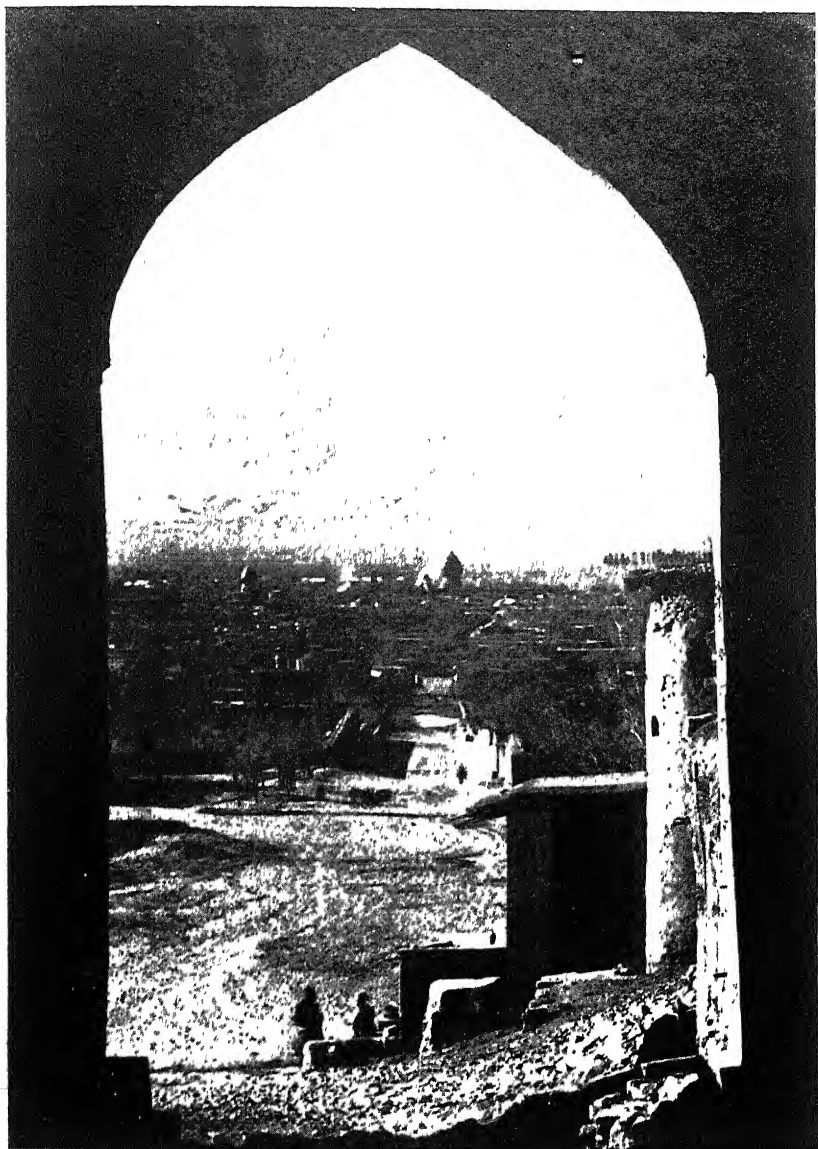
“Our Religious . . . had . . . for years previously judged it needful to have a house in “Shiraz, both because of the conversions to be hoped there, as also of the perfection in the “knowledge of the language and religious laws (of Persia) which might be attained there. “ . . . (2) . . . On many occasions in previous years the Khan of Shiraz had signified “clearly to our Fathers that he would be greatly pleased, if, just as the Fathers were at “Isfahan, they should also be at Shiraz: and in confirmation or demonstration of the same “on many occasions he showed many favours and courtesies to those Fathers who had to “pass through Shiraz and deal with the said Khan. . . . (3) In March 1619 our Fathers “at Isfahan by common accord and instrument approved of such a mission in Shiraz being “to the good, and that it would usefully be undertaken: and, that document having been “sent to Rome, they say that our Superiors thought well of it and agreed to charge with it “Fr. Vincent of S. Francis, sent as Visitor to these parts. In the instructions given him “he was to arrange for such a foundation, just as also they gave him a commission for a “mission in the province of Luristan,² for which said mission in Luristan the said Fr. Vincent “in 1621 gave orders and permission that it should be taken in hand, provided there were “the approval and consent of the three senior Fathers at the Convent (then Frs. John “Thaddeus, Prosper and Dimas), by whom on 4th November it was proposed, as necessary “for that mission in Luristan, that there should be a hospice in Shiraz. The Lurs themselves “had deemed it necessary and convenient: and it was desired by the Khan of Shiraz. “For that reason, after secret voting, by all three votes it was voted well to make a start with “the said hospice at Shiraz. (4) In accordance with these desires and instructions, in the “name of all Fr. John Thaddeus wrote in September 1622 to Imam Quli Khan of Shiraz, “asking that in conformity with his intention and the wish he had manifested for our “Fathers to be in Shiraz he would do them the favour of giving them a permit to have a “house there. The Khan replied that for the time being he had no authority from the king “to do this,³ but, should he obtain it, he would do this with the greatest pleasure and to “the satisfaction of Father John. That reply was given from Shiraz on 4.10.1622, and “received by the said Fr. John on the 11th of that month.⁴ The Khan had sent to the king “the letter written him by Fr. John, . . . and for the time being the king gave the Khan “no answer about this matter: it is said that he did not give his decision because he was “expecting the Father to go and visit him, and that he intended to give the permit after “they had met, and in fact he (the Shah) had already sent to summon Fr. John, who had “been slow in making an appearance at Court. . . . (5) But at this juncture Fr. Manuel,

¹ O.C.D. 238 o.

² The extensive and mountainous western province of Persia, inhabited largely by Kuhgilu, Bakhtiari and other “Lur” tribesmen, who probably represent the purest stock by descent from the old Persians and Medes: it extended from the Turkish or Mesopotamian frontier to some 100 miles W. of Shiraz, and north to the limit of the Isfahan district.

³ In February 1622 it had been due to action by Imam Quli Khan that the five converts to the Catholic faith had been martyred; and an estrangement or coolness had ensued from that time on the part of ‘Abbas I towards the Carmelites.

⁴ Another instance of the truly remarkable speed of couriers at that period—seven days, over 300 miles—so much superior to the rate in the eighteenth century, and even up till the adoption of motor traffic for mails about 1923.



GENERAL VIEW OVER SHIRAZ AND ITS VALLEY FROM
THE ALLAH-HU-AKBAR PASS
Taken from the Quran gate

"the Augustinian, arrived to see the king, who at the time was in Farrahabad, a place on "the Caspian Sea, and among other things asked permission for the Augustinian Fathers "to be allowed for their business freely to come and go from and to India through his realms. "The king referred him to the Khan for the districts, under whose charge and control such "journeys to India were made, for him to grant the said Father the permission, their "expenses and due honours whenever they should go to India: and, as Fr. John had not "appeared, he wrote to the Khan another letter (in addition to that requested by Fr. "Manuel) to the effect that he (the king) was content that our Fathers should reside in "Shiraz. . . . (6) Fr. Manuel went to meet the Khan, then at Ab-i-Kurang, a place where "many rivers have their sources and beginning, the water from which the king is having "brought to Isfahan with great show, and at vast expense in cutting through mountains, "filling valleys, piercing channels and other works, having given charge of the undertaking "to the said Khan¹. . . and so the Khan wrote by Fr. Manuel to Fr. John, telling him "that, when he first asked to be allowed to take a house in Shiraz, he had had to answer "that he could not grant it him without the sanction of the king, but that now he had "received it and therefore he, Fr. John, should proceed to Ab-i-Kurang and receive all "the satisfaction he desired. (7) On July 1st 1623 Fr. Manuel brought to Isfahan the letter "from the Khan for Fr. John, and late on Saturday, the 8th, Fr. John Thaddeus started "from Isfahan together with Fr. Peter Thomas of Jesus to meet the Khan of Shiraz at the "said place, Ab-i-Kurang, in order to treat with him about making a foundation at Shiraz. "At the same time there set out the said Fr. Manuel and Fr. Ambrose of the Angels, Augustinians, they also with the intention of negotiating with the Khan for permission to have "a house at Shiraz. On the 13th Frs. John Thaddeus and Peter Thomas reached the camp "—*urdu*—where the Khan was with his soldiers and men, and where shortly before the "other two Augustinians had arrived, as they had got ahead by travelling during the "previous night. Both they and our Fathers were given tents, and visited by many: and "on the 14th, on behalf of the Khan, Mir Abul Husain his confidant visited them, and they "received an invitation from Imam Quli Baig, his general. (8) On the 15th of the same "month they had audience of the Khan, who after the customary compliments asked Fr. "John what he wanted and asked. The Father answered that he had come by reason of "the letter written him, to do the Khan's bidding and for what orders he might give; "and at the same time he presented to the Khan a letter from Daud Khan, brother of the "said Imam Quli Khan of Shiraz. The latter read his brother's letter . . . and immediately gave orders to his men to have a 'farman', i.e. decree, issued to the Daruga, or "governor, of Shiraz—at that time Bahram Baig—that the latter should provide Fr. John "with a house to his satisfaction. . . . (9) As he had to wait here some days till the Khan "handed over the orders for the Daruga and for the journey to Shiraz, on Sunday the 16th "July, Feast of Our Lady of Carmel, Fr. John said Mass in his tent: and on Monday, the "17th, they went to visit Imam Quli Baig and Mir Abul Husain, with whom Fr. John "worked for the Fathers of S. Augustine also to be granted a site in Shiraz. On the 18th, "to show favour towards and entertain the Fathers, the Khan sent his chamberlain, with "all the pomp and credentials of the Khan himself, to show the Fathers the springs and "sources and beginnings of Ab-i-Kurang, not far away, and the mountain through which "the king was having a cutting made in order to carry the water to Isfahan: they passed "that day there, and saw many things to interest them and admire. (10) On the 20th "July Mir Abul Husain came to greet the Father on behalf of the Khan, and gave him the "‘farman’ for the Daruga of Shiraz, in which it was specified that he should give a house "belonging to the Khan, whichever might most please Fr. John. This ‘farman’ was given "to the Father under date the 15th, when they had the audience, and was to accord a "place to our Fathers only; but afterwards, as the result of the good offices used with Imam "Quli Baig and Mir Abul Husain, they interceded with the Khan for the Augustinian

¹ At various times, in the 1920's and previously, the Persian Government has contemplated the execution of this project — the diversion of the head waters of Karun river—and sent European engineers to report on it.

"Fathers, and so in the margin of the first 'farman' they wrote that two houses should be given, and the Khan affixed two seals, besides those already there. He also had given to Fr. John 12 Tumans, which are of 10 'ori' (i.e. gold ducats) each, and a mule, and 5 Tumans to be divided between Frs. Ambrose and Peter Thomas, having already had another 12 Tumans and a mule given to Fr. Manuel when the latter went to do business with him on the former occasion. A person of quality was assigned to accompany them to Shiraz, and finally (Fr. John) was told that, whenever he desired to take leave of the Khan, he could do so: and, as it seemed to the Fathers better to do so at once, that same morning they went to thank the Khan for the favour he had done them, and took their leave, making an appointment in front of the Khan for Frs. Ambrose and Peter Thomas to remain in Shiraz, each in his house, as soon as they had all reached that town and taken the houses, while Fr. Manuel was to continue on his journey to the Indies and Fr. John return to Isfahan, whence shortly afterwards he would be again coming to Shiraz. "(11) . . ." (Imam Quli Khan later refused permission for the Augustinian Father to go on to Goa.) . . . "On the same day, the 20th, and the next, they stayed waiting for the person who was to accompany them. (12) On the 22nd they left the *urdu* of the Khan for Shiraz which they reached on Tuesday, the 1st August, in the morning. They were lodged in a house and garden at the entrance of the town, where the Khan, when he entered Shiraz after some absence, was wont to halt to receive visits or the triumphs paid to him, according to the circumstances. There they were at once visited by the Daruga, Bahram Baig, and assigned provisions for their table and victuals for the Fathers and the people with them: he also invited them to his house, where they went the following day and presented the letters given them by the Khan. At once the Daruga gave orders and a commission to the person who had accompanied the Fathers, to go with them through the town to see, in accordance with the Khan's orders, which of his houses pleased them: and the delegates executed the instructions with great zeal, especially in regard to our Fathers, as in addition to the orders from the Khan the Daruga had received letters from Imam Quli Baig and Mir Abul Husain recommending our Fathers. They were shown various houses in the town belonging to the Khan; but, not finding among them any which was suitable for us, they determined to look for one which they could purchase, in accordance with the orders given to Fr. John and his companion by the Fr. Prior of Isfahan. So they pressed the officials to allow them to do so, and to show them where to find one which they could buy. The Daruga put in their hands that in which we now are and which they came to inspect on the 3rd August: it was judged by the Fathers to be suitable for us. But, as a house had not been assigned for the Augustinian Fathers, our Fathers delayed betaking themselves to it and drawing up the contract for two days; however, seeing that nothing was settled about providing the Augustinian Fathers with a house, on the morning of the 5th August our Fathers resolved to transfer themselves from the place where they were lodged to the house in question. . . . "(14) On the 6th August Fr. John said the first Mass in the house in question, in the largest room in the house, which gives access to the garden: and it was given the title—church or House of the *holy Apostles Simon and Jude*. On the 9th August, as this house of ours and the garden belonged to minors, experts were called in to make a valuation of the house: and, the price and estimated value having been fixed by the experts at 60 Tumans, which make 600 'ori' (i.e. gold pieces, or 'krans') on the 12th August the deed of purchase of the house in question and garden at the price of 60 Tumans to be paid within a period of 6 months was executed. (15) Fr. Peter had been indisposed for many days past and with a fever, and on the 12th August his illness became more serious and, as he kept getting worse, and the tertian fever became continuous, on Friday the 25th August in the afternoon he passed away from this life, leaving the new plant of this mission edified by his good qualities and disconsolate at suffering so soon the loss of such a Father and Religious. "(16) Fr. John, by way of Basra, wrote to Fr. Basil of S. Francis to inform the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Leander of the Annunciation, who was in Goa, of the course of events, begging

"him for assistance to pay off the price of the house and for help to keep up this mission: "and, having also left men and orders in this House of Shiraz for certain things to be arranged, "departed for Isfahan on the 2nd September together with Fr. Manuel. . . ."

Fr. Dimas of the Cross and Brother Antony of S. Teresa were dispatched from Isfahan, and reached Shiraz 29.9.1623: they continued to arrange the house, and make it suitable for a dwelling for Religious. At the request of Imam Quli Khan Fr. Prosper asked Rome to send out for the 'University' at Shiraz copies of the Bible in Arabic, texts of Plato and Aristotle in Greek and Latin, as well as Arabic-Latin dictionaries (see his letter of 23.9.1623).

An earlier letter of Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, dated from Shiraz 18.6.1625, to the address of the Praepositus General, gives some additional and topographical details:

" . . . I am, then, in Shiraz in our House, which . . . in August 1623 . . . was taken "and bought *outside* the town, but very near to it, a very large place and convenient in "regard to its position and site, convenient for our purposes, both for people in the town "and for those who come and go from Isfahan to the House in Hurmuz. It is surrounded "by continuous walls, built after the fashion of the country. It has a very large garden "with many pomegranates, but a scarcity of water. It cost 60 Tumans, i.e. 600 pieces of "gold, and six months were stipulated as the term for payment. But, as money was not "forthcoming, it has not been possible to pay it off by money borrowed on interest by the "Fathers in Isfahan: at various times 26 Tumans of the price have been paid, 34 Tumans "remaining to be paid, which the creditor often demands of us. For this and other needs "it was that Fr. Prosper of the Holy Spirit left for Europe. If the" (mountain) "passes to "Hurmuz were to open, as they were before, I believe that to keep up this House our Superiors "would have much less trouble than over that at Isfahan, or any other they might take in "Persia. I am in this house now together with one Lay Brother, Fra Antony of S. Teresa, "and a small nephew of Signor Pietro della Valle, whom Frs. John and Dimas left here " . . . and with one local man belonging to the house from former times, who serves us by "going to the market. . . . Up to three months or so back there were crowds coming to "our house (and to that of the Augustinian Fathers where there is a Father of theirs)— "people coming for *tamasha*, as they say, i.e. sightseeing. But two or three months ago the "locum tenens of the Daruga, or governor, of Shiraz asked Frs. John and Dimas to be so good "as not to allow women of the country to enter our church: and a few days later they "proclaimed by public crier that no one was to go to our houses, for which reason the "attendance has greatly diminished, only some of the notables, who must have no fear of "the prohibition, coming sometimes. . . . There have been 8 baptized, two or three of "them Muslims, and the rest children of Christians. . . ."

Fr. Eusebius ab Omnibus Sanctis, in his *Hist. Missionum*,¹ asserts that the mission at Shiraz was a little outside the town, *on the road to Lar and Hurmuz*: this implies on the south-east of the town.

The cost of the premises proved a heavy burden. On 17.2.1624² Fr. Basil wrote from Basra:

"I have just received a letter from Fr. Dimas, who at present is in Shiraz, and he tells "me that the time is arriving by which they are obliged to pay for this house, which the "Fathers bought for 60 Tumans, and he finds himself in great straits, not having sufficient "even for food, and fearing to be taken to the courts of law. I am very sorry for him, and "for our honour I looked around for a loan of 250 piastres and having obtained them with "great difficulty dispatched them in addition to 20 piastres. . . . I do not know whence "they will find 60 Tumans, unless the Lord performs some miracle . . ."

¹ O.C.D. 285-6.

² *Idem*, 241 g.

and the Visitor General, Fr. Eugenius of S. Benedict, was writing to Rome from Basra on 16.1.1625:¹

"600 gold pieces was too large a price to pay for Shiraz, seeing the poverty of the missions. "They are now in debt for 130 Tumans = 1,300 gold pieces. . . ."

The statement of accounts the Visitor General recorded in the book of Visitation (O.C.D. 241 i.), dated Shiraz 20.5.1626 is interesting: it gives the "£ s. d." of that period, as used in accountancy, besides showing that a considerable sum of money was received and spent:

"From October 1623 to end of April 1626

"in all the receipts were:

'abbasi	shah	qasbak	ori	piastres
4,029	0	0	= 806 (less 1 'abbasi)	= 1,209

"spent on ordinary expenses:

3,744	1	7	= 748-4-1-7
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"There remained in the chest with

"3 keys

284	2	3
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("1 ori = 5 'abbasi = 1½ piastres and is therefore the modern 'qran').

"So, the balance remaining in the

"chest was equal to:

ori	'abbasi	shahi	qasbak
56	4	2	3
piastres			
85	1	1	8"

"or to

However, in April 1625 Fr. Basil was more hopeful:²

"Fr. John Thaddeus left for Masqat to find some money, both on loan and as alms, on "account of the urgent needs in which they stand because of the house at Shiraz. . . . Now "our Fathers in Persia will be a little eased, since Fra Elisaeus arrived with some assistance, "which I think came to 500 gold pieces, and from here the Fr. Visitor General sent 300 "piastres, and in addition they are sending from Goa by this Lay Brother almost 400 "piastres, and I, out of the little or nothing I have, sent 50 piastres; but, with all this, I "think they will still remain in debt for more or less the half. . . ."

On 6.11.1626 Fr. Basil was still actively helping:³

". . . I sent 7 Tumans last month to Persia, and now with another four or five I am "sending by this Lay Brother. . . ."

A legacy helped, as Fr. Basil mentioned in a letter of 26.2.1628:⁴

". . . A Genoese, by name Guillelmo Magno,⁵ who last year died on the road here, left "to our Convent of Goa 2,000 serafini, and with that the reverend Fr. Vicar Provincial "did not forget Persia, for he dispatched a good sum in aid by way of Basra, and so (in "Persia) at present they are considerably relieved. . . ."

In February 1631 there were three priests and a lay brother of the Order resident at Shiraz.⁶ In 1627 a Portuguese, Blaise Carvalho, who had left Basra for Masqat, was wrecked on the Persian coast: arrested and brought to Shiraz he was offered his life on condition that he became a Muslim. On his refusal, by orders of Imam Quli Khan he was beheaded: Fr. Dominic of S. Mary had fortified him before death, and after the execution obtained the body

¹ O.C.D. 242 i. ², ³ and ⁴ *Idem*, 241 g. ⁵ Called Cavallini elsewhere. ⁶ Fr. Dimas, 14.1.1631, O.C.D. 237 b.

and buried it in the church as that of a martyr, preserving the bloodstained clothing.¹ While Fr. Dominic of S. Mary was temporarily away from Shiraz at Basra Lay Brother Antony of S. Teresa, already mentioned, was left in charge:

“as he was somewhat of an adept at painting he did some pictures” (i.e. frescoes on the walls of the church) “of the Four Last Things,”

and he died there, of fever and alone, 7.11.1628.²

Of those frescoes the compiler of *Hist. Miss.*, Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanctis obtained the following detail³ from some original source, which is not now to be traced. Speaking of the period when Fr. Dimas was in charge at Shiraz, September 1623–April 1625:

“... With the common people Fr. Dimas made headway: they began to visit the church “... some came out of devotion to an image of Our Lady, others out of curiosity, to see “and hear novelties. They prostrated themselves on entering the church, and left it walking “backwards, so as not to turn their backs to the altar. They stopped to gaze at the façade, “which had been painted with fresco representations of the Last Day: Death: Judgment: “and Hell: and, hearing from Fr. Dimas the meaning of what was depicted, they went away “expressing an intention to change their manner of life. It became a common term to say “that they were going to the church for *ziarat*” (that is the word used in Persia for pilgrimages to tombs of the Shiah Imams, and their descendants) “and homage to Jesus and “Mary. . . . Some from afar used to make obeisance towards the church, others took “candles, oil and money to offer for use in it. . . .”

Even when the debt on the purchase price was finally liquidated it was a constant complaint that the House at Shiraz cost as much to maintain as did the Convent at Isfahan. Two items of accounts preserved show that in 1629

“in the Convent at Isfahan and House at Shiraz there are annually expended for the “subsistence of the Religious and the servants of each House 50 Tumans, which make 750 “Spanish reals or pieces of eight . . .”;

and the Order in Rome decided that the hospice had better be closed (see *Regesta*, vol. II, p. 47, on 8.1.1630). On 24.10.1631 Fr. Dimas informed the Praepositus General:⁴

“... With regard to the order that the House at Shiraz should be abandoned I am “endeavouring to execute it, as far as I can: nor do I think that in any other method it will “be possible to settle the matter, unless the Augustinian Fathers purchase it: for a long “time past they have been seeking to found” (a mission) “in that town, but hitherto the “Khan has not allowed them to have a house of their own. Meanwhile we are continuing “to negotiate with the Augustinian Fathers. . . . The Religious, both at Isfahan and Shiraz, “are hurt at having to abandon that foundation for the reasons stated in the enclosed . . .” (one of these was that it had cost 900 scudi and more in arranging it, and the money had been provided by the Convent at Isfahan).

One of the Religious at Isfahan expressed his disagreement with the closure of the mission at Shiraz in the following terms:⁵

“With regard to the House at Shiraz I shall say only . . . that those who for many years “regarded it as an experiment deem it the most necessary of all (posts of) this mission . . .

¹ *S.R.*, vol. 209, letter of 2.10.1627, and *Voyages* of Fr. Philip of the Most Holy Trinity, published at Lyons, 1669.

² Fr. Dimas, 15.10.1628, *O.C.D.* 237 b.

⁴ *O.C.D.* 237 b.

³ *MSS.*, *O.C.D.* 285–6, part 2, book 4, chap. 23.

⁵ Fr. Balthazar of S. Mary, 24.6.1631, *O.C.D.* 236 k.

"because . . . it can become with time of great help and, should one day relations and commerce between Portugal and the Persians open out (as already there is some promise), that House alone might greatly assist the others: and, although we admit that in the past it has been somewhat burdensome . . . for a long time now the mission has been free from debt and fresh debts have not been contracted: and the *Khan of Shiraz 2 years ago* ordered his officials to provide whatever was needed in the House for the victuals of the Religious. This Khan" (Imam Quli Khan was meant) "is . . . a prince greatly esteemed and of great authority in the whole kingdom, and by commission of the late king is to govern for the new king for some years, and does so to the satisfaction of all. The new king treats him as if he were his father, and calls him by that name. . . . The Khan or prince in question has always shown and shows himself very kindly and benevolent towards us. He has granted us privileges, and honours in his jurisdiction, and we expect more from him, as they are needed there. Father, Shiraz is a town of great abundance, much cheaper than Isfahan, where ordinarily things are very dear, sometimes extremely so. . . . It is near the sea, and from the House at Shiraz this one at Isfahan is constantly supplied with fish and other things. . . ."

Not only did Imam Quli Khan protect and help materially the Carmelites, but, according to the historian Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanctis,¹ quoting a source not now to be traced:

"The steward of the Prince, as long as the latter was alive, always kept up on the same level his kindness towards us and *obtained for our church from the Khan the bell taken away from that at Hurmuz. . . .*"

Between August and November 1631 Fr. John Antony, by orders, left the hospice, and proceeded to Basra (it was this Religious who shed² light on the life of austerity and mortification his predecessor, Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, had been leading at Shiraz:

'his continuous occupation in divine contemplation in this our desert hermitage of the holy apostles Simon and Jude . . . these are saints . . . to remain at Shiraz alone for six years without anyone else at all . . . having for his cell a hole, which, as my own eyes have seen, was not large enough to take his body . . .')

Five years and more after the accession of Shah Safi the Vicar Provincial was remarking in a letter of 31.10.1634:³

"As the king has been far away from Isfahan for the past two years, no attempt has been made to have a new licence and 'beneplacet' for our establishment in Shiraz, although it seems to me unnecessary at present, since we possess our own House there, and Christians are permanently residing in it on our behalf.⁴ I am thinking of going to Shiraz in another ten days' time and seeing how things are going on there, I shall give orders for Religious to come . . ."

Among the 'Instructions' given by the Definitory General in Rome to the Visitor General, Fr. James of S. Teresa, in 1634 was one that the mission at Shiraz should be reopened:⁵ and it was reopened actually in advance of the Vicar Provincial's arrival on 22.11.1634:

"We have found the house in various parts about to collapse in ruin, on account of the long absence of our Fathers and, if we had not come this year to re-inhabit it, the damage

¹ MSS. *Hist. Miss.*, O.C.D. 285-6, vol. V, chap. 28. ² 1.8.1631, O.C.D. 236 b. ³ Fr. Dimas, O.C.D. 237 b.

⁴ An additional reason was given in Fr. Dimas' letter of 20.5.1634 (O.C.D. 237 b.): "for want of salary for the Religious and for other reasons hitherto no return has been made to Shiraz. . . ."

⁵ O.C.D. 236 a.

"would have been greater, a matter of importance seeing that it is a very good house and
"our Order spent on it more than 1,000 piastres. . . ."¹

Fr. Ignatius was Vicar there till 1641: in 1636

"with two companions some time ago (he) went to explore a certain district where there
"are many hamlets of Circassians by race, slaves of the Crown, who for some time past have
"expressed a desire to be helped spiritually, but out of fear do not dare to have much
"communication with us . . .",

though he was writing the same year (2.12.1636), referring to Imam Quli Khan and his family
having been put to death by Shah Safi:

"As regards the hospice which we have in Shiraz, since the 'Prince' of that province
"has been removed, who was very kind to us and gave monetary assistance to the Religious
"dwelling at that hospice, things have much changed and the Religious suffer greatly,
"for which reason they remain there with small goodwill . . .";

and again on 7.11.1636 he stated:

" . . . The spiritual profit made . . . is very small, because here there are *no* Christians,
"and the Muslims, who are really converted with an unfeigned conversion, are very rare.
" . . . Besides, a large sum of money has to be spent on the upkeep of this house, and at
"present the financial help which comes from India is very small. . . . Since the death of
"the Khan this town is half ruined, living is dear and the people do not pay us respect,
"as they used to do; which I experienced some days ago in an unjust claim made against us
"over this House of ours, when it was necessary to pay almost 100 piastres in order not to be
"ejected from it. . . ."

In 1638, in addition to the Vicar, there were three other Religious resident at Shiraz.²
In April 1641, at the time of the election of a Procurator to attend the Chapter General in
Rome, there were no less than ten Religious gathered at Shiraz:³

"The Visitor General having signified to me that the Congress should be held in this
"Residence of Shiraz, and truly it is a much more convenient place than the house at
"Basra",

wrote Fr. Dominic of Christ on 11.4.1641, adding that he had good relations with "the English
gentlemen" (i.e. of the East India Company), and went to give them greeting at Christmas;
but, setting off for Goa in the heat of summer this Vicar Provincial was taken by fever and,
turning back to Shiraz, died there in July of that year.

By abrupt contrast however, from the spring of 1644 the Residence was without any
Religious at all:

"It is more than a year that that House is uninhabited, and entrusted to an Armenian.
"So it is likely before long to be damaged by weather. In the ten years I have been"
(i.e. in the missions), "I have seen nothing but discontent of the Religious over it: heavy
"expenses and no profit from the care of souls. . . . Besides, every autumn all the sick are
"wont to be dumped there.⁴ The expense is on account of the great frequency of guests,

¹ Fr. Ignatius, Shiraz, 19.12.1634, O.C.D. 238 r. ² Fr. Dimas, 1.1.1638. ³ Fr. Ignatius, 21.5.1641, O.C.D. 238 r.

⁴ Compare *The East India Company's Factory Records*, edited by Sir W. Foster:

25.1.1661. Agent Buckridge from Gāmburūn to the Company. . . . "By reason of the sickness and mortalitie of
"all your factors in Persia I could not leave the place. . . . Peter Samways arrived at Siraz though sick and weake, soe
"that I was forced to leave him there with the Padrys Carmelaets, by whose care he was recovered, but fell againe into
"a relapse by eating of fruit, and dyed on the 30th of August."

"who are wont to seek our hospitality, as Shiraz is on the road from India, the Persian ports
 "and Basra. There is not a single Catholic soul in all Shiraz, and no Christian except
 "for 4 or 5 Armenians who go there to sell cloth, and make wine, leaving their families in
 "Isfahan . . ."¹

see Fr. Dionysius of the Crown of Thorns, writing on 8.5.1645 from Isfahan.²

Lay Brother Angelo, sent to Shiraz to report on repairs needed, stated, 11.7.1646:³

"the expenditure to save this House would cost 9,800 'abbasi".⁴

The Vicar Provincial, Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, writing from Isfahan 8.5.1645 to the Praepositus General in Rome, had already asserted that it was impossible to meet expenses in repairs and upkeep of the House at Shiraz, in view of the great straits of the missionaries at Isfahan, where they were in debt, and owing interest on loans. From Baghdad, on his way out to the East as Visitor General, Fr. Stephen of Jesus, 3.11.1646,⁵ wrote to the Praepositus General:

"Further . . . it is necessary to found a House in Baghdad for the good, both of souls,
 "and . . ., as I considered it needful, to that end *I have ordered Isfahan to sell the rest of the*
"House at Shiraz, and let the proceeds together with the fittings of that house remain in
 "deposit, destined for this founding at Baghdad, for (being in charge of) which all the
 "Christians are calling for and desiring Fr. Basil. . . . I think that on my return from India
 "to make a visitation at Isfahan I shall found the establishment in question."

On 28.5.1649⁶ the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas, newly arrived from Europe, replied to injunctions from Rome:

"After my letter had been written there arrived one, very ancient in date, from Your
 "Reverence addressed to Fr. Dionysius, in which Your Reverence in the name of our Father
 "General admonishes us that in no wise should the Residence at Shiraz be abandoned.
 "To this I say that, before I arrived, by order of the Father Visitor, Shiraz had already in
 "fact been abandoned, the furniture taken elsewhere, nor did there remain anything except
 "*the dwelling-house with a small house and courtyard. The large garden with the other build-*
ings had previously been sold piecemeal. The cause of the abandonment, as I have understood,
 "was because the said Fr. Visitor intended to found a House in Baghdad, and to transfer
 "there the furniture of Shiraz. I wrote my view about this to our Father General, viz. the
 "Residence in Shiraz was unhealthy, burdened with many guests both Religious and lay-
 "men; providing for its victualling after our custom was extremely difficult, since water
 "could only be had with great labour or by buying it, and fish was never obtainable,⁷
 "and moreover the restoration of the house and of the church, which had collapsed, the
 "transfer of the furniture and, in short, dwelling there was utterly beyond our present
 "capacity and means. All that is possible to be done now is to retain and preserve the
 "church, and to send twice or thrice a year one or another to attend for the time being to
 "the few Christians there. . . ."

That clear, businesslike statement of the Dutch Vicar Provincial makes it clear that, sometime between 1642 and 1649 presumably, the Fathers had sold the large garden bought by Fr. John Thaddeus in 1623, full of pomegranate trees (which make Shiraz so green in summer, such a wealth of colour in autumn), and reduced the premises of the Mission to a narrow extent. The *Regesta* record, vol. IV, p. 257, on 9.6.1650:

¹ So there was no Armenian resident colony in 1645! Up till 1925 the few Zoroastrians trading in Shiraz had the same habit of leaving their families in Yazd and doing 2 or 3 years' temporary delegation in Shiraz for their business associates, afterwards returning to Yazd.

² O.C.D. 237 c.

⁶ *Idem*, 237 g.

³ *Idem*, 236 b.

⁴ = 2,800 piastres.

⁷ Discalced Carmelites are not allowed meat by their Rule.

⁵ O.C.D. 238 c.

"the abandonment of the Residence at Shiraz in Persia is approved, and sanction given
"to the Fr. Vicar Provincial to make a new foundation at Kung, which is a seaport between
"Isfahan and the Indies and also to make another Residence or Hospice in the town of
"Julfa near Isfahan. . . ."

Within a matter of five years the position had changed—for one thing the possibility of being ousted by another Order had impelled Fr. Dionysius and the others to put a Religious at Shiraz once more:

" . . . Before there came the news of the election of our Father Vicar Provincial" (i.e. Fr. Felix of S. Antony, in succession to Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas) "the Fathers at Isfahan
"had judged that at least one Religious ought to be posted there" (i.e. at Shiraz) "until
"Your Reverences, to whom they had already written, gave orders as to what might seem
"best to you in this connection; because, as those two families of Catholic (Frank) Christians
"dwelling there were bringing as much pressure as possible to have a Religious there, the
"Capuchin Fathers let our own know that, should we not send a Religious there, they would
"do so: and so one was sent there—for the present Fr. Peter. . . ."¹

For the ten years 1644–54, therefore, the House at Shiraz had no resident Carmelite Father. In December of 1654 the new Vicar Provincial made his own desires clear to Rome:

" . . . so that in all Persia we remain with one House only—at Isfahan. . . . Our Religious
"want" (the reopening of) "the House so as to have 'casa propria che non habbiano in
"Aspaam' —to own the house in which they live—as they do not do in Isfahan. . . ."²

While Fr. Dionysius, so many years resident in Isfahan, deemed Shiraz troublesome and useless as a mission post, Fr. Felix preferred Shiraz to Isfahan and, beginning to reside there in November 1655, made it his headquarters for twenty years until his departure from Persia in 1675, leaving it only for brief visitations of other posts: and, as for the first seven years of the period he was Vicar Provincial, and 'Substitute Vicar Provincial' between 1668–70, he was in a position to make his choice. *In 1656 he sold what remained of the premises acquired in 1623 and erected another Residence some distance away—to the displeasure of the senior Religious in Isfahan, who set store by the historic connection of the first site.*

" . . . For the good of the Mission I protest to Your Reverence . . . that our ancient
"House at Shiraz should not be sold and, should we have to stay there, let it be in the same
"house, turning out the laymen who are making wine there; because it is a House well
"known in the past for having a church, and for which we have our royal privileges . . ."³

and Fr. Dionysius of the Crown of Thorns, on 3.1.1657,⁴ gave further details when registering his own emphatic, conservative disapproval:

" . . . Fr. Felix, having obtained permission to resume" (missionary work at) "the
"Residence in Shiraz, has left our own House in the hands of laymen, *and built another*,
"to the discontent of all the Religious in this House" (Isfahan). "True it is that the Vicar
"Provincial says that it has been 'a bargain', but he is the only one to be satisfied with the
"new building. This" (the new house) "*is near the garden of the Khan*, which is beside our
"first House. . . ."

" . . . There were in past years two Catholic Europeans there who asked for a Religious
"to be stationed at Shiraz, promising to provide for his maintenance; but both are now
"dead, so that the Fathers in Shiraz live at their own expense. . . . Last week I received

¹ Fr. Dionysius of the Crown of Thorns, 27.3.1654, O.C.D. 242 c.

² Fr. Felix of S. Antony, 30.12.1654, O.C.D. 237 i.

³ Fr. Stephen, 12.3.1655, Basra, O.C.D. 241 p.

⁴ O.C.D. 237 c.

"a letter from our Fr. Vicar Provincial, who in November last returned to Shiraz and found that the river in an exceptional inundation had ruined a considerable part of the wall surrounding the courtyard of our first House, where the laymen were living, and so he" (the Vicar Provincial) "ordered me to propose in chapter to sell it. The Fathers, however, excused themselves, saying that they did not know whether they had authority to do so. . . . The price at which the Vicar Provincial would sell the house in Shiraz is 8 to 9 Tumans."¹

Maria Rosa, who in her childhood had been known as Ismikhan Gioerida, the little sister of the first wife of Pietro della Valle for whom he had such affection at Isfahan as related in his letters, in after life married in succession three "director generals" of the Dutch East India Company in Persia, settled at Shiraz, and on 22.5.1666 made over by document a gift of 200 Tumans to the Carmelite Fathers there, with the proviso that they, whose predecessors in the Mission had educated her and always aided her, should say one Mass daily in perpetuity for her soul and the souls of her relatives, the money to be placed out at interest, and the interest used by the Fathers for the upkeep of that Residence.² In a letter of 30th July 1671 Fr. Felix referred to her money—he called the sum 400 Tumans—being at Isfahan, and asked what interest it was producing. A later Visitor Provincial in 1701 found that the Fathers had used the capital on building and repairs and ordered that Masses be still said for her soul both in Shiraz and Isfahan. She was still alive in November 1672.³

In the first week of April 1656 Fr. Athanasius was sent from Isfahan to be Vicar (Fr. Blaise having been transferred to Basra) and he remained there till the summer of 1661, when elected Prior of Isfahan. By 1665 he was back in Shiraz, for the French traveller, Daulier Deslandes, in his published description of his journey to Persia mentions Fr. Athanasius as Superior there. From 1667 at intervals he was absent at Bandar 'Abbas till 1675, when once more elected Prior of Isfahan. Finally, on 30.9.1684 he left Isfahan for Shiraz, where he arrived 12.10.1684, once more appointed Vicar, and there probably he died. Other Religious resident at this period were: Fr. Blaise 1653–6; Fr. Barnabas of S. Charles, who died at Shiraz, in 1667 probably; Fr. Angelus, 1669–70; Fr. Severin, 1668; Fr. Maximin, 1654–5; Fr. Celsus, 1675–82, who died in this last year, when travelling near Shiraz. Fr. Felix, so long acquainted with the country and respected, had left: and Fr. Celsus was fresh and no linguist and inexpert in dealing with the advantage taken by ill-disposed officials, and persons:

"Our Fr. Prior," he wrote on 15.12.1675,⁴ "will inform Your Reverence through what travail we are passing, and how they put me in prison, making me pay 2 Tumans: and "in order to escape being put in chains and the rest two" (more?) "Tumans had to be expended . . . tells me to write to Your Reverence to obtain a copy of our 'farman', "and send it . . ." (He alludes to some native Christians having also been fined heavily, or imprisoned, or as having removed elsewhere.) ". . . for fear of this miserable people, the "persecution is being fomented ever more. . . ."

In antithesis to the satisfaction of the Carmelites in the 1650's at the greater security of tenure possessed in their House at Shiraz than in that of the Convent, Isfahan, it would appear

¹ The premises were bought for 60 Tumans: allowing for much having been previously sold we may surmise that either prices of house property had fallen since Shah 'Abbas' reign, or a bad bargain was being made. Sudden, heavy rains or the rapid melting of snow on the mountains every few years still cause the dry river-bed to become a raging torrent and damage houses and walls (with loss of life), but this damage occurs on the ENE. face of the town, *not* on the south-west side, i.e. in the direction of the road to Lar and Hurmuz, where the first Residence is stated to have been outside the town of that day. The explanation may be, as one remembers hearing, that the river-bed has altered in the past century or so. The extensive realignment of Shiraz by Karim Khan Zand in the 1760's, when he built his great Arg or citadel, and the earthquake of the 1790's, make identification of the "garden of the Khan", i.e. Imam Quli Khan, difficult.

² See O.C.D. 238, and S.R., vol. 446, p. 248, letter of a Capuchin from Georgia, 2.11.1672, and *vide* Fr. Angelus, Isfahan, 20.3.1671 (O.C.D. 236 i.).

³ . . . the pious gift of the Signora Ismikhan, who is in Shiraz. This donation is earmarked for the House at Shiraz, "with the obligation of Masses being said in perpetuity. . . ."

⁴ Fr. Felix, in a letter of that date.

⁴ O.C.D. 238 i.

that by the 1670's they had lost their title-deeds (or in the case of the new building of Fr. Felix perhaps such had never existed) and permits to reside at Shiraz as accorded in 1623, and the confirmation by Shah Safi:

"If he" (i.e. Monsieur Baron, Directeur-General de la Compagnie Royale de France) "could obtain some letter of recommendation from the Emperor and king of Poland to the 'king of Persia, just now we have need of it, since the Fathers at Shiraz are living there 'without any documents and without the king's permit, either because the documents 'have been lost, or because none ever existed: and, now that the 'chief prince'" (scilicet, minister) "of the kingdom is so little disposed towards the 'Franks', they might do harm to 'us. When at other times we have wanted such, or similar documents, this has only been 'done by means of letters commendatory,"

so wrote on 21.3.1678¹ Fr. John Baptist of S. Joseph, who having come from Europe as Visitor General remained as Vicar Provincial and died at Shiraz in 1681. His letter of 15.8.1678 referred to the scarcity of foodstuffs, and to both that mission and the one at Basra being totally unprovided with funds, so that loans had had to be obtained.

Fr. Amadeus of the Most Holy Trinity died at Shiraz in 1695, Fr. Bruno of Blessed John of the Cross in 1698. From 1675 till 1679 and perhaps later—again from 1693 till the end of the century or later Fr. Ladislav of S. George was at Shiraz, where he resided "for a long span": according to one Religious who travelled through it in 1701,²

"in Shiraz there are two missionaries preaching every Sunday in Persian,"

although he added—it does not tally with the details noticed by members of the Order resident there—

"Formerly there were many Christians, but now on account of the bad climate many 'have gone elsewhere. However, there is no lack of Georgian, Arab and Armenian 'traders who come to church—most of the Christians are of Syrian birth. . . ."

According to the detailed account of *The State of the Missions of the Discalced Carmelites of Persia*, referring to the year 1702:³

"In Shiraz there are also two missionaries only, but on account of the few Christians 'there nothing else is done but preaching every Sunday and, when there is a missionary 'versed in medicine, he utilizes the opportunity frequently to baptize the dying children 'of infidels. . . ."

Fr. Felix of S. Joseph was serving at Shiraz in 1707; Fr. Basil of S. Charles in January 1710 wrote a letter from there. Two more Religious died there in 1712 and 1715 in the persons of Frs. Columban of S. Monica and Raymond of S. Michael: in 1717 Fr. Cyril of the Visitation began his twenty years' uninterrupted service of Vicar. Owing to their annual allowances from Rome not reaching them for several years at a time at this period the Fathers were often in straits:

"It is now two years that I have been unable to send money to our Residences at Basra 'and Shiraz, and in order to get their living, the Father at Shiraz has taken money on 'loan, and made a quantity of wine, which the consul for France and the Portuguese agent 'have bought, and with the profits made the Vicar" (this was Fr. Cyril) "has kept himself

¹ O.C.D. 242 a.

² Lay Brother Francis Mary of S. Sirus.

³ S.N.R., II, p. 291.

"and his companion" (this was Fr. Antony Francis) "and has repaired the house which
"was about to collapse. . . ."¹

Already in 1724 the Carmelites there were suffering from the lawlessness:

" . . . I think you will have already learnt also of the sufferings of our Fathers at Shiraz,
"who besides having been ill-treated, beaten, the Fr. Vicar put in prison and released not
"without payment of money, have been stripped even to their habits and their shirts:
"and the poor Vicar was obliged to submit to losing a certain sum deposited in their house,
"about 6 Tumans: and now I gather he has fever, but with all that practises surgery in
"order to get a living. . . ."²

In July 1726 a letter from Basra informed the Praepositus General in Rome:

" . . . From Shiraz we have letters (saying) that they are in great straits and much misery,
"and this will not end yet: at present Fr. Cyril and Fr. Antony Francis are both plunged in
"debts and misery. . . ."³

Worse was to come: with, as one immediate result of the Afghan invasion of 1722, the total cessation of communications between central Persia and Europe and of any remittance of funds from Rome reaching the missionaries for six or seven years, the aftermath of the invasion—the Afghan retirement on Shiraz in 1729 and pursuit by Quli Khan (afterwards Nadir Shah)—inflicted much damage on the town, suffering on its inhabitants, including the Carmelites. The East India Company's diary for Gāmburū⁴ supplies some light as to the conditions under date Wednesday, 3rd December 1729:

" . . . Our Linguist⁵ received a letter from his Wakil⁶ at Shyrash, wherein he acquaints
"him that on hearing of the Persian victory at Spahaun those of that nation in Shyrash
"attackt the Ophgoons and the engagement lasted from Sunday noon, the 9th November,
"till the next daybreak when the Ophgoons, getting the better, cut off all the Persians,
"plunder'd and burnt that city and retired into the Castle, and two days afterwards on
"receipt of some news from Spahaun kill'd all the Bannians.⁷ . . . On their leaving the
"house our people and the remaining Armenians, who were not murdered, retired to the
"hills stark naked, having before been stript by the Ophgoons, and in the night time, come
"down to the adjacent villages to get victuals. The *shatirs* hear that Shaw Hoshroff"
(Shah Ashraf) "was arrived in Shyrash and intends to set out for Kandahar with all his
"force, about 2,000 men, by way of Kirman. . . . The Deputy Governor, an Ophgoon,
"came to our house, beat the Linguist's Wakil, threatened to murder him, kill'd two of
"his servants and plunder'd the house of some sugar. . . . *Tuesday, 30th December 1729.*
"The Ophgoons, having marched off last night towards Lhar" (i.e. Lar). "*. . . Friday,*
"*16th January 1729-30.* An Armenian, who was made a slave by the Ophgoons
"in Shyrash and ran away from them, arrived here this morning and confirmed all
"we heard beforehand of the massacre committed in that city. . . . *16th February,*
"*1729-30.* The *shatirs*" (i.e. couriers) "returned this afternoon with news from Tahmasp
"Quli Khan advising that he beat the Ophgoons twice near Shyrash and killed
"2,000. . . ."

Bishop Barnabas Fedeli, O.P., in his projected journey *ad limina*, wrote from the capital of Fars, 6.6.1730:⁸

¹ Fr. Faustin of S. Charles, 26.5.1721, O.C.D. 238 g.

² Fr. Philip Augustine, 17.11.1724, Julfa, O.C.D. 238 u.

³ Fr. Placid of S. Nicolas, 25.7.1726, O.C.D. 242 b.

⁴ India Office archives, London.

⁵ = 'Munshi' or 'mirza' or 'dragoman' in modern parlance.

⁶ = Agent in the Persian language.

⁷ Term used for Indian traders.

⁸ *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 539.

“this mission, which formerly had such a name, since the coming of the Afghans and still
“more so since the return of the Persians is totally destroyed, both materially and spiritually;
“because there are no more than two or three Catholics passing through; and the church,
“as in fact the whole house, is in ruins, so that it can truly be said—‘*non remansit lapis super*
“*lapidem*—not one stone remained standing on another’, because *all that is to be seen is a*
“*heap of mud turned to dust*; and it is the greatest pain to behold it. . .”

Perhaps it was during one of those periods of attack, or by a collapse of the fabric from heavy snow and rain following years of neglect (through lack of money reaching the missionaries) to effect the repairs to roofs and walls of dried mud-bricks common in that part of Persia that Fr. Antony Francis of S. Joseph perished, as recorded in the *Necrology* of the Province of Lombardy:

“ . . . Having been intrepid and constant in the midst of the frightful, bloody revolutions
“in the kingdom of Persia, in the month of December 1728 to his great glory and merit he
“remained buried beneath the ruins of his Residence . . . ”

In any case, while Bishop Fedeli, O.P., was staying at Shiraz, only the Vicar, Fr. Cyril of the Visitation, could have been there:

“ . . . Meanwhile I shall comfort the Carmelite Father” (i.e. with his company), “and,
“should any benefactor pass by on his way to India, we shall endeavour little by little to
“repair the lamentable ruins in which lie his church and House. . . .”¹

A few months later Bishop Barnabas Fedeli finished his earthly existence, and was buried by the Vicar in the *church which he had “restored anew”*.² They repaired in vain.

“Tahmasp Quli Khan had been obliged to break off the siege of Baghdad; because of
“the revolt in central Persia he had gone to Shiraz and, although it was Ramazan, i.e. their
“fasting-time, he gave permission to his whole force to drink” (wine) “and, as it numbered
“some 90,000 men, they emptied all the canteens” (i.e. wine stores) “in a very few days.
“Our House was not exempt from the insolence of the soldiery, because it was partially
“sacked, and our Fathers very badly handled . . .”³

In 1737 the Vicar, Fr. Cyril of the Visitation, had been to Bandar 'Abbas to collect funds in alms, and on his return journey, sick with malignant fever, died about April—at Jahrum perhaps—misspelling of the name makes the place uncertain. His companion in the Residence at Shiraz, Fr. Joseph Dominic of S. Rose,

“*the last missionary at Shiraz*, troubled by constant exactions levied by Persians and Armenians
“was compelled at length to *abandon that Residence*, . . .”

arriving in Basra some time in 1738, according to the *Cont. Basra Chron.* After this mission ended, the remaining references to the house and site are few. On 20.3.1758, writing from Basra to the Secretary of the Sac. Congregation, Rome, Fr. Clement of the Annunciation mentioned that, having been dispatched in 1756 from Europe by order of the Praepositus General to proceed to the mission at Shiraz in Persia, he had found the business impossible, both because of the state of warfare still prevailing in those regions as also because, *together with the House of the mission, the town of Shiraz had been demolished, destroyed and completely depopulated*, and was empty of Christians.⁴

¹ S.N.R., IV, p. 542, letter of 22.9.1730 from Shiraz.

² Fr. Archangelus, O.P., Julla, 4.3.1731, S.R., vol. 670, p. 347.

³ Fr. Emmanuel, Aleppo, undated, but after May 1734, in S.N.R., IV, p. 359

⁴ S.N.R., VI, on 20.3.1758.

It is worth note that by 2.5.1765 Bishop Cornelius was reporting to Rome that there existed

“an Armenian heretical” (i.e. schismatic) “church at Shiraz, together with some Armenians, and a priest, but without a single Catholic. . . .”¹

This must be the predecessor of the existing Armenian schismatic church in the Darwazeh Bagh-i-Shah quarter, which was built about 1810 and contains more than one memorial tablet to English who died in Shiraz early in that century.

1738 was not the last occasion in that century of a Carmelite Religious being at Shiraz. In conformity with the wish of the Sacr. Congregation in Rome for the missionaries to reopen the hospices and Residences at Julfa, and for the Bishop of Isfahan himself to enter into residence there, Bishop Cornelius wrote in 1766:

“I profited by the journey of an English gentleman to Shiraz to see Karim Khan *to send there the Father, my companion*” (i.e. Fr. Antony Marian of S. Joseph) “in order to obtain from the said Karim Khan an assurance that I should not be molested by the Armenians. The business resulted, however, just the contrary to my hope, because . . . not only he” (i.e. Karim Khan Zand) “would not give audience to the English envoy, but he refused to receive his representations and petitions, so that he was obliged to *return with the Padre to Bushire* without having obtained anything. . . .”²

The report of the Bishop on the ‘State of Persia and the Missions’ made to the Sacr. Congregation in December 1772³ reveals one reason why today the site of the Residence cannot be identified:

“. . . The third Residence to be attempted should be in Shiraz, a town which now can count itself the chiefest in the kingdom because of the present usurper, Karim Khan, having fixed in it his royal capital. Our Fathers years ago had there a fine hospice, but *in the narrowing*” (i.e. of the limits) “*of the town*, which was later effected, *that House of ours was razed down to its foundations.* . . .”

It is known that the present ‘Arg’, or citadel, of Shiraz, which is the principal edifice of the town and has been the seat of the provincial government of Fars ever since, was erected in the reign of Karim Khan Zand: and it has on one side a considerable garden. From this quotation it is evident that, in the planning and construction of this and the town moat, the area of Shiraz, following the destruction and depopulation during the period of the Afghan wars, needed to be greatly diminished—as was done at Isfahan on a larger scale under Shah Ashraf the Afghan—and that many buildings, including the deserted and ruined Carmelite Residence and church were levelled during the work.

Bishop Cornelius of S. Joseph continued in his report of 1772:

“. . . In place of that foundation they would easily be able to obtain” (permission) “to dwell in the Factory which the English had there, with Alexander, the Prince of Georgia, who calls himself a Catholic and in fact is wont to show all Catholic travellers special help in their needs. And, although it is true that very few Catholics live at Shiraz, those who pass by there are many in number, both because of trade and on account of their employment or interest with the Court, besides which it will be always well for one of the missionaries permanently to be near the Prince Regent, so as to be able to take any steps which

¹ S.N.R., VII, p. 358.

² *Idem*, 11.3.1766.

³ *Idem*, VIII, p. 6.

“may become necessary for the welfare and preservation of the other missions against the
“attempts which often the heretical Armenians, our enemies, are wont to make against
“the missionaries. . . .”

Briefly, therefore, the Discalced Carmelites had a hospice and Residence at Shiraz from 6th August, 1623 till 1738—some 115 years—with Religious in regular residence except for the two periods August 1631–November 1634 and from early 1644 to March 1654, i.e. some 13 years out of those 115 years. The first, and more spacious, site was used for 33 years, the second for 82 years.

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THE RESIDENCE AT JULFA

JULFA is a suburb of Isfahan, but on the other and southern side of the river, Zayandeh Rud, crossed by an ancient bridge, and formerly was relatively distant and separate from the capital—some 2 miles away. The name is derived from that other Julfa on the river Aras (Araxes) now the frontier with Russian territory: in the first years of the seventeenth century a flourishing centre of the Armenians, after his campaign in Greater Armenia and Shirwan in 1604 Shah 'Abbas I had transplanted from it the pick of the Armenian families with all their possessions.

“The king ordered all the irrigation channels to be cut, the land without water became ‘sterile, and the inhabitants had to emigrate. They were 160,000.’”¹

The new township outside Isfahan rose from nothing, so to speak, and was created by 'Abbas I as the exclusive residential centre for his Christian subjects, the Armenians predominating (Isfahan remaining for the Muslims). Until 1915, and perhaps later, it still had its town gates and lived its life apart for the most part from that of Isfahan. These Armenians, so-called ‘Gregorian’ schismatics almost all of them at that period, soon had churches built and a monastery: from various references to them in letters of the Carmelites, it would appear that relations were cordial till 1640 or later—so long as the latter and other Catholic Religious remained and worked in Isfahan, at a distance and among the Muslims, Syrians, Georgians and others. Between 1605 and 1635 there had been intermittent discussion, in which Rome was directly interested, about reunion. It was during the time of Fr. Dimas that the Carmelite mission in Isfahan began to focus its attention on the Armenians in Julfa and leave its original quarry, the Muslims: by about 1640 some of the missionaries had evidently begun to concentrate on the idea of a mission to the Armenian schismatics and through friendly individuals in Julfa to plant a House there. The first discussion of the problem—how to obtain permission to reside there, for the Armenians were jealous of their exclusive right by ‘farman’ from the king—appears in the following letter of Fr. Dionysius of the Crown of Thorns, Isfahan, 16.11.1642:²

(As to Julfa) “I shall say that much fruit is to be hoped from it; but the means thereto “are difficult. Many of the leading men are well disposed towards the Catholic doctrine “and ill-satisfied with what they are taught by their schismatic pastors, and so they would “like us to have a place in Julfa, and they think that this is necessary for the object they “desire, and that at present without much difficulty they and their sons could follow our “doctrine. But they consider that, in order not to spoil everything, it is absolutely necessary “that we should get in there on some pretext of a mundane nature, and not in the guise “of our Order; because the Muhammadan officials of the king, seeking opportunities to “make money, would seize on that and inflict a heavy fine, besides expelling us from “Julfa, since they think it contrary to the interests of state that the subjects of the king should “become ‘Franks’ (as they term us); and so all would then be ruined. Thus in the mean- “while even those richest of the Armenians, who could most help, are the most timid, “having the more to lose. . . .”

Fr. James of S. Teresa had been Visitor General to the missions and Vicar Provincial, 1635–9, afterwards returning to Rome, whence he continued to interest himself in the mission. In a letter of 12.7.1646³ to the Praepositus General Fr. Dominic of S. Mary mentioned that

¹ Article in *Osservatore Romano*, 18.2.1933.

² O.C.D. 237 c.

³ *Idem*, 237 f.

a letter had recently been received in Isfahan from Fr. James in Rome about the mission to the Armenians and Julfa mooted, and he went on to explain that permission from the Shah would be required before they could establish themselves in Julfa:

"It is being sought to have the King's licence and, as it were his command to the Armenians, so that they may admit us and let us have a place. For the king is still very young, and it is not yet known exactly to what he is inclined or his propensity: some say that already it is he who is governing: others say that, even if he governs, it is through others or by the advice of others. For, if it be known that the king is willing to give the licence in question, it seems that many and efficacious efforts will be put forth with the opposite aim. This would be the case should the Head of the Julfa people have been the person of recent years, while it will be all the more so now that for some months past he is so no longer, but the former man, who had held the office before him and is the son of the man in your Reverence's time. . . ."

Proceeding to speak of the Armenians Fr. Dominic of S. Mary stated that, even if the licence to found a house in Julfa were obtained, he did not know what the result would be, because

"every one of them seeks to look after his own private interests, and all or almost all to pursue the preservation of their rite and race: and, if in past years there was something like beginnings of differences of opinion in matters of religion, all that, or almost all, has been discontinued, or hushed up, or come to an end: and what there was appears to have been more caused by other differences of opinion in matters of their private interests than by any real, true disillusionment as to matters of their religion. . . ."

It was not till 1651, however, that action was taken. Then, in a letter of 10.7.1651¹ from Basra Fr. Barnabas mentioned that the Fathers in Isfahan had written to him that they wanted to buy a house in Julfa; while another Religious at Isfahan in December of that year² announced that two foundations had been "accepted"—i.e. sanctioned—at Julfa and Kung, of which the former was already functioning, "but it will be very difficult and with small hope of fruit". Actually residence was not taken up till Sunday in the Octave of Corpus Christi 1653:

"Already a letter has been written to your Reverence informing you how our Fathers initiated the Residence in Julfa on the Sunday in the Octave of Corpus Christi. At the commencement they were quite well received and welcomed by the leading people there, who showed them many acts of kindness.

"Fifteen days after this new Residence was begun there arrived in Isfahan the Fathers of the Company of Jesus, whose coming caused our Fathers the greatest joy and consolation . . . on account of the firm hope that . . . by such means . . . there would result much glory and the salvation of souls. When the common enemy of souls foresaw that, he succeeded in stirring up and exciting some disturbance, and a storm. Since after their arrival for 2 or 3 days everyone in Julfa was going to visit them, while already for the past year the Capuchin Fathers had been dwelling there, with our own Religious following them later, when the people saw there so many European Religious it caused them stupefaction and wonder, and in a short time there arose a tempest—'commota est universa civitas' (the whole city was in a tumult). Beginning with the ecclesiastics and the bishop they did not cease from proffering menaces and warnings and from preventing the Julfa people from sending us their boys. For, as most of them are well-to-do merchants doing business usually with Europe, they want their sons to learn our languages expecting that will prove useful and profitable, and also having in view all the advantage there may be for them in having, and having had good relations with European Religious . . . so many documents and powers of attorney the Religious here have drawn up for them

¹ O.C.D. 241 f.

² Fr. Stephen, 4.12.1651, O.C.D. 238 e.

"for the Courts in Europe, by which they have recovered much of their money and goods, which would have been as good as lost owing to the failure and neglect of their own agents and representatives: and they also make use of our Religious to get translated the letters which sovereigns write here and there in their favour. . . .

" . . . At present our Fathers are enjoying peace and quiet in Julfa. Fr. Stephen and Fr. Cornelius, who is working hard at the Armenian language, are dwelling there . . . after the departure of Fr. Felix to Basra there arrived from the Fr. Vicar Provincial in Goa orders making Fr. Felix Vicar of the mission in Julfa, should a good opportunity of getting into Julfa occur, as for so long past our Superiors had desired . . .

" . . . We are much befriended by the Headman of Julfa, named Sarfaraz, who has his own house near that one where at present they are dwelling. . . ."¹

Compare the comment of Fr. Felix himself (30.12 1655²) on the circumstances which secured for the Carmelites this footing in the 'forbidden land' of Julfa:

"When the Carmelites were first admitted to Julfa, it was at a time when some small present of a curiosity had been made to the Head of the Armenian community, and when the latter had need of a recommendation in order to obtain the release of three Armenians from the galleys in Venice. . . ."

Some three weeks after his first account, quoted above, Fr. Balthazar of S. Mary was writing again to the Praepositus General in Rome,³ that things were still going well at Julfa despite the difficulties made by the Armenian clergy; but as a precautionary measure, he suggested that it should be arranged for letters laying stress on the importance of maintaining good relations with the Fathers in Persia to be written to Julfa from Florence or Leghorn, where Armenian merchants were trading. Unfortunately this prudent advice was not followed in Europe, or too late, because in December 1653⁴ Fr. Balthazar wrote once more to Rome:

"The Jesuits are negotiating for a Residence in Julfa, having obtained the privilege from the king; but, in spite of that, they are meeting with much obstruction from the clergy: while our Fathers, who have no special privileges or sanction to live in Julfa, so far are enjoying peace by the favour of the head men of the town. Fr. Dimas, such a good missionary to the Armenians, left such a good example, and Sarfaraz was very fond of him. Fr. Rigordi, S.J., had returned from the Court greatly honoured, with privileges not usually accorded to guests . . . viz. an authorization to have houses at Julfa and Shiraz . . . as I myself have seen in the Persian. . . .

"4th December 1653. After having already written to your Reverence at great length . . . at this point there arrived here in haste the good Fr. Stephen, bringing news of the great disturbance there was in Julfa, . . . the whole city was in an uproar, seeing there so many 'Frank' Religious, i.e. Europeans, especially since the arrival there of the Fathers of the Company of Jesus. . . . Fr. Stephen was present at everything that happened in Julfa. . . ."

However, it would seem that the Carmelites were still in Julfa in April and until after the return of Fr. Felix, the new Vicar Provincial, in May 1654, in the light of the following statement of the Prior of Isfahan, Fr. Balthazar, in his letter of 22.4.1654:⁵

"About the Armenian protest against the French missionaries . . . when they sent a man to the Court of the king to obtain their demands which were for the expulsion from Julfa of the 'Frank' Religious, who were dwelling there, i.e. the Fathers of the Company of Jesus, the Capuchin Fathers and our own . . . according to what the messenger sent

¹ Fr. Balthazar, 9.8.1655, O.C.D. 236 k.

⁴ 3.12.1653, *idem*.

² O.C.D. 237 i.

⁵ O.C.D. 236 k.

³ 26.8.1653, O.C.D. 236 k.

"by our opponents to the Court tells us here at present . . . the king with rough words "told them or had them told that, seeing that permission had been granted them by his "father to build churches in the very houses of the king, how could the Armenians want to "stop the 'Frank' Fathers from dwelling among them. . . . The king is at present in "Farrahabad in order to be nearer to succour the fortress of Kandahar. . . ."

The new Vicar Provincial would have none of it, and immediately on his arrival from the south withdrew the two Carmelites from Julfa:¹

"Here I found that two of our Religious were living in Julfa in the desire to establish a "House there: they had been admitted by the Armenians because they said they were there "to learn the language But, because the Capuchins had gone there first and—a little "after us—the Jesuits, the Armenians have shown great opposition, even sending a man "to the Court with a petition to the king, in which they said that the 'Frank' Religious had "come to pervert his subjects and make Christians of Muhammadans—a thing enough to "have us ejected, not only from Julfa, but from all the realm of Persia.

"I have several times consulted these Fathers of ours, who all say that this establishment "in Julfa is of no utility. . . . Recently a letter had come from our Father General addressed "to Fr. Stephen, in which it was stated that our Superiors consider it useless to make foun- "dations at Julfa and Kung. So *I have recalled the Fathers* to this Convent of ours, whence "they will attend with greater diligence to assisting the Armenians at Julfa—only one hour's "distance away . . ."

In another letter² he put it:

" . . . Seeing that the conjuncture was a bad one, I withdrew the Fathers already at "Julfa before any difficulty arose. The Capuchins had their own house, bought with their "own money: the Jesuits had a licence from the king to buy a house and make a church; "and yet both were compelled to evacuate Julfa. . . ."

Six months later, in December 1654, Fr. Felix was congratulating himself on having extricated the Carmelites in time from an imbroglio in which the other two Orders were still involved:

" . . . The mission to the Armenians is going badly, because of the very great opposition "made by their bishops and clerics. . . . Our Lord has been gracious to us in that we are "out of Julfa, because we have seen how the Capuchins and Jesuits after considerable loss "and suffering have been forced to abandon Julfa, so that at present there is no one "there. . . ."³

Looking back at such past events, it will probably seem to the reader that this set-back was due to indiscretion and intemperate zeal—for three Orders, simultaneously almost, to penetrate a centre tenacious of its racial isolation and traditional rites: it was a mistaken move which stirred up a hornets' nest, while putting an end to the former 'correct' relations between the two faiths and, worse still, to such elements among the Armenians as had previously been favourable to reunion.

" . . . The Armenians here show themselves at present more opposed to their conversion "than they have ever done in the past. They have had dislodged from Julfa the Jesuit "and Capuchin Fathers: the Vicar Provincial had previously recalled our missionaries. " . . . The Armenians, seduced by their schismatic doctors, have greater aversion" (for the Catholic missionaries) "than they ever had. Their Patriarch, called Philip, died a

¹ Fr. Felix, 20.6.1654, O.C.D. 237 i.

² *Idem*, 20.12.1655, O.C.D. 237 i.

³ 15.12.1654, O.C.D. 237 i.

"little while ago: they have made another, named Hacop, from whom we hope for no improvement: even now I cannot go there to look for dying children . . ."¹

lamented Fr. Dionysius of the Crown of Thorns in two letters of 1655.

This first mission of 1653-4 to Julfa was, therefore, not complete in possessing its church and the provision necessary for a permanent Residence, although it was worked with missionaries living on the spot and had been sanctioned by authority:

"The foundations at Julfa and Kung were not actually carried into effect,"

wrote the Vicar Provincial.²

The Jesuits must have been readmitted to Julfa almost at once in 1655—perhaps by virtue of the Shah's written licence: they never had a house in Isfahan city like the Capuchins.

"Fr. Bernard Diestal, the German, from Isfahan has left for Poland along with the Abbé "de Brisach" (i.e. Brissac, son of the Maréchal Duc de Brissac): "they are going to Poland "by the Constantinople route to represent to the king of Poland the ill-treatment the "Fathers of the Society" (i.e. of Jesus) "have received in Julfa from the Armenians notwithstanding the favours shown by his Majesty and by the king of Persia: and at present "the Reverend Fr. Amatus" (i.e. Aimé Chezaud) "and Brother Bernard of the Society are "in our house in Isfahan. . . ."

But twenty years passed before there is an allusion in the records to any Carmelite activities there (for much of the interval they had no Religious to spare, it is true): and then Fr. Angelus remarked in a letter of 1675:

". . . our Fr. Vicar Provincial has charged me to go on some mission to Julfa. . . ."³

Another decade, almost, passed before there was a man at hand with the courage to begin a sustained assault on the schism in Julfa, a man of unmistakable pugnacity who gave his whole mind and work to the aim of conversion of the Armenians, the Walloon Fr. Elias of S. Albert. Elected Prior of the Convent in December 1682, he explained in a letter of 14.7.1683⁴ the circumstances in which it had become possible to hope for results from work in Julfa:

". . . About two years ago⁵ five brothers, sons of Sarrat and Shariman the richest . . . "merchants of Julfa . . . having had for a long time past some good inclinations towards "Catholicism and finally having become disgusted with the proud ignorance of their own "Vartapets, separated themselves from their communion, and, having sent for a Catholic "religious doctor from Tabriz, pressed me greatly to join him in a house, which they gave "us, in order to learn the Armenian language in his company, and aid him in teaching their "children and instructing all their families in Catholic principles. I did not neglect such "a fine opportunity and, God assisting with His grace our joint labours, we made a chapel "where he celebrates according to the Armenian rite, having reformed the errors of the "schismatic rite and introduced the observance of the Catholic: while I celebrated according "to the Latin, and in addition we set up a school, where about 10 grown persons and

¹ 15.1.1655 and 15.5.1655, O.C.D. 237 c.

² Fr. Angelus, 8.9.1675, O.C.D. 236 b.

³ Fr. Felix, 30.12.1654, O.C.D. 237 1.

⁴ O.C.D. 237 h.

⁵ See also Fr. Elias' letter of 30.1.1682 (*S.R.*, vol. 488): "At the beginning of this month of January" (i.e. 1682) "at the "instance of the aforesaid Armenian gentlemen I went to live at Julfa. . . ." This date in these two letters of Fr. Elias for his going to live in Julfa with the Armenian Uniat priest, Basil, seems more reliable (because written almost contemporaneously) than those given by Fr. Elias in his undated (? 1702) petition to the Sac. Congregation (*S.N.R.*, II, p. 348), "in our Mission at Julfa which . . . is as it were a distributing centre for the Catholic Faith propagated for the past 23 years . . ." (i.e. since 1679).

"20 boys receive various lessons daily. . . . The persecution stirred up against this work
"was very great . . .";

so that Fr. Elias found it prudent after Epiphany 1683 to withdraw for a time to the Convent in Isfahan city. On 9.3.1683 Fr. Elias had an audience of Shah Sulaiman to present a letter from the Emperor, who recommended to the Persian monarch his Christian subjects: with the answer Fr. Elias obtained a *raqam* dated Ramazan 1095 A.H. (A.D. 1684), a copy in Persian of which is preserved in the archives of the Order in Rome.¹ By it Shah Sulaiman notified all his

"governors and the wazirs, that We have given leave to the white-mantled Carmelite
"Fathers to stay wherever they may please and settle down and pursue their practices of
"piety . . . they are not to be prevented or troubled in any way whatsoever and are to be
"allowed to stop and make a settlement wherever they like. . . ."

According to the *Life of Fr. Elias* quoted, he relied on this decree and reopened the school and chapel in Julfa in 1683. On the other hand, as late as in his letter of 19.7.1686, he was asking the Order in Rome to obtain a faculty for the taking of a house in Julfa:

"should possession of a house for a hospice, which a friend wanted to give us, not be prevented, we could still make a Residence, *provided the licence were received* from our Superiors.

"The Visitor General" (this was Fr. Agnellus, in the autumn of 1684) "*for his part had refused his consent*, and assigned us for a hospice (when we visit Julfa) the house of the
"Armenian Dominican Fr. Lucas. . . ."²

It is clear, therefore, that in 1686 still there was no Carmelite Residence in existence in Julfa.

According to the *Vita P. F. Elia a S. Alberto*, quoted, in October 1687 Fr. Elias received from Rome his letters patent as Vicar Provincial for Persia and the Indies, and with them came permission to found a house in Julfa. (This decision was taken by the Definitory General, 12.2.1687, "for the assistance of Armenian Christians inclining to the Catholic Faith"—see *Regesta*, vol. VI, p. 358.)

He was 'dangerously ill' at Isfahan in 1688, and, when recovered, went on a visitation: it was 4th December 1688, when he got back to Isfahan. At some date between June 1689 and early in 1691 he must have transferred himself from the Convent in Isfahan city to a house in Julfa provided by the Sarrat-Shariman brothers, for a letter of 24.9.1691³ is dated from Julfa, and said:

"here in Julfa we have not only a fine and commodious residence as well as subsistence for
"two or three missionaries, due to the generosity of the brothers Shariman. . . ."

"Seeing the strides made," to quote the *Vita P. F. Elia* . . .,⁴ "the brothers Shariman
"decided to build another church with a small convent to hold five or six Religious for the
"Latin rite. . . . On 18.12.1691 this new church for the Latin rite was opened in house premises
"which they gave in memory of their progenitors, the title of the church being 'of the holy
"patriarch Elias'. . . ."

Fr. Elias took over a Franciscan tertiary, Fr. Cherubin, who afterwards became a Carmelite and who had arrived in Isfahan by the autumn of 1690: they started a school attended within

¹ and ⁴ O.C.D. 320 e.

² Compare Fr. Agnellus' report on his visitation, 26.10.1684, Shiraz, O.C.D. 238 k:

" . . . This traffic with the Armenians was all the Prior's doing . . . he wanted to establish a new mission in Julfa
"where there are already the Jesuit Fathers and one Armenian Dominican: while it is much easier to go and come each
"day between our house and Julfa, except that a hospice might not be bad in order to avoid eating and drinking in
"the houses of seculars. . . . If you authorize a hospice at Julfa, orders will have to be given that no one may eat or drink
"in houses of seculars. . . ."

³ O.C.D. 238 u.

a year by over 80 boys. The Papal jubilee was celebrated with many ceremonies and large gatherings in the *new church at Julfa*; but this activity annoyed the schismatic Vartapets, and they presented a memorial to Shah Sulaiman against the Catholics.

In 1693, in addition to Fr. Elias, there were dwelling in the hospice of Julfa Frs. Joseph Ignatius, Antony Mary, Severin, and Cherubin; three Armenian Uniat priests were saying Mass in the church of the Armenian rite.

On 13.2.1694 Fr. Elias received news of his appointment to be Bishop of Isfahan, and at once negotiated for the purchase at a cost of 35 Tumans (550 scudi) of an episcopal residence to adjoin the Carmelite premises in Julfa, where his diocesan church could also be built. The Mass of dedication for this last was sung on 13.6.1694, but then bribery and pressure by the schismatic Vartapets obtained a decree for the expulsion of the Carmelites from Julfa, and Persian officials on 11.7.1694 ordered the demolition of the buildings newly begun.¹ The existing house occupied by Fr. Elias and the other Carmelites since 1691 was, it would seem, closed and the doors sealed. The charges against Fr. Elias and the other missionaries were that they had perverted from their faith and induced to become 'Frank' Christians very many citizens, i.e. had made them 'Europeans, subject to the Pope': that he had sent Armenian boys to Europe and so deprived his Majesty of his vassals: that the Sharimans had remitted large sums of money to Christian sovereigns.

It was not till the arrival of the Portuguese ambassador, Gregorio Pereira Fidalgo, and his undertaking to present the letter of Pope Innocent XII protesting against the expulsion of the Carmelites from Julfa that, towards the end of 1696, orders were obtained from the young Shah, Sultan Husain, permitting the return of Mgr Elias: in December a Religious envoy from the king of Poland arrived and improved this position by getting from the Shah a further rescript authorizing the reconstruction of the church begun and destroyed. On 28.2.1697 the triumphal entry of the new Bishop and the envoy, clad in robes of honour from the Shah, into Julfa and through its streets—described elsewhere in this work—took place. In October 1699 Bishop Elias left the Residence of Julfa for Europe (the separate episcopal house next to the hospice of 1693 originally intended was, apparently, never built).

It is important to notice, in regard to the new Residence of Julfa, that no financial provision had been obtained or even been asked from the Sacr. Congregation in Rome:² the venture had been initiated on promises of the cost being borne or provided by the munificence of that influential Armenian family which had invited Fr. Elias and the Carmelites to establish themselves in Julfa. In 1691–2 this wealthy family of the Sharimans

"applied to the maintenance of the Religious in the new foundation a deposit lying with them, a sum of about 3,000 Roman scudi:³ and a son of one of the brothers, dying, left further to the new foundation a 'hammam' (Persian or Turkish vapour-bath establishment) which brought in 90 Roman scudi annually: so with the 200 Tumans they had from the deposit this Residence had an income of 18 Tumans, which was considered sufficient to maintain four or five Religious. . . ."⁴

From the time, however, of the persecution of the Uniat Armenians following the expulsion of the Carmelites from Julfa in 1694, the Shariman family were mulcted in severe fines and

¹ *Vide Vita P. F. Elia a S. Alberto*, O.C.D. 320 e., and letter of Fr. Elias, 7.8.1694, *S.N.R.*, II, p. 108; also *S.N.R.*, II, p. 293.

² See *S.N.R.*, II, p. 149, statement by the Procurator Substitute, Fr. Joseph Ignatius to the Sacr. Cong., Rome, 26.8.1695: "not including those who are and may be at Julfa, which has undertaken to maintain itself without allowance from Rome, as it has done so far. . . ."

³ See, in this connection, letter of 26.9.1702 from Bishop Elias to Sacr. Cong. (*S.N.R.*, II, p. 342). It was the noted French traveller, J. B. Tavernier, who had deposited this money "about 30 years previously". In 1699 or earlier an Armenian, who at the French Court had passed himself off as a Persian prince and been baptized, and afterwards in Germany, Sweden, Poland, Muscovy had committed various misdeeds, but had succeeded in obtaining surreptitiously or forging letters of credence to the Shah, returned to Persia as a soi-disant foreign envoy, calling himself 'Comte de Segli'. At the frontier he became a Muslim, and having by all this got a footing in the Persian Court began to claim from the Shariman brothers a sum of 28,000 Tumans (i.e. more than 400,000 scudi) deposited by Tavernier, it was said, and whose heir he feigned himself to be from having married at Paris a relative of Tavernier.

⁴ See *Vita P. F. Elia a S. Alberto*, O.C.D. 320 e.

ceased paying the interest and income on the endowments assigned. This family, which had a number of its members trading and living at Venice, Leghorn and elsewhere, appears, in a manner typical of the Armenians, to have used the Catholic missionaries at Isfahan as a protector for its immunity in those European states by acquiring merit as the zealous mainstay of the Catholic position in Julfa; but, when so much persecution was visited on them by their enemies—with some laudable exceptions—they either became nominal Muslims and renegades, or else made their terms with the schismatics and kept aloof from helping the missionaries, in order to preserve their pockets and skins. (See, for instance, the report of their staunch patron, Bishop Elias, considered by the Sac. Congregation in its session of 13.6.1702, *S.N.R.*, II, p. 339:

“Now that our benefactors, under the oppression of very frequent and heavy losses, no longer find themselves in a position to continue to provide me with that subsistence money ‘but, on the contrary, compelled by fear of other and greater disasters to hold aloof from ‘their customary communications with us and openly frequenting our church and Residence —at least until this fierce storm subsides. . . .’”

In an undated report, presented while he was in Rome (and so probably of 1702¹), Bishop Elias explained in detail how serious was the position:

“ . . . As to the promised annual contribution from the Sharimans . . . an annual ‘stipend of 30 Tumans had been guaranteed me . . . the total reached about 500 scudi. ‘After one or two years they began to mix up this sum with the income from a certain ‘‘hammam’ bequeathed by the dead son of one of them out of the estate left him by his ‘mother to the Residence of our Religious at Julfa: almost from the same date, when the ‘eldest (of the brothers), worn out by old age, distributed his possessions among his sons ‘and daughters, retaining a portion barely sufficient for his own maintenance, . . . the ‘subsistence money promised me began to fall off; so that, when the allotment of 100 scudi ‘hoped from the Sac. Congregation did not arrive, I was forced to have recourse to the ‘higher authorities of my Order for permission to make use of our Residence at Julfa, ‘acquired previously by me, until better provision were made for me from elsewhere.

“When, however, after the fifth year I was hardly able to obtain anything from the four ‘others’ (i.e. Shariman brothers), ‘then hardly anything from three of them, and finally ‘nothing from any of them, they protesting that they were bankrupt by the very many ‘losses and persecutions suffered, and could no longer continue the annual contribution ‘in question . . . I was compelled to take the opportunity of coming to Rome and ‘imploping the help of the Sac. Congregation.

“Hence, if from the time they began to fail in paying the sum in question we reckon ‘what remains due, merely by deducting 6 Tumans for seven years (which insooth they ‘mixed up for so long a time with the money due from the ‘hammam’), there would remain ‘42 Tumans to be claimed. And, on the 3 whole years in which they settled nothing of ‘the promised 30 Tumans, 90 Tumans: and, with other shares not paid in full, the total ‘would amount at least to 150 Tumans, i.e. 2,250 scudi, reckoning a tuman at 14 scudi ‘only. . . .’

Bishop Elias went on to state that:

“There are another church and school of the Latin rite, together with the Residence of ‘our Order founded by me *alongside the former one*. In that former church, besides having ‘a school of twenty and sometimes thirty scholars, three Armenian priests and two clerics ‘each day say the Divine Office and almost always Mass is sung according to Catholic ‘observance. *In our church*, however, on ferial days private Masses and on feast-days sung

¹ *S.N.R.*, II, pp. 348-9.

"Masses are celebrated, a school of about 20 pupils trained in our Gregorian chant singing
 "at them. . . . In our school of the Latin rite the more advanced pupils of the Armenian
 "school and others coming from elsewhere are taught grammar, logic, and the rudiments
 "of theology, which cannot be done without the assistance of two missionary Fathers—
 "nor without the service of a cook, and another servant for the cultivation of the garden
 "and other services inside and outside the house. . . ."¹

After the departure of Bishop Elias the number of Carmelites available for the two establishments—the Convent in the city and the Residence at Julfa—was totally insufficient: in 1700 Fr. Basil of S. Charles wrote to the Sacr. Congregation asking for two or three more missionaries, as he was there alone with one companion.² Then he came to the matter of the Sharimans and their financial aid to the Residence: Marcar and Michael Shariman, two of the brothers, had apostatized on 10.2.1699 (even before their staunch advocate, Bishop Elias had left the country), in order to escape persecution, and

"because of certain material interests (although they then fell into greater straits): they
 "were forced to pay an immense sum to a miserable renegade from the schismatic
 "Armenians,"³ "and so they announced themselves Muhammadans thinking to get free
 "from the vexations. . . ."

Fr. Basil of S. Charles pointed out that in future the Carmelites could no longer hope for financial assistance from this family—it would be much if they could still keep Christian their boys—and in future the Carmelites would have to look to the benevolence of the Sacr. Congregation for the upkeep of the mission at Julfa.

Fr. Peter of Alcantara of S. Teresa (just consecrated Bishop of Nicopolis) writing on 2.9.1706⁴ takes up in his turn with the Sacr. Congregation the matter of the endowment for the Residence at Julfa:

"As these gentlemen" (the Sharimans) "have lost their keenness" (for the Faith) "and
 "are no longer what they had shown themselves to be, this house of ours at Julfa has no
 "income on which to be maintained. When one of them, a son of Marcar, died, he left
 "us by his will a" (Turkish) "bath, which, when leased, gave annually about 100 piastres,
 "and the said Marcar paid it to us regularly for the space of 15 years; but now that he has
 "made himself a Muhammadan and lately withdrawn to Venice, his son, who is still
 "remaining here, for the past 5 years has objected to paying us anything, saying that this
 "bath belongs to himself, and that his father on departure had given him instructions so
 "to act. *We are, however, provided with a contract* in proper form, but it is feared that, in
 "going to law about it before the Muhammadan judge, some harm might be inflicted on
 "our Order by the opposite party. Since the departure of Mgr Elias for Europe Fr. Basil,
 "who was formerly Vicar Provincial, has kept up the house with dignity and profitably,

¹ There is a further account of the work at Julfa in *S.N.R.*, II, p. 291, "A Compendious Report of the State . . . of the
 "Missions of the Carmelite Fathers" (? 1702):

"In Julfa the chief mission consists in every Sunday and feast-day Mass being sung in Gregorian chant, and a sermon
 "preached. That over, the Catholics leave the church and are wont to give some small alms for distribution among the
 "poor who collect in large numbers. They remain round the church till the end of the Office. When all is finished
 "one or two of our scholars gather them together and make them sit in a circle. the (hour) glass is turned, and catechism
 "begins, until one hour is complete. Afterwards the alms are distributed among them. On other week-days there are
 "the schools, with usually 60 to 80 pupils, Catholics and heretics."

Compare, too, the letter of Fr. Hugo of S. Dionysius, 2.4.1709, in *S.R.*, vol. 573, p. 48: the

"Fathers at Julfa were instructing poor boys, chiefly sons of schismatic Armenians, who every Sunday were given each
 "a cent or so in alms, after they had recited their prayers and the Christian Doctrine. the Fathers had also baptized in
 "the previous 3 months 6 dying Muslim children."

² See Fr. Basil of S. Charles' letters, 15.1.1700 and 2.2.1700, *S.R.*, vol. 538, pp. 405, 407.

³ The "miserable renegade" was presumably that bogus 'Comte de Segli', and he succeeded in wresting the Tavernier
 deposit from the hands of the Sharimans.

⁴ Fr. Peter of Alcantara of S. Teresa, *S.R.*, vol. 560, p. 228.

“cultivating the people and carrying on a school for a certain number of boys and preaching “every Sunday. . . .”

Again on 20.10.1708¹ Fr. Basil of S. Charles appealed to the Sacr. Congregation:

“Four times already I have had the honour to write to Your Eminence to beg for succour “for this mission. I have written of its condition from the spiritual aspect, which is “excellent: we carry out the functions as we might do in any parish in Europe, with a “considerable number of persons attending: and every Sunday and feast-day in the year “I am preaching and giving catechism. But we have received no stipend . . . by hard “effort I found means to keep the house supplied . . . we have great need of some missals “for the altars . . . there is no trust to be placed in the promises of the Sharimans. They “deceive even us missionaries . . . and have done nothing for the mission since the troubles “in the time of Bishop Elias. . . .”

At this period vindictive persecution by the schismatics against the Uniats had again become severe but that it was not only the missionaries living in Julfa who were convinced of the deceitful tactics of the Armenian traders is patent from a letter of the Carmelite Mgr Maurice of S. Teresa, Vicar Apostolic for the dominions of the Mogul in India, who passing through Persia wrote from *Tabriz* in 1711² to the Pope himself:

“Holy Father, all Armenians coming to Italy, and particularly to Rome, deceive Your “Holiness and the cardinals: *there* they give themselves out to be Catholics, and *here* they “are the greatest persecutors of the missionaries and of true Catholics. . . .”

By the end of 1710, or earlier, that Fr. Cherubin, whom as a Franciscan tertiary in 1691 Fr. Elias had taken over from the Bishop of Baghdad to conduct the Carmelite school at Julfa, was back there—having in the interval entered the Order of Discalced Carmelites. In 1712–4 he was Vicar of Julfa: in 1714 he wrote to the Sacr. Congregation representing the needs of the Residence, which, he said, could not exist in future on its receipts: he asked for it *to be assigned a regular stipend, as in the case of the other mission stations*.³ The comment noted on this letter in the secretariat of the Sacr. Congregation was that:

“from the income of the money left by Baron Francesco Cimini” (in 1605, that is) “the “five Residences of Aleppo, Tripoli, Basra, Shiraz and Isfahan have been maintained . . .”:

and these two remarks demonstrate that from its foundation in 1691 or 1697 till 1714 (in any case and perhaps later) no separate annual grant had been made by the Sacr. Congregation for the upkeep of the missionaries at the Residence in Julfa. Such was the predicament in which reliance on the promises of that particular Uniat family when the foundation was initiated had involved the Fathers. The Dominican Bishop of Isfahan, Mgr Barnabas Fedeli, at that time still Vicar Apostolic, testified to the good work in the time of Fr. Cherubin:⁴

‘very zealous in the school, in preaching and catechizing: without doing injustice to other ‘missionaries he could say that Fr. Cherubin was the best of all at the time. Though more ‘than 60 years old he was indefatigable in teaching, and visiting the poor and confessing ‘and seeing the sick. . . .’

But this Religious died at Julfa 28.5.1715: he was followed by Fr. Bonaventura 15.7.1715, only two of several deaths within three years which further handicapped the mission.

Fr. Faustin, Vicar Provincial, wrote in a letter of 1719:⁵

¹ *S.R.*, vol. 564, p. 459.

² *Idem*, vol. 579, p. 38 *et seq.*

³ *Idem*, vol. 600, p. 39, on 10.5.1714.

⁴ *Idem*, vol. 601, p. 125, letter of 26.10.1714, and vol. 603, p. 94, letter of 5.6.1715

⁵ After 4th October, S. Francis' feast, O.C.D. 242 b.

"In Julfa there are the Jesuit Fathers, the Dominicans and ourselves . . . we, by God's grace, are the most esteemed, and our church best attended. There reside Fr. Jerome Francis (from Avignon) and Fr. Philip Mary of my province, both peaceable, exemplary Religious who take much trouble over that mission, and particularly the first-named who has the Persian and Armenian languages to perfection, and preaches in the latter every Sunday at the *Catholic* church of the Messrs. Shariman. . . ."

From 16.10.1719 Fr. Philip Mary began his long tenure as Vicar of Julfa—nearly 20 years—and in 1721¹ the Vicar Provincial wrote of him again:

"Fr. Philip in Julfa works like an apostle, and is making many and remarkable conversions of heretics, being loved and esteemed by all: he has maintained, and maintains, himself on alms received and a little money which I have furnished him."

(The financing of the Mission at Julfa would still seem not to have been undertaken by the Sacr. Congregation at this date.)

If the Fathers in Persia did report in detail to Rome on day-to-day events and their own situation during the terrible occupation of Isfahan by the Afghans, no such report has survived in the archives of Rome: this is greatly to be regretted. All that can be traced is a few isolated allusions in letters, apart from the work of S. Leander of S. Cecilia who was in Isfahan for a relatively short stay: so that it is not easy to discern what exactly happened to the Religious of the several Orders in Julfa, or to the population of Julfa as a whole.

The Vicar Apostolic for the diocese of Baghdad, Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, wrote to the Sacr. Congregation 29.5.1722:²

"The whole kingdom of Persia is up in arms: a rebel . . . already occupies Julfa . . . and has plundered the whole of it. . . . What has happened to our church, and also to those of the Jesuit and Dominican Fathers I do not know. . . ."

The Vicar of Julfa himself merely hints at the straits which led them to borrow money, and the burden of the debt, no funds having reached the missionaries from Europe for a number of years: this was in a letter of 21.9.1724 addressed to the Vicar of Shiraz:³

"In the five years that I have been Vicar of this house at Julfa I have not had one single good day, having always had to live on alms and . . . I have suffered many afflictions, in particular the famine at the time of the siege and later . . . having been *obliged to sell some of the things belonging to the House*, both in order to keep myself alive, having sometimes found myself with nothing but bread and water, as also in order to pay some debts contracted by me before the siege. . . . At present, the season to lay in stocks" (i.e. for the winter) "I have not a farthing. I have already written how we owed 25 Tumans to the 'English merchants' (i.e. the East India Company) '16 to the Dutch with whom was pledged the greater part of the *silver of our Convent of Isfahan*, but which was *taken from their residence* by the newcomers" (i.e. the Afghans) ". . . For I had taken with me to Julfa the thurible and incense-boat, thinking they might be of more use at Julfa than in Isfahan and, having used them the day of the Virgin of Carmel and put them back in their usual place, when I wanted to use them on the day of the Assumption" (15th August) "I could no longer find them. . . ."

More details came in Fr. Philip Mary's letter of 17.11.1724⁴ from Julfa:

¹ Fr. Faustin, 26.5.1721, O.C.D. 238 g.

² *S.N.R.*, III, p. 197.

³ and ⁴ O.C.D. 238 u.

" . . . I had written how Mr. Hussey, who was Chief of the English Company at Isfahan, 'had lent 3 Tumans during the siege to our Vicar Provincial against some rugs and the gold cross of the late Bishop of Baghdad together with the vessels for the oils from Isfahan' and other silverware, and how the said Mr. Hussey is writing from Basra that either the 'objects pledged should be handed over, or the money paid. . . . I am here in Julfa 'minding this mission, where by the grace of God there is some good, but the hardships 'great . . . if I need to eat soup I have to make it myself, while many times I have not 'the wherewithal to make it: although I have a servant, he is good for nothing but keeping 'me company at nights and fetching water for 15 to 20 pupils that I have.

"Our House at Julfa threatens to collapse, and I cannot repair it. But I have busied 'myself in finding a few rafters to hold together some rooms in the big hall and the room 'adjoining, so that they do not fall down this winter. . . . In short, in these two years 'since the siege I have had to pay 7 or 8 Tumans of debts, 5 Tumans of which were a debt 'incurred by the Father Provincial in the city during the siege (when 4 Tumans per batman 'came to be paid for grain, and it was not to be had. . . .)"

Non-arrival of funds from Europe and the enormous prices of foodstuffs resulting from the famine during those six years 1722-8 seem to have been the hardest part of the trials of the missionaries at Julfa, for the Bishop of Isfahan in a letter of 4.3.1727¹ made the statement:

" . . . The Afghans leave us with our former liberty in regard to our functions, but the 'Armenians, being on good terms with these Afghans, take advantage of their favour 'sometimes to molest our Catholics. . . ."

Undoubtedly in the fifty years since Fr. Elias of S. Albert had gone to Julfa and started the hospice, the Orders working there had won over a considerable following by degrees: and Bishop Emmanuel of Baghdad was usually well-informed and accurate in this facts recorded in letters extant; yet one cannot help a measure of incredulity at the statement regarding Julfa in his report to the Sacr. Cong. while in Rome in 1740:²

" . . . the town . . . has for inhabitants only Armenians, in number 15,000 to 20,000, 'and up till now a third part has embraced the Catholic Faith . . . there are more than 150 'heretic monks and priests and vartapets. . . ."³

Very few letters of the Carmelites in Persia after 1730 have been preserved: perhaps few were written to Rome, or few reached there: largely by deduction it is possible to arrive at an estimate of the Religious working at Julfa.

Fr. Philip Mary was there from the end of 1716 till he was raised to the bishopric of Isfahan, and left for Aleppo to be consecrated in 1735. Other Fathers resident at Julfa were:

Fr. Urban of S. Elisaëus, as Vicar Provincial, July 1728 till August 1730: again, not as Provincial, from June 1733 till 1739: as Provincial after March 1741 till 1744, and perhaps from the latter part of 1745 for a year or two.

Fr. Thomas Aquinas of S. Francis: from 1730, and he had become Vicar of Julfa much before August 1740 (when he went temporarily to Basra): again at Julfa from some time in 1741 till his death (at Julfa presumably) that year or in 1749.

¹ *S.N.R.*, III, p. 542.

² *Idem*, IV, pp. 577-80.

³ In Chardin's day in the 1670's Julfa was estimated to contain 3,400 houses and have 30,000 inhabitants: Sir J. Malcolm's *History* (chap. XXII, p. 374) states, as regards the first decade of the nineteenth century, that on an estimate made by an Armenian bishop in all Persia they numbered then 12,383—not one-sixth of what they had been before 1722. A Latin Father, for many years resident in the neighbourhood, in writing in 1937 gave the opinion:

"there must be about 150 Catholic Armenians in Julfa and approximately 1,000 (one thousand) in all Persia. As to the 'schismatics they are about 3,500 in Julfa, besides some 20,000 in the province of Isfahan" (i.e. mostly in Chaharmahal district) "and 30,000 to 40,000 in all Persia."

Fr. Charles Raymond of S. Michael, 1736 to 1738.

Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia, 1736-7.

Fr. John Baptist of S. Elias, 1738 to 1741.

Fr. Cornelius of S. Joseph, 1742 till November 1746.

Fr. Sebastian of S. Margaret, 1742. He was "Superior" at Julfa from sometime before May 1745 till, nominated Bishop of Isfahan early in 1752, he left to be consecrated at Baghdad.

So (with the exception of 1736-7, when there may have been 5 Carmelites in residence together) from 1733 to 1735 there were probably 3 priests simultaneously in the Residence at Julfa: again in 1738-9, from 1742-4: and 1745-6. For the rest of those years after 1733 not more than two priests together till 1746: after 1746 one only, till in 1752 Fr. Sebastian departed, the last Carmelite in sacerdotal orders.

Lay Brother Ferdinand of S. Teresa, in Persia since 1721 who, as mentioned in the narrative of the Convent in Isfahan city, had probably remained in charge there till 1754, and is mentioned by name in a letter of 1755, seems to have been living in Julfa in 1758 in company with the Dominican Father Raymond Berselli, presumably therefore not at the Carmelite Residence:

"Lately I have received a letter from Julfa from — which he writes to me that he 'has remained there alone with one Carmelite lay brother . . . that Julfa is depopulated 'of its proper inhabitants. . . .'"¹

The years following the death of Nadir Shah wrought such havoc in Persia, and especially in Isfahan by the number of times the city and Julfa were raided and large sums laid on the people as fines or ransom, that the Armenians, schismatics as well as Catholics, abandoned the town, and emigrated if they could: though, even in 1757, these forced contributions were utilized by headmen to harass the Uniats; and the Dominican Father wrote to the Vicar General (a Carmelite) about:

"the persecution stirred up at Julfa by the Kalantar Sarkis."²

Bishop Cornelius of S. Joseph from Bushire in 1765 had endeavoured to arrange for Fr. Antony Marian to proceed to Julfa; but owing to the refusal of the regent Karim Khan Zand to deal with the English agent, whom the Carmelite Religious had accompanied, this Father got no farther than Shiraz, and thence returned:³ the Bishop had been urged by letters of the Sacr. Congregation to proceed to Julfa:

" . . . I had already projected going to Julfa . . . sending the Father my companion "in order to obtain from Karim Khan assurances that I should not be molested by the "Armenians. The business, however, resulted entirely to the contrary of my hopes, seeing "that the Regent, disgusted with the English, perhaps because they had not succeeded in "taming Mir Muhanna, not only would not give audience to the English envoy, but "further refused to receive his written requests, so that he was compelled to return with "the Father to Bushire without having obtained anything. From this your Eminence and "your Eminent colleagues can judge whether it is a time for the bishop to proceed to "Isfahan. . . ."

Moreover the number of Armenians professing to be Catholics had dwindled to a handful. Bishop Cornelius wrote on 2.5.1765:⁴

¹ Fr. Lanza, O.P., undated letter, received in Rome, May 1758, *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 392. ² 20.5 1757, *S.N.R.*, VII.

³ Bp. Cornelius, 11.3.1766, *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 368, and Fr. de Bernardis, O.P., *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 319.

⁴ *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 308.

"In Julfa there have remained 30 souls in all, for the most part women, as you can better assure yourselves by seeing the enclosed note sent me by Fr. G. B. de Bernardis, "the Dominican. . . ."

What happened to the abandoned Residence of the Carmelites can be visualized from the report by the administrator of the diocese, the Armenian priest John son of Aratun, dated 20.4.1777:¹

" . . . In Julfa there exist 4 churches and 3 convents" (i.e. Catholic). "That where the Administrator has fixed his residence is called the Sharimans'. The others nearly all threaten to become ruined, there having been no one in the past who had charge of them. "The most ruinous of all, he says, is that of the *Discalced Carmelites* which is provided with "nothing else but a few books and pictures, and besides its site is in the midst of 'Turks' " (? Muslim Persians) "and these all wicked people, thieves and bloodthirsty. To repair "these last two churches" (i.e. the Dominican and Carmelite) "and pay tribute on them, "the Administrator says that he has spent about another 30 scudi. . . . He also relates "that, as there had once been robbed from the house of the Carmelites various doors, and "beams from the pergola, he found no other recourse to preserve the rest than to take "away to his own dwelling all the woodwork and other doors that remained until some "Religious should arrive to whom he could hand them. . . ."

As to the dedication of the church of the Carmelites at Julfa it is stated, in the reply by the Superior of the Jesuits in 1746 to a questionnaire from the Sac. Congregation, to have been to "Our Lady of Carmel".²

In his *Viaggi*, published 1757, p. 188, Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia, who was at Isfahan 1736-7, had given these details of the relative sites:

"The Dominicans are in the middle, but we are not at the beginning" (i.e. of the town of Julfa) "and the Jesuits not right at the end: from the Carmelites' Residence, as far as "that of the Fathers of the Company of Jesus, watch in hand and without stopping, I have "counted it to be half an hour along the streets . . . whence the length of this town can "be judged . . ."

and Père J. Galaup, Superior of the Lazarist (Vincentian) Fathers at Julfa, wrote on 20.10.1933, as regards traces of the sites:

"The convent of the Dominicans with the church is our present residence. The garden "of the Carmelites at the entrance of Julfa. The garden of the Jesuits at the other end, "which is still owned by the Mission, the first-named about equi-distant from the other two":

in another letter, 15.6.1933, he added the information:

"As regards the hospice of the Carmelite Fathers one can see in the walls of the enclosure "to the garden, which has retained their name, that there had been buildings—there are "whitened bays which had served as shelves or cupboards—and that is all."

¹ *Acta*, 1778, p. 309.

² A number of the books from the libraries of the Orders still remain, and bear indications of their ownership. for some reason, when the Catholic Uniat priests were installed at Julfa in 1935 the Latin Fathers were not allowed to remove these: in view of their historic associations, which will grow with time, and seeing that it is doubtful whether the Armenian clerics in question read Latin to make use of them, it is to be hoped that the Apostolic Delegation will collect them for restoration to the respective Orders, for whom the books would be prized memorials.

Alone, among the six foundations of the Discalced Carmelites on Persian soil (i.e. excluding Mesopotamia) the site of that of Julfa is known to-day, although no remains of the church or Residence are standing: the place is a vineyard, illustrated in this volume, thanks to the courtesy of Père Galaup.

In conclusion, it seems incorrect to assign, as have done certain Carmelite authors, the date 1679 to the foundation of this mission or Residence of Julfa. 1691-4 and 1697 till 1752 (a total of 58 years) should rather be ascribed as its life.

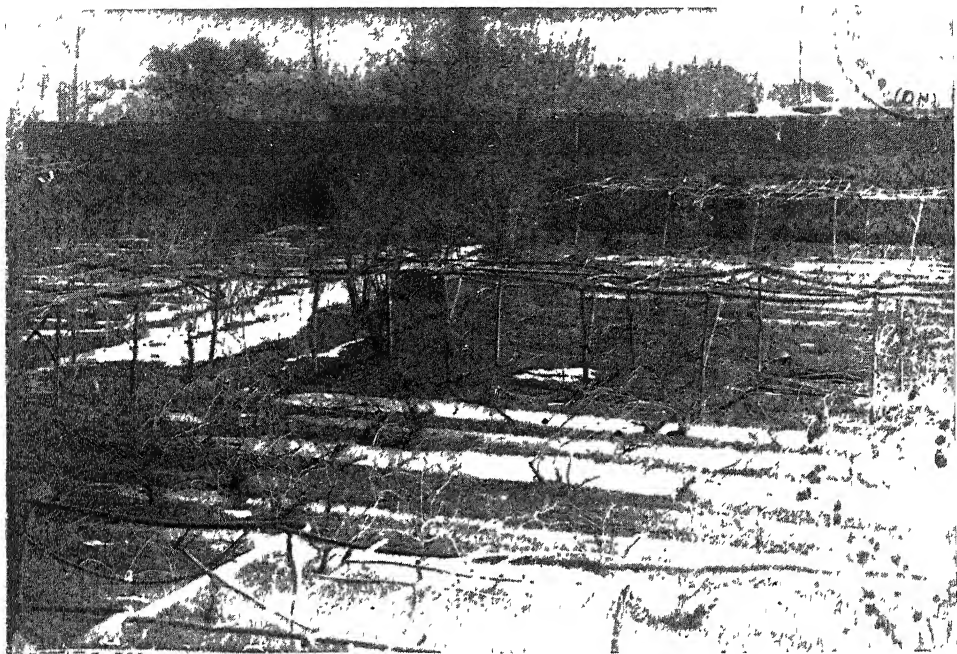
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AT JULFA, THE VINEYARD CALLED STILL "THE GARDEN
OF THE CARMELITES"

No trace of buildings now remaining (1933)

THE RESIDENCE ON KHARG

KHARG—the correct transliteration of the Persian spelling, and pronunciation—is a small island in the Persian Gulf, some 35 miles north-west of the port of Bushire on the mainland, and about an equal distance from the smaller port of Bandar Rig farther north. It lies in the direct course of ships to the estuary of the Shatt-ul-'Arab and Basra, has reefs dangerous for shipping on some sides of it: its water, air and fertility are superior to those on the mainland opposite: and there is a small pearl bank between it and its small sister-isle, Khārgū. Till 1925 it was the feudal fief and appanage of the hereditary chieftains on the mainland at Bandar Rig or Ganaweh, except that in the Anglo-Persian war of 1856 the island was taken and held by the British forces until long after the signing of peace. In the interior there are rock-caverns with traces of Christian symbols and uses, and it is surmised that a colony of Christians from Edessa and Palmyra in Syria, taken prisoners by the Sasanian king during the wars with Rome about A.D. 250, had been planted on the island.

How this small island became the site of a Carmelite mission and so transiently depends directly on the story of its brief occupation by the Dutch East India Company to all intents and purposes as a territorial acquisition, and without that story would not be rightly understood.

Under the year 1753 Fr. Angel Felix, in the *Continuation of the Basra Chronicle* (1733–78),¹ gave a long account in Latin of the incidents in Basra which obliged Baron von Kniphausen, “born in Prussia, addicted to no religion”, who had arrived in 1750 at Basra from Batavia (Dutch East Indies) as Resident of the Dutch East India Company at Basra, to abandon Basra—or rather how he was expelled after having been kept in prison for some time by the Turkish Mutasallim: and, incidentally, he showed how the Dutch company came to occupy Kharg island. This was January 1753:

“ . . . He (Baron von Kniphausen) reached Bandar Rig, not far distant, where he was “very kindly received by the Arab-Persian governor of that village, called Mir Nasir, and “awaited his ship, on which to proceed to Batavia. He did not neglect to procure evidence “(which he had in advance had prepared at Basra) contrary to the assertions of the Muslims, “and favourable to himself . . . and, having related the insults done to himself and to “the (Dutch) people, sent letters thence to the Dutch Envoy in Constantinople, so that “the latter . . . might demand satisfaction for the breach of the treaty; and he sought “for the cession of the island of Kharg without payment from the said Mir Nasir, (saying) “that the Dutch Company would grant him asylum there, and he might flee there when “troubled by the intestine strife in Persia.

“ . . . Then he repaired to Bushire, where at that time the Dutch Company had a “trading establishment, and thence wrote to Mynheer Van der Roust to leave Basra at “once and come to take charge of that house” (i.e. at Bushire), “and to the remaining “members of the staff of the company to say farewell to Basra at the first opportunity and “also betake themselves thither: and so from Bushire he sailed to Batavia. Mynheer Van der “Roust, therefore, boldly presenting himself before the Mutasallim asked permission to “depart, asserting that he had been promoted to the management of the Company’s “establishment in Bushire . . . and, having successfully overcome some objections of the “Mutasallim, he removed to Bushire . . . the rest of the staff of the Dutch Company after “the lapse of some months secretly and unexpectedly escaped from Basra.

“Having reached Batavia, Herr Kniphausen did not find it difficult, with the letters “above mentioned, to bring over to his views the director-general and supreme council:

¹ Edited with notes, and published by Fr. Ambrosius of S. Theresia, O.C.D., Rome, 1934.

"wherefore, having obtained three ships, towards the end of November" (i.e. 1753) "he got back to Bandar Rig and cast anchor, waiting outside the creek for a rather rich Turkish vessel, which had been about to leave for Surat. The arrival of the Dutch ships being known, the traders were no little disturbed as to whether it was advisable to postpone the sailing of the vessel in question. However it may be, the vessel, yielding to its fate, sailed for this port" (i.e. Basra) "and would not have escaped falling into the hands of the Dutch, had it not been for their innate sluggishness, or that they were too confident and for their delaying attack on the Turkish vessel till the following day; because the Turkish vessel, getting wind of the intention . . . slipped away at night unharmed from Bandar Rig, where the Dutch ships were then lying.

"At that juncture there arrived in reply from Constantinople letters in which Sulaiman Pasha was strictly admonished that the sums of money taken from the Dutch were to be restored to them, and their expenses and losses made good, and that the wrath of the Grand Signor of the Turks would never be quenched until the most undeservingly attacked Dutch Resident wrote anew to the Sublime Porte that he had been in every way satisfied. Sulaiman Pasha read the above mandate, but to put it into execution was of small interest to him, seeing that, having some time previously shaken off the yoke . . . relying on his own name and sword he was then making himself master of Baghdad.

"Meanwhile, awaiting the reaping season, Mynheer Kniphausen had retired to the island of Kharg where, so as not to lose time, he put forth his energy and was applying himself to the building of a fort and houses, when in the month of July (? 1754) two Turkish ships from Surat appeared, on their way to Basra. They had hardly reached the island, when the master of the vessel named Salih Chalibi went to call on the Governor, showing him friendly letters of recommendation obtained from the President of the Dutch Company at Surat. The said Salih Chalibi was received, to be sure, kindly enough; but when the time came that he asked permission to depart and continue on his voyage, Mynheer Kniphausen pointed out to him that it squared but little with his friendship so lately professed that they should be separated by so untimely a departure: that he (Baron von Kniphausen) had for some time past several matters to settle with Basra, the happy issue and solution of which were augured by the arrival of those vessels there. Having so expressed himself, lest the ships should be worn out by uselessly riding at their anchors, in the twinkling of an eye the Dutch ships saw to it that the rigging and masts of the Turkish vessels were lowered, and the rudders removed. When he had effected nothing by threats, prayers, solemn promises, leaving his vessels there, Chalibi was compelled to come here" (i.e. Basra) "on a trankey, and warn the Turks that, if they wished to buy back their merchandise, they should determine to give satisfaction to the Dutch with all earnestness and speed.

"Only he who is not ignorant of the inborn Turkish pride, by which they esteem everything of no account, and put an end to other people, is able to understand how the whole of this town was thrown into confusion, excited to wrath, and struck with shame. But it was no longer any time for threats or boasting. The assembly of the elders met and concluded that they had been delivered over to drinking the bitter chalice, and they wrote to Sulaiman Pasha that there would be no solution of the inevitable dilemma without the spending of money. Perceiving that without difficulty, the Pasha, with a show of indignation . . . replied to the Mutasallim that he (the Pasha) had indeed bidden him (the Mutasallim) dim the eyes of the shameless Dutch Resident, but by no means had he bidden him extract the man's eyes: wherefore he (the Mutasallim) should make amends, and return as soon as possible the money to him (Baron von Kniphausen). So, gold having been extracted from the merchants and magnates of Basra within a few days, where the river joins the sea, they brought it to the Dutch ship: and, when it had been weighed and measured, the Dutch ship sailed off victoriously to the island of Kharg. . . . The Pasha further left no stone unturned, to get the Dutch to transfer themselves to Basra, proposing so many opportunities for profit, so many honours: and, when it

“proved of no avail, became so obsequious as to send an Aga from his Court at Baghdad with a robe of honour to Kharg.

“Herr von Kniphausen received him benevolently and replied that it was by instructions of the Supreme Council at Batavia that the Dutch flag had been unfurled there at Kharg, and he was unable to transfer it to Basra without receiving authority from Batavia to do so. After profuse protestations of friendship the envoy was given leave to depart, while the Dutch ships sailed away to Batavia, carrying there the joyous news of the recovery of the money, of honour rehabilitated, of the erection of the new house of the Company and of the fort on Kharg island, while at Basra, by the mercy of God, who had turned loss into gain, the prestige of the name of Europeans was increased. . . .”

From other sources, such as the records of the English East India Company, it is known how Baron von Kniphausen imported a garrison of white soldiers, Malays or Chinese for agricultural work; Armenians and other native Christians were attracted to the settlement by the commercial advantages, and activities of the Dutch Company: how he lorded it over a miniature, but flourishing kingdom.

Among the Dutch and other Christians were a certain number of Catholics: that explains the mention in *Cont. Basra Chron.*, under 1754—the first year of the Dutch occupation:

“9th March. Fr. Angel Felix of the Holy Spirit repaired to Bandar Rig, and to the island of Kharg occupied by the Dutch and, having spent Easter with those Christians, on the 21st May re-entered Basra. . . .”

Evidently the Vicar Provincial of the Carmelites found the reports so encouraging that he decided to transfer to Kharg from Bandar 'Abbas the veteran F. Urban of S. Elisaeus; for *Cont. Basra Chron.* says:

“1755. At the beginning of this year Fr. Cornelius of S. Joseph, Vicar Provincial, betook himself to Kharg to go and see Fr. Urban of S. Elisaeus, who had come there to meet him from Bandar 'Abbas: and, on the conclusion of the season of Lent and Easter, he returned again to Basra. . . .”

Early in June 1755,¹ however, the news reached Basra that Fr. Urban had closed his long and valiant career of about 40 years in the mission, most of it spent in the hot region of the Persian Gulf.

“On account of his exceptional virtues he was much respected by all, so that the governor of the island, Baron Kniphausen, himself prepared for him a very fine tomb as a sign of veneration.”²

A letter dated 23.6.1755³ from Basra contains details:

“. . . The good Fr. Urban died in the odour of sanctity. Baron Kniphausen, 'consul' for Holland and governor of Kharg, wrote to the Bishop of Isfahan and to me a letter full of praise for the deceased Fr. Urban, saying 'The Saint is dead'. . . . Baron Kniphausen, governor of Kharg, had his corpse buried in the vicinity of the castle and fort, and he himself on horseback with his officials and soldiers with great funeral pomp accompanied him to the grave, enclosed in a great coffin, and had him buried in the tomb prepared. . . .

“. . . The above-mentioned Baron Kniphausen from Kharg has written to Mgr Sebastian (i.e. the Bishop of Isfahan, the writer's brother) 'begging and inviting him to betake himself to Kharg, as an episcopal house and church are being built. . . .”

¹ See *Cont. Basra Chron.* and the Register of Baptisms, etc., of the Basra mission, O.C.D. 240 b.

² See *Catalog. Miss.*

³ Fr. Hyacinth of S. Teresa, O.C.D. 242 b.

Besides the sudden influx of a considerable number of Europeans, and Catholics among them, another factor contributed to the decision of the Carmelites to found a Residence on the island. Mgr Sebastian of S. Margaret, the last priest of the Order to have charge of the mission at Julfa, who had proceeded to Baghdad to be consecrated Bishop of Isfahan in April 1752, showed no inclination to return to Julfa and indeed petitioned the Sacr. Congregation to be allowed to remain at Basra, on the ground of the warfare and turmoil in the interior of Persia and dispersal of the Armenian Catholics. Basra, however, belonged to the diocese of Baghdad; and there were evident objections, local and from Rome, to an unlimited sojourn in Basra and his performing episcopal functions there.

That was the position to which Fr. Cornelius of S. Joseph referred in his letter of 20.12.1755,¹ which he wrote from Aleppo where he had been transferred as Vicar Provincial for the Syrian missions:

"Seeing it difficult to penetrate into Persia in these times of upheaval, he" (i.e. Bishop Sebastian) "had determined to go over and reside in Kharg, an island of the Persian Gulf . . . of which island the Dutch Company took possession two years ago, and where they "had constructed a fort, which was to defend the new town, which is at present being built.

"Having gone there myself with this object, I obtained by the courtesy of the commandant, Baron Kniphausen, not only *permission to build a Residence there* for our two Religious, "with a church open to the public, a belfry, etc.; but, in addition, he allowed me to attach to it "a set of rooms for the Bishop of Isfahan, he knowing well that, were the Prelate to reside on "the island, it would have attracted many Christians from Persia to establish themselves, "to the advantage also of the Company.

"In consequence of this permission Monsignor (the bishop) had already begun to dispatch materials there from Basra, in order to begin the building of the set of rooms "permitted, and the construction was due to be finished by September, leaving for the "year to come the erection of the convent and church. But our Lord . . . called him "to live with Him in heaven, as we hope: so that, through his death and my departure for "Aleppo, at present that new foundation remains in suspense—a foundation which, in "my belief, is highly necessary in the circumstances at present ruling in Persia (as I have "already demonstrated to our *Definitory General, which gave its assent to it*), not only because "of the need for a missionary to be stationed there to hear confessions of the German "Catholic soldiers, who form the garrison there and to instruct a good number of slaves "who are asking to be baptized, but also because, as our Armenians from Julfa are to be "found there" (in Kharg), "both Catholics and schismatics, our Fathers, who now remain "idle and useless for Persia on account of the almost total dispersal of the Christians, would "be able with more fruitfulness, and security to exercise their zeal in Kharg. Besides that, "such an establishment might well be useful and advantageous to our Religious destined "by the Sacr. Congregation for Malabar, both on account of the convenience of finding "a passage speedily in the ships of the Company or private Dutch subjects, as also for the "friendship and protection which our Fathers resident in Kharg might be able to obtain "from there."

Fr. Hyacinth of S. Teresa (who succeeded Fr. Cornelius as Vicar Provincial in 1755) in a letter of 8.11.1756² claimed:

"Last February I began the foundation of the church on the island of Kharg, together "with our regular house, which consists of two rooms or cells for the missionaries on the one side, "and on the other two rooms for the Bishop of Isfahan, according to the pious intention of "the late Mgr Sebastian . . . and precisely on the feast of S. Teresa, our Mother, an end "was made of putting the roof on the church and house for the Religious. Already I have "sent there a missionary of ours, with faculties for that mission. . . ."

¹ *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 234.

² *Idem*, p. 280.

The *Continuation of the Basra Chronicle* relates:

“On the 10th August” (1756) “by the French ship, Fr. Angel Felix of the Holy Spirit “betook himself to Kharg, and landed there on the 15th August. . . . In the year 1757 there “*was finished our very spacious house*, the construction of which absorbed more than 2,000 “*Rupees* (of which Fr. Cornelius of S. Joseph put aside 40 Tumans, and the remainder Divine “Providence supplied), the ironwork, beams and other materials of that nature being “charged as low as possible, which it will be only just to recognize for all time as due to the “liberality of the praiseworthy Baron Kniphausen: and, in order to forestall and eliminate “utterly any future disputes, he deigned to secure and stabilize that house of ours with a “deed in the name of the Company to the following effect:

“ ‘In the name of the honourable Company of the East Indies we permit the reverend
“ ‘Father Angel Felix of the Holy Spirit, Discalced Carmelite, to construct on this island
“ ‘a house, garden and church, and to perform the Divine Office according to the Roman
“ ‘Catholic rite for the Christian inhabitants or foreigners, on condition, however, that
“ ‘a Religious of the Discalced Carmelites and of no other Order reside there.
“ ‘Given in the island of Kharg at Moselstein Fort, 1st May 1757.
“ ‘Kniphausen.’ ”

Fr. Hyacinth of S. Teresa (then Vicar Provincial) writing from Basra, 23.8.1757 (*S.R.*, vol. 773)—he had not been to Kharg himself then—wrote:

“I have had the consolation to finish completely the new mission at Kharg, which consists of 2 regular cells for 2 missionaries, and of 2 rooms for the Bishop of Isfahan . . . “of its church and sacristy, of a refectory and kitchen. To complete this new house . . . “the expenses incurred by me amount to the sum of 600 scudi and more, all the voluntary “alms of our Christian Armenians, excellent Catholics. . . .”

As to the Religious of the Order who resided accordingly on Kharg:

“1757. On 20.4.1757 Fr. Angel Felix of the Holy Spirit arrived here for a change of air “from Kharg, and on the 17th July left for Kharg, restored to his former health. . . .
“ . . . (1758). In the beginning of November Fr. Angel Felix of the Holy Spirit arrived “here” (i.e. Basra), “convalescent from illness, and departed for Baghdad on 17.12.1758 “to recover his health. . . .
“ . . . (1759). In this month of February there also returned hither” (Basra) “from “Baghdad Fr. Angel Felix of the Holy Spirit and he proceeded to Kharg in the March “following. . . .
“ . . . (1761). On the 21st May Fr. Angel Felix of the Holy Spirit, summoned hither “from Kharg, arrived to take charge of this house” (i.e. Basra).

Temporarily in 1759 there had gone from Basra to Kharg Fr. Clement of the Annunciation, who was then given by the Governor letters of recommendation to the Mutasallim of Basra and returned there with the title of ‘vice-agent’ or procurator for the Dutch Company in Basra.¹ The English and French representatives objecting for certain reasons to the appointment got the Mutasallim to remove Fr. Clement to Baghdad. There the Vicar Provincial of the Carmelites, Fr. Fidelis, assigned him a post at Kharg:² *Cont. Basra Chron.* mentions that Fr. Clement reached Basra (from Baghdad) 2.3.1761, and on 12.3.1761 departed to Kharg:³

¹ See *Cont. Basra Chron.* under the year 1759.

² See letter of Bishop Emmanuel of Baghdad, 19.6.1760, *S.N.R.*, I, p. 281.

³ *Cont. Basra Chron.* under the year 1761, though the Father’s name is not mentioned, paras. (in the original MSS.) 147–8.

so that there was no interval between the departure of Fr. Angel Felix and his assuming charge of the chaplaincy in Kharg.

Fr. Cornelius of S. Joseph, mentioned above, from Aleppo in 1759 after his consecration in Sardinia that year went on to Rome, where in 1760 he made several representations with regard to the mission on Kharg island.

'He asked the Sacr. Congregation for money to *finish building* the church at Kharg, and 'for providing it with utensils, remarking that, when he was Vicar Provincial, permission 'had been obtained from the Dutch commandant for the building of 3 small rooms, a church 'and a suitable residence for the Bishop of Isfahan. But Bishop Sebastian and the missionary 'Fr. Urban had died, while he himself left Persia in 1755 to govern the missions in Syria: 'so *the building had remained unfinished, and the Armenian schismatics had used it to lodge their 'priests. . . .*¹

(This use of the buildings by the Armenian schismatics must refer to some brief period in the interval between May 1755—the death of Fr. Urban—and August 1756, *not after* the arrival of Fr. Angel Felix in the latter month.)

At the session of the Sacr. Congregation, 17.3.1760, Cardinal Antonelli reported² that:

"the island having always been under the sway of Persia" he (the new bishop) "does not "doubt but that it belongs to his diocese, the more so as no other bishop has ever claimed "to exercise jurisdiction there. Notwithstanding, and in order to avoid any possible claim "to the contrary, he petitions that by decree of the Sacr. Congregation it may be expressly "declared to belong to the diocese of Isfahan": and the decree was issued: "The island "of Kharg is to be assigned to the Bishop of Isfahan."

In the session of the Congregation, 2.6.1760, consideration was given to: "a petition of Mgr Cornelius of S. Joseph, Bishop of Isfahan, to your Eminences for an "extraordinary grant in aid in order to finish the building already begun of the church and "hospice in the island of Kharg, situated in the Persian Gulf, which building he believes "necessary for the safety of the missions in the present disorders in Persia. . . ."³

The new Bishop had been authorized by the Sacr. Congregation to remain for a time at Basra (in view of the chaotic conditions in the interior of Persia): but, desirous of being independent of another's diocese, on 11.2.1763 he transferred his residence to Kharg.⁴ This is what he himself wrote from Basra to the Sacr. Cong., 5.7.1763:⁵

"I arrived at Kharg in 18 days, towards the end of last February. After having stopped "there 3 months and 10 days, consecrated the Holy Oils, and conferred the chrism" (of confirmation) "I was obliged to return to Basra, as the Dutch governor there did not "permit me to stay there longer, on the pretext that his company was permitting a missionary "Father to dwell there, but not the permanent fixture of a bishop. . . ."

In *Cont. Basra Chron.* Fr. Angel Felix is more explicit regarding this refusal of the Dutch to allow the Bishop of Isfahan to remain on the island indefinitely:

"1763, 11th February. The right reverend lord, Cornelius of S. Joseph, transferred" (his abode) "to the island of Kharg, in his diocese, and . . . returned hither" (Basra) "on 28.6.1763.

¹ *S.R.*, vol. 785, p. 270.

² See *Acta* of the Sacr. Congregation de Propaganda Fide for 1760, p. 149, also *S.R.*, vol. 785, p. 95.

³ *Acta* for 1760, p. 207; also *S.R.*, vol. 785, p. 270.

⁴ *Cont. Basra Chron.*

⁵ *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 219

"There were two causes for his departure" (i.e. from Kharg)—"display of his episcopal rank on the part of the Bishop, boorish harshness in the Dutch governor. The Prelate . . . deeming that his episcopal seat was insufficiently stable had asked Amsterdam for "letters of recommendation, so that it" (his residence on the island) "might be consolidated "by the express approval and assent of the directors of the Dutch company: instead, he "obtained a result just the contrary. For they, who till then had preferred to know nothing "about the matter, complained bitterly to Batavia" (where the control and direction of the Dutch East India Company's agents in the Persian Gulf and East was centred) "and "ordered that a strict watch should be kept on the Catholics, their numbers and the churches "illegitimately built. And the Prelate also provided a handle for action being taken by "his inordinate use of the ornaments of his rank during the time of his residence on the "island. . . . The complaints having been forwarded from Batavia, the governor" (of Kharg) "Mynheer Bushman who till then had been second-in-command on the island¹— "during several years very effusive in good offices and favours to the missionaries, just and "courteous to all; when he attained the highest place in the administration, his mind excited "by the vapours of unaccustomed honours, he departed a whole world from the path of "uprightness and honesty—was only too glad to respond to the tenor of the letters. . . ."

Another Catholic missionary lies buried on Kharg besides Fr. Urban:

"Fr. Vincent Ferrer Ricci" (O.P., one of the three Dominicans there had been at Julfa till then) "left there to betake himself to these parts². . . having taken ship at Bushire he "had the misfortune to die at sea on a boat near Kharg, where he was honourably interred, "23rd August" (i.e. 1764). The deceased's fellow Dominican, Fr. G. B. de Bernardis, O.P. in a letter from Julfa, 5.10.1764, confirmed this:³

"Fr. Ricci was buried on Kharg with" (? near) "the Carmelite Fathers."

At the end of 1764 the Bishop established himself in Bushire, and in a report dated from there, 2.5.1765,⁴ stated that at that period, i.e. at the end of the Dutch occupation, there were:

"in Kharg 100 souls, including the Catholic soldiers, but without counting the passengers "who come in ships from India and other parts . . . when sometimes there are as many "as 200 persons. . . ."

In his copious remarks, in the turgid style so common early in that century, Fr. Angel Felix begins the year 1766 of *Cont. Basra Chron.* thus:

"This year the climacteric ceased" (as we should say 'the star set') "for the noble "Batavians in the neighbouring island of Kharg. For, when they had first gone there, by "reason of the terms whether not duly explained or insufficiently completed, the Dutch "had always occupied the island, being often at loggerheads with Mir Muhanna, a most "villainous man indeed, but the son and heir of Mir Nasir, who had handed over the island "to them; but, so long as the very sagacious governor, Herr von Kniphausen, held the "rudder of government, Mir Muhanna did not dare to enter upon a struggle. When, "however he" (Baron von Kniphausen) "had left the island, and those appointed in his "place, first Mynheer Van der Roust, then Mynheer Buschman (the former the most pro-"fane, the second the most incompetent of men, overcome by drinking from daybreak to "night) . . . Mir Muhanna did not cease harassing the Dutch, and again and again "reduced them to extremity. While a very dangerous crisis was raging, the fourth and last

¹ Baron von Kniphausen, who had so favoured the Carmelites, had by then left the Persian Gulf, apparently.

² Bp. Cornelius, Basra, 20.9.1764, in *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 272.

³ *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 275.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 347.

“governor there, Mynheer Hontingh, a youth of proved talents, but insufficiently experienced and wideawake for the straits of that time, had arrived. Then the craftiest of Arabs . . . invaded the island, broke through the fortifications with the assistance of treachery and instantly setting up his tents at the gate of the citadel, summoned the Dutch governor, as if to make a compact and truce with him, and fix the terms of peace. Too credulously, Mynheer Hontingh went out of the citadel to him, and there Mir Muhanna announced that the position of affairs was now changed and the wheel of fortune had at length turned to his side; wherefore he” (Mynheer Hontingh) “should write to his officers and men that they were obliged to leave there all their possessions and evacuate the citadel without their arms at once. The Dutch governor had to subscribe to the sentence, hard as it was, in order to escape from the claws of the Arabs. Having received and read the letters of Mynheer Hontingh, the Dutch soldiery with downcast eyes and calm faces, two by two, issued from the fort . . . and the Arab-Persians gaily entered the foreign plantation to reap the victory without any bloodshed. This happened on the first day of the incoming year. The booty, which Mir Muhanna carried off, is computed at 30 lakhs of rupees,¹ since, besides the property of the Company, there was much merchandise of other persons discharged there out of fear of Shaikh Sulaiman” (i.e. the chieftain of the Ka’b Arabs of Khuzistan then on the warpath). . . . “The Dutch, despoiled of everything, just covered with the clothes they wore, were sent in light boats to Bushire, whence after several months they proceeded by one of their ships to Batavia. . . . So ignominious an overthrow of the Dutch is not capable of being more adequately attributed than to the avenging providence of the Almighty, long wearied by the . . . abominations they had committed on this island. For there were stationed there more than 100 Europeans to guard the fort, besides two large ships on the seashore, with their sails spread at that juncture, which, hardly had the Muhammadan flag been unfurled on the fort, hauled up their anchors and sailed away to Batavia without waiting for news of their comrades. Rivals, who for trading reasons used to look with an envious eye on the Dutch there, did not cease from asserting in detraction that the Company would find nothing profitable on that island; but in truth the three governors, who in 10 years alone had departed each with 5, 8 and 10 lakhs of rupees of private gain amassed, prove the contrary. Not a few thought that the Batavians would not leave unavenged so resounding a disgrace; but after many years they were deceived in the expectation of their coming. It is of no use speculating in what light the matter was laid before the Supreme Council of the Company, but what surpassed the wonder of each and everyone and rightly was that the Dutch withdrew from the Persian Gulf, and particularly from Basra, where trade was favouring them more than they could desire.

“But ‘let the soldier count his wounds, the shepherd his sheep’ and we what is ours—let us bitterly weep, not for our House there so very recently constructed lost and its furniture at whatever price, but for the missionary labours frustrated and the harvest destroyed while still in the seed. . . .”

The entry in *Cont. Basra Chron.* under the year 1766:

“On the 20th April Fr. Clement of the Annunciation arrived *here*” (i.e. Basra) which has, almost certainly as a penslip, in the original manuscript, the words “ex Residentia nostra Bassorensi” for “ex Residentia nostra Abuscerensi” or “e. R. n. Karekensi,”² i.e. “from our Residence at Bushire (or Kharg)”,

makes it clear, it would seem, that Fr. Clement had remained as the missionary on the island from 1761 till the Dutch were expelled on 1.1.1766, and then either was sent with them to Bushire or proceeded later direct from Kharg to Basra.

¹ A lakh of rupees is 100,000.

² The emendation suggested by the editor of *Cont. Basra Chron.*, Fr. Ambrose of S. Theresia.

Bishop Cornelius of Isfahan helps to explain what happened in his letter of 11.8.1766 from Bushire:¹

“As to Mir Muhanna, after having forced the English and Persians to withdraw from the “blockade by their squadrons, which together they had made of an adjoining island² where “that rebel had retired with his men, and had nullified all the efforts which for 40 days of “the blockade they had not ceased to make to cause him to surrender: having, with the “like fortune, entirely defeated the Dutch, who, taking the place of the English, attempted “jointly with the Persians from Bushire to effect a landing on the islet in question, where “they were all massacred, only a few having saved themselves by swimming: after all this, “the bold rebel took on the enterprise of driving the Dutch themselves out of Kharg, and “succeeded in it to our profound disgrace. Because, after having captured at sea some of “their armed ships, he landed his men on that island without opposition and after 9 days’ “siege, although without any cannon, he succeeded in making himself master of the town “and compelling the fort to surrender at discretion, their lives to be spared, and he allowed “the Dutch to carry away only the clothes they were wearing. Such a conquest renders “this savage rebel absolutely powerful because, in addition to 200 cannons, the arsenal and “a considerable store of war material which the Dutch Company possessed there, he has “in his hands all the merchandise and money there was there, which is said to reach the “sum of about 4 millions, without counting the plunder taken from the inhabitants. . . . “This taking of Kharg happened on the night of the first day of this year. . . . God “permitted that I should be here” (i.e. in Bushire) “to afford all the charity which I can, “both spiritual and in kind, to these poor Dutchmen, who with their Governor and officers “have been left here half naked . . . besides caring for the soldiers who are Catholics. . . .”

There is one more reference to the mission on Kharg in Bishop Cornelius’ letter, 15.10.1767, from Bushire, to:³

“some chasubles, which at my own expense I had had made to take the place of those “lost in the plundering of our church at Kharg”.

There had been a church, therefore: and everything in it was looted by Mir Muhanna’s men in 1766.

Sir John Malcolm in his *History of Persia* asserts of Kharg Island:

“Its population, which amounted to a hundred poor fishermen and pilots when Baron “Kniphausen first established himself there, increased in the 11 years that the Dutch held “it to upwards of 12,000 souls . . .”

which to one knowing the interior and the capacity of the island nowadays appears fantastic exaggeration.

The remains of the Dutch fort on the island still stand—not long ago a cannon with the royal cypher of William of Holland and England lay on the seashore at Bandar Rig: the pleasant village shows evidence of Dutch occupation in the straight lines of its streets and other ways: the site of the Carmelite church has not been identified, however, nor of the tombs of the Fathers buried there.

It may be said, *en résumé*, that:

- (a) the Carmelite Mission on Kharg island was a real mission—with chapel, hospice (on which over 2,000 rupees were spent, at a minimum) and resident missionary;

¹ *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 358.

² i.e. Khārgū.

³ *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 466.

- (b) it began and ended with the Dutch occupation of the island, 1754 to 1766, being founded on the spiritual care of the Catholics in the German-Dutch garrison, Armenians and other Christians who had been attracted there by the Dutch trading centre;
- (c) there was a Carmelite Father (one, and at times two) for some months only in each of the years 1754, 1755, but in continuous residence from 15.8.1756 till the expulsion on 1.1.1766 (except for the intervals 20.4 1757 to about 20.7.1757, and November 1758 to March 1759, temporary absences for reasons of health).

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THE INTERMITTENT MISSION AT BANDAR 'ABBAS

IN HIS REPORT to the Sacr. Congregation (docketed in their records with the date 26.3.1671: *S.N.R.*, I, p. 252 *et seq.*), while in Rome as Procurator for the mission in Persia and the Indies, Fr. Valerius wrote:

“ . . . Besides this house at Isfahan we have another two Residences . . . the second “Comorono” (= Gāmburun, i.e. the old site to the west of modern Bandar 'Abbas) “*recently taken* . . .”,

and, in another part of the same report, he used the words:

“ . . . *three years* previously Fr. Athanasius was sent, in the company of Monsieur Mariage, “its head, to serve the French gentlemen in their Factory. . . .”

Confirmation that the year 1668 saw the first effort by the Carmelites to make Bandar 'Abbas a centre for missionary effort can be found in the letters of Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, c.g. 21.4.1668, Isfahan (O.C.D. 237 d.) where he stated that he had

“sent a missionary to the port of Hurmuz to look after the gentlemen of the French Company. “Fr. Athanasius is there this year with Monsieur Nic. Mariage . . .”,

and in another part of that letter,

“ . . . what we greatly need is the ‘port of Hurmuz’, because, were we to leave it, it would “be ‘cultivated’ by the other Orders,”

and in that of 15.2.1669 (he had been himself at Bandar 'Abbas since the 18th November 1668 with the Visitor General, who had arrived with Fr. Athanasius on December 8th, and the ‘Congress’ had been held there),

“ . . . the mission at Bandar 'Abbas is very useful, but to *be kept up during the months of “December to March*—there is nothing to be done from mid-June to mid-October . . .”;

and in that of 28.2.1669 Fr. Dionysius wrote to the Definitory General in Rome that he himself at Bandar 'Abbas was “under the protection of, and totally maintained by the head of the “French Company”. A letter of 12.4.1669 (O.C.D. 236 b.) shows Fr. Athanasius as then at that port. The Vicar Provincial (Fr. Felix: O.C.D. 238 p.) lamented on 15.4.1671 that in the whole Mission their numbers had been reduced for the time being to five, and so

“this year I have been unable to send a missionary to Gāmburun”.

The same year, in one of his rarer letters in Italian that have been preserved (14.1.1671, O.C.D. 236 i.), Fr. Angelus of S. Joseph mentioned:

“ . . . la *missione nova* del Bender 'Abbasi stà sola per mancanza de' Religiosi. . . .”

However, Fr. Athanasius must have been back there from Shiraz for part of 1672-3, *vide* Fr. Angelus (O.C.D. 236 i. on 3.1.1673):

“Le Père Athanase étoit seul au Bender Abbasy, où il n’est pas encore allé cette année
“je ne sçay . . . mais d’ailleurs, si l’on sçavoit à Rome que le Bender Abassy est la sépulture
“des Franks . . .”;

and Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary (O.C.D. 241 l. on 30.8.1673),

“. . . since it is a very necessary matter to aid our Religious at the port of Bandar ’Abbas,
“as it were the greater part of the year . . .”;

although, as Vicar Provincial two years later, on 31.8.1675, in his detailed report to Rome on the missionaries the same Fr. Jerome echoed the words of Fr. Angelus:

“. . . the last Praepositus General had indicated that they did not intend to keep on the
“house at Bandar ’Abbas, to serve as a slaughter-house for the Religious. I informed Fr.
“Athanasius, telling him to send the books there to Shiraz, and to give me an account of
“the money he had. . . . When I returned from Isfahan I found in his cell a writing from
“Fr. Athanasius . . . ‘this is the money for the *purchase of the house at Bandar ’Abbas* by
“‘order of the deceased Vicar Provincial’. . . .”

It is therefore tolerably evident that (a) when in 1671 Fr. Valerius referred to a ‘residence’ there was no ‘Residence’ in the sense of premises purchased, acquired or built by the Carmelite Order, even though Fr. Dionysius, Vicar Provincial, had provided money to purchase one; but (b) beginning from the year 1668 the Order undertook and made a practice of placing a Religious at Bandar ’Abbas for several of the cooler months each year, whenever a Religious could be spared from Shiraz, whither he returned for the summer heat; (c) during the months he was at Bandar ’Abbas, the Father was entertained and maintained by the French Royal East India Company, and probably had a lodging in their premises. This was the nature of the intermittent and non-permanent mission undertaken.

In the winter of 1675-6 Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary, Vicar Provincial, had gone from Shiraz to Bandar ’Abbas in company of Monsieur Perrot, chief of the French Company, who, “has asked for a Frenchman to be with them” as chaplain (see Fr. Angelus, O.C.D. 236 b. on 8.9.1675). A Religious had however been in permanent residence for the two years 1682-4, according to Fr. Agnellus’ report to Rome of 26.10.1684:

“Fr. Leander” (i.e. of S. Francis Xavier) “a Portuguese. . . . I do not know why he has
“been left alone for two years in Bandar ’Abbas . . .”;

and elsewhere in that report he was of opinion

“. . . As to Bandar ’Abbas, if the French abandon their Factory, we shall be obliged also
“to abandon our mission: it has never pleased me to have one missionary there alone. . . .”

In 1686 *Chron. Basra* records:

“Fr. Agathangelus, having obtained permission from our Superiors to *re-erect*¹ and *establish*
“our mission of Bandar ’Abbas, on the second February of the year 1686 took with him Fr.
“Candidus and left here for Bandar ’Abbas, where after many labours for the Catholic
“Religion on the 3rd June of the same year he rendered up his soul to God, deprived of all

¹ ‘Re-edificare’ is to be taken here, presumably, in the figurative sense? Had there been an actual hospice built, which seems less likely, it was evidently in ruins by 1686.

"human consolation, even of our Religion. . . . Fr. Candidus, whom Fr. Agathangelus "had sent off on some matters of business before he fell ill, reached here on the 10th of the "same month and remained here till the 29th August of that year, when he left once more "for Kung, thence to go to Bandar 'Abbas."

Whether from 1686–8 Fr. Candidus of S. Joseph remained at Kung or at Bandar 'Abbas does not transpire, and is uncertain from an allusion to him in Fr. Elias' letter of 18.6.1689, O.C.D. 237 h.

" . . . I have sent there" (to India) "in my stead Fr. Candidus . . . he left Kung in the "beginning of October 1688, and on the 16th October had arrived at Masqat. . . ."

(Fr. Candidus was drowned on the voyage between Masqat and India—see his biographical notice.)

In 1700 when the Apostolic Visitor, Archbishop Peter Paul of Ancyra, stayed there for some weeks or months (see his letters 1.4.1700, 4.4.1700 written from Bandar 'Abbas, *S.R.*, vol. 541, pp. 17–20) and Fr. Peter of Alcantara from Basra went to meet him there, no missionary was resident—see the letter of Fr. Basil of S. Charles, Vicar Provincial, 15.1.1700 (*S.R.*, vol. 538, p. 405) to the Sac. Cong. Fr. Basil also wrote that:

' . . . what was most necessary was that (mission) at Bandar 'Abbas: although *not provided* 'with either church, or Residence, or missionaries, despite his having many times asked his superiors 'for it. . . .'

In 1722 Fr. Urban, was sent there (see *Chron. Basra*), and there he remained for three years "always in the houses of the English or Dutch gentlemen" (see Fr. Cyril, Shiraz, 8.5.1725, O.C.D. 238 i.). This is what he himself wrote on 4.6.1725 (O.C.D. 242 b.) from Basra:

"I have always been astonished that *up till now there has not been built a church* in the "most famous port of Persia, where so many Christians resort. . . . At that time I applied "myself to renovating all the vestments and utensils for the Mass, which our Fathers of "Persia always kept there in a chest for the convenience of passing missionary Fathers, or "of those who from time to time went there from Basra to hold a mission there: in which, "with the help of the almsgiving of the Christians, I have incurred considerable expenditure: "and at present with some small help from Rome (always supposing the due sanction of "Your Reverence were received) *there could be built* a small chapel with two or three rooms "to set up that mission. . . ."

With the skeleton numbers of Religious left in Persia there is small probability and in *Chron. Basra* no mention of any other Fathers having made a stay at Bandar 'Abbas to hold a mission between 1725 and the end of 1732, when Fr. John Joseph of S. Antony was sent there by the Vicar Provincial to make a small establishment, but he was dead by 2.4.1733 (see Fr. Urban's letter, 12.6.1733, O.C.D. 242 h.). Then in *Chron. Basra*, Fr. Placid, Vicar Provincial, wrote:

"I myself set out on the 26th October 1733 for Bandar 'Abbas together with Brother "Augustine of the Purification, *in order to establish a House there* for the glory of God. . . ."

But Fr. Placid had returned to Basra by October 1734, after having been to the Residences in Persia (*Chron. Basra*), so that *he* did not leave any permanent establishment. He did indeed send there in the following year, September 1735, Fr. Antoninus of S. Dionysius, who had been Vicar of Basra, but only to die of fever 6.4.1736, while Fr. Cyril, the veteran Vicar of Shiraz

returning from a journey to Bandar 'Abbas, died on the road also of malignant fever and in April 1736 (see *Cont. Basra Chron.*).

At that period

“the French, English and Dutch had citadels and soldiers there,¹ and their ships were “continually going to and coming from the Indies; but *now* under the rule of the new Tyrant “it has lost much ground. Few Armenians are to be found there, but many foreigners . . .”

wrote Bishop Emmanuel of Baghdad in his report, while in Rome, about April 1740 (*S.N.R.*, IV, pp. 577–80).

After 1736 there is no mention—either in *Cont. Basra Chron.* or in correspondence—of any Carmelite being at Bandar 'Abbas, nor could there have been, because of the abandonment of the mission at Shiraz and insufficient numbers at Isfahan and Basra, until Fr. Urban of S. Eliseus left Bandar 'Abbas for Kharg at the beginning of 1755 (see *Cont. Basra Chron.*) by direction of the Vicar Provincial. It is not stated how many years he had been at Bandar 'Abbas—“where he *had* laboured *several* years” (*vide* Register of Deaths of Religious at Basra in MSS. O.C.D. 240 b); he had presumably left Isfahan after 1746 and must have remained in the interval between then and 1755 at Bushire partly, or at Bandar 'Abbas the whole time. After his death the ‘mission’ at Bandar 'Abbas was “vacant”—

“as regards the vacant mission at Bandar 'Abbas, Your Reverence will have the goodness “to signify to me your view” (see F. Hyacinth of S. Teresa, 23.6.1755, O.C.D. 242 b.).

In 1765 Bishop Cornelius reported (*S.N.R.*, VII, p. 308):

“In Bandar 'Abbas there resides one Latin Catholic family consisting of seven persons . . .”

But already by that year the celebrated East Indian Companies of the three maritime Powers had withdrawn from that port . . . “suppressed their House” (see *Cont. Basra Chron.*) on account of their resentment of the actions of the Khan of Lar.

“Months ago the English with a squadron of three vessels ruined Bandar 'Abbas, otherwise called Gāmbūn, at the mouth of the Gulf, transporting the Factory they had there “to another place in the Persian Gulf called Bushire. . . .” (Bishop Cornelius, Basra, 5.7.1763, in *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 219.)

The above analysis of the evidence remaining on record suggests the following conclusions:

- (a) in 1688 the Carmelite missionaries first began to cultivate Bandar 'Abbas, acting as chaplains during the winter months only;
- (b) they never had any Residence or church built;
- (c) they frequented the port, acting as chaplains to the European ‘Factories’, between 1688 and 1755, but intermittently, for
- (d) of those 88 years the Fathers are to be traced there for a total of approximately 11 or 12 years alone, counted in months—except for the period up to 9 years that Fr. Urban spent there: i.e. not more than a total of 20 in all.

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¹ The Dutch had 150 Europeans in their ‘Factory’ in 1735 at Bandar 'Abbas—see British East India Company records in India Office, London; the bishop’s statement about the French being still there in 1740 or even 1730 seems doubtful. They withdrew earlier than the other Companies.

THE TEMPORARY SETTLEMENT AT BUSHIRE

IN 1744, or early 1745,

“Fr. Urban” (then Vicar Provincial) “suddenly went with a neophyte who served him to ‘Bushire, where he straightaway bought a house with the help of the Christians there, who ‘for so long had been sighing for the Fathers to come. He established a mission, *opening a church* to the great profit of the Christians there, who were living there without the Mass ‘and without instruction or the Sacraments. . . .”

(See the letter in *S.R.*, vol. 729, dated Julfa, 29.5.1745, from Fr. Sebastian of S. Margaret—who, however, is inclined to magnify matters and be inaccurate, through small acquaintance with the country perhaps.) There is nothing definite to show where Fr. Urban remained after 1745—at Bushire, or at Bandar ‘Abbas, or for how long at each place—till in 1755 from Bandar ‘Abbas (where he had been for *several years*) he transferred his residence to Kharg island, and there died.

At the end of June 1753 Bishop Sebastian of Isfahan, accompanied by Fr. Hyacinth of S. Teresa, arrived from Bandar Rig at Bushire,

“where a mission was held to the profit of those Catholics, who were there ‘de passage’ . . .”

The Bishop and Fr. Hyacinth remained in Bushire

“*five months* and more in the hope of being able to make their way to Isfahan . . . but such ‘bad news reached them at the end of October that . . . they re-embarked and returned ‘to Basra’”.

On 5th October they reached Basra, according to *Cont. Basra Chron.* (see Fr. Hyacinth of S. Teresa, *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 184, Basra, 23.12.1753). On 4.11.1757 Fr. Hyacinth of S. Teresa left Basra for Bushire, where he remained till after the end of April 1758, and then left for Bombay and Surat (*Cont. Basra Chron.*).

Writing from Basra 5.7.1763 (*S.N.R.*, VII, p. 219) Bishop Cornelius of Isfahan mentioned:

“ . . . Some months ago the English, with a squadron of three vessels, ruined Bandar ‘‘Abbas, otherwise called Cameron (=Gāmbnun), a town of Persia at the mouth of the ‘Gulf, transferring the Factory they had there to another township of the Persian Gulf ‘called Bandar Bushire’ (‘Abuscer’, he spelt it) “—Bandar in Persian means ‘port’—a ‘place only a few hours away from Kharg” (he spelt it ‘Carek’). “Should they succeed in ‘establishing themselves there, I too shall arrange to open there a mission with a house ‘for my own dwelling;¹ since (should that succeed) probably many Armenian Persian ‘families, now in Basra or scattered in this neighbourhood, will leave to dwell there under ‘the protection of the British flag. . . .”

And, in fact, *Cont. Basra Chron.* records:

“on the 9th December 1764 His Ex. Mgr Cornelius of S. Joseph, Bishop of Isfahan, left ‘for Bushire. . . .”

¹ He does not refer to the house which Fr. Urban was said to have *bought* in 1745.

There in February 1765 the distinguished German traveller, Karsten Niebuhr, met him (see his *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Landern*, Kopenhagen, 1774-8, vol. II, p. 77) with another Religious, doubtless Fr. Antony Marian. Bishop Cornelius made his residence at Bushire from December 1764 to some date between his letters of April 1767 from Bushire and May 1770 from Basra. Fr. Antony Marian of S. Joseph had been the Bishop's companion in February-March 1765 (see the Bishop's letter, 11.3.1766, *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 358): on 8.3.1767 he left Basra for Bushire, but, when the English 'moved their Factory from Bushire, temporarily, to Basra, he betook himself on 14.2.1769 to Basra, where he died that August' (*Cont. Basra Chron.*). Bishop Cornelius' report from Bushire of 2.5.1765 (*S.N.R.*, VIII, p. 308) mentions:

"There are in Bushire 35 souls. . . ."

In his letter of 11.3.1766, Bushire (*S.N.R.*, VII, p. 358), after relating the expulsion of the Dutch from Kharg island on the night of 1.1.1766, the Bishop stated that with his companion (Fr. Antony Marian) he had been able to care for the Dutch Catholic soldiers, who had escaped to Bushire half naked, baptized some Indian slaves of the Dutch, and he was busy with some of the Dutch Protestants disposed for conversion. His report of 1772 on "the state of Persia and the Missions" (*S.N.R.*, VIII, p. 6) includes:

" . . . Finally the fourth mission to provide would be that which I myself opened in "Bushire¹ . . . to assist the Christians who come from Basra and by the ships from India, "on which there are always to be found Christian sailors and Catholic passengers, and often "too Indian heathens to be baptized. If the English Company reopen there, as is hoped, "the Factory it had, there is no doubt but that many Christian families will establish themselves under the protection of that same Company, as had already happened in my time, "because in less than a year five large families of Catholics, besides that of my Persian "servant of the Gabr" (i.e. Zoroastrian) "sect whom I baptized, came and settled there. . . . "Moreover, besides the house which I bought and which remains provided with everything "needful, both as church ornaments and as to utensils and furniture required in a habitation for the comfort of those dwelling in it . . ."

After the abandonment, perhaps temporary, of the mission in 1769 mentioned above, there is no reference—in letters preserved, or in *Cont. Basra Chron.*—to any Carmelite being stationed at Bushire till 28.7.1776, when (see *Cont. Basra Chron.*):

"On this day there left for Persia for a change of air Fr. Ferdinand of S. Charles, Vicar "of this hospice, and with him Fr. Aloysius Mary of the Heart of Jesus for his Persian "mission. . . . In the month of January 1777 Fr. Ferdinand of S. Charles returned to "us . . . the last-named" (i.e. Fr. Aloysius Mary) "having received appointment in "December 1777 as Vicar General of the diocese of Isfahan . . . in April 1778 he left for "his destination,"

(which probably was *not* Isfahan, but Bushire). There is information from another source regarding the year 1777, however: for in the session of the Sacr. Cong. on 7.9.1778 Cardinal Pamphilj reported (see *Acta*, 1778, p. 309, in archives, Prop. Fide) that letters dated 20.4.1777 and 18.9.1777 from the administrator of the diocese of Isfahan, the Armenian priest educated in the Urban College of Propaganda, Rome—Fr. John son of Aratun (appointed by decree of 8.6.1776), had been received, saying:

" . . . There are also 6 or 7 Catholics . . . in Bushire, a port now frequented, where "too the English by a convention made with Karim Khan have put up their flag and

¹ He does not speak of the house which Fr. Urban was said to have purchased in 1745 (according to Fr. Sebastian).



INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR OF THE EXISTING (1938) CHURCH
AND PRESBYTERY OF THE CARMELITES AT BUSHIRE

“placed a consul. There the Discalced Carmelites have a *tiny house without a church*, and “there at present is Fr. Aloysius Mary, the Siennese.”

With the end of *Cont. Basra Chron* (1778), there are no further details available regarding this mission at Bushire (unless in archives of the Sacr. Cong. of later years not yet examined by the present compiler). Yet, with the Residency of the English East India Company restored to Bushire and becoming more and more influential in the Persian Gulf, it is certain that, just as in 1766 the Vicar Apostolic for Malabar, Mgr Charles of S. Conrad, and Fr. Clement of the Annunciation and Fr. John of S. Margaret were using Bushire as their first port on the way to India (see *Cont. Basra Chron.*), so Carmelites coming via Baghdad to Indian missions used Bushire from then onwards, in replacement of Bandar 'Abbas, as the port of embarkation for Indian ports: and therefore Bushire must have been frequented often by Carmelite missionaries right into the nineteenth century. In *S.N.R.*, I, p. 334, there is a note on the “Missions of “Persia”, written evidently after 1806: in it are the words:

“Bushire, on the Persian Gulf, or ‘Bandar’. There is no priest. Many Catholic traders “arrive there, but there is no one settled. . . .”

To summarize Carmelite activities at Bushire, except for the unconfirmed foundation of 1745-6 it can be said:

- (a) between the years 1753 and 1777 during at least a total of 6 years and some months missionaries were at the port—and perhaps after 1778;
- (b) a house was purchased about the beginning of 1765, and part of it used as a chapel (but by 1906 there was no local tradition as to its site);
- (c) Carmelites were continuously in residence from the end of 1764 till February 1769.

(N.B.—From 1899 the Carmelite Fathers, centred on Baghdad, began again to *visit* Bushire regularly. This was largely due to the zeal of Fr. Pedro de la Madre de Dios (Ruiz de Brizuela) a former Superior at Baghdad.

In 1905 a resident priest was installed, and at first a building opposite the Indian Sawars' lines in the British Residency hired as a chapel. In 1907 or 1908 by the energy of Fr. Pedro funds had been collected and the present (1935) church premises were bought from the late Mr. Joseph Malcolm, and adapted to church use, the habitation of the priest being overhead. From 1906 to 1928, except for intervals, Carmelite Fathers were posted at Bushire: by 1928 the Goanese colony, chiefly employees, had dwindled away, and few Catholics were left.)

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THE EPISCOPAL FOUNDATION AT HAMADAN

THE ORIGIN of the Catholic church and house at Hamadan is to be found in letters of Mgr François Picquet, e.g. that of 20.10.1677 (*S.R.*, vol. 466, p. 330) from Marseilles, when, just consecrated Bishop of Caesaropolis, he enquired whether he might be allowed to change his residence, as coadjutor of the Bishop of Babylon, from Baghdad to Aleppo—a suggestion apparently refused (see *S.R.*, vol. 521, p. 261): and that from Isfahan when, having succeeded as Bishop of Baghdad on 26.4.1683, he explained in a Latin letter to the Pope on 9.5.1684 (*S.N.R.*, I, p. 453):

“ . . . Hamadan is a town in Persia near Baghdad: there live Armenian Christians to whom hitherto no assistance has been afforded by the missionaries. . . . At Hamadan, with God’s favour, I shall stay until I find out what adit for entering Babylon or Baghdad, and residing there, lies open. . . . At present the approach seems closed.”

He had reached Hamadan by 30.6.1684, when he wrote of ‘being already busy making a ‘house and chapel’ (*S.N.R.*, I, p. 449).

Here it may be briefly recalled how the Bishops of Baghdad came to reside at all in the diocese of Isfahan, and at Hamadan in particular. The first, Bishop Timothy Perez, a Calced Carmelite, was created as coadjutor of the first Latin Bishop of Isfahan but simultaneously on 6.9.1632, Baghdad at that time being also part of the Persian dominions by occupation. When the second Bishop, Mgr Duval, who was a Discalced Carmelite, was appointed, there was no bishop resident in Persia, and so he was also nominated Vicar Apostolic for the diocese of Isfahan on 25.9.1638. The recapture by the Turks of the city of Baghdad in December 1638 made it difficult and hazardous (considering the relations of active hostility between the Ottoman Sultans and the Popes) for the Bishop to attempt to reside in Baghdad. However, on 12.11.1638 by decree of the Sacr. Congregation (*S.R.*, vol. 210, p. 9) Bishop Duval was given the faculty, as Vicar Apostolic, of residing in the diocese of Isfahan so long as its own bishop continued to be an absentee. Bishop Duval remained in Persia only from 1640–42. After that there was no Bishop of Baghdad in Persia till Mgr Picquet’s arrival at Isfahan from Syria via Armenia on 12.7.1682.¹ He found

“the house and church, bought in former times for the bishop” (of Baghdad) “in Isfahan and sold to ‘Turks’, ruined and reconstructed, without there being any hope of obtaining it again and, if it were acquired by spending money, it would come dearer than any other. . . .”

Bishop Picquet died at Hamadan on 26.8.1685 (see *Hierarchia Latina Orientis*, No. 10, part 2, by the late Fr. L. Lemmens, O.F.M.). In answer to the information sought by the Sacr. Cong. and Cardinal Barberini’s enquiry of 2.8.1698 his successor, Bishop Pidou de St. Olon, wrote from *Hamadan* on 11.8.1699 (*S.N.R.*, II, p. 279):

“I arrived here (Hamadan) on 7.1.1685, and a *little after* Mgr Picquet bought this house, and *paid for it in sequins 48 Tumans* and somewhat over, i.e. 2,400 French *lire*. But possession of it could not be obtained until after his death, viz. on the 20.7.1686 after many lawsuits and ‘journeys of Monsieur’ (i.e. the Reverend) ‘Sansou to the capital at great expense for

¹ See his letter, 27.7.1682, *S.R.*, vol. 487, p. 502.

"this mission. Besides, it was acquired without walls, and half ruined. It may be said "that it had been bought without the Seminary (in Paris) being able to prove that it had "disbursed the least farthing. . . . As regards the 4,400 scudi of Roman money, assigned "to Mgr the Bishop of Heliopolis" (Mgr Duchemin, O.S.B., consecrated Bishop of Baghdad, 30.5.1661, died 26.1.1683, who never proceeded to his diocese) "for the building of a "church for the bishopric of Babylon I cannot say anything, having never had any informa- "tion about it all the time of our mission.¹ Afterwards Monsieur Sanson (I being present) "bought the house at Isfahan in the suburb of Julfa for some 120 Tumans—6,000 French "lire—I do not remember exactly; and I took possession of it on 4.11.1690, after much "opposition from the schismatic Armenians and to the displeasure of other Latin Catholics "—without it being ever learnt or heard that the Seminary" (of Foreign Missions) "at "Paris had given a groat towards the purchase of that house, nor of their ever having had "any intention of acquiring a single handsbreadth of land in Persia. . . . Seeing that the "house at Julfa was useless to me and a great expense and outside the diocese I had agreed "with the gentlemen from the Seminary to sell it to pay off debts contracted here; but "these orders of mine were not executed after my departure from Isfahan on 6.1.1697. . . ."

Mgr Pidou de St. Olon, a Theatine, remained at Hamadan from 1685 (see his letters in *S.N.R.*, I, p. 479, etc., of 13.12.1686, 6.10.1687, 19.2.1688, 29.11.1689, 30.6.1690), but on 16.8.1690 arrived in Isfahan in company with one of his Franciscan Tertiary companions. In Julfa he stayed during 1691–2, and till after his consecration on 9.5.1694 (*vide* his letters in *S.N.R.*, I, of 23.12.1690, 28.9.1691, 26.9.1692, 29.6.1694) arriving back at Hamadan on 27.7.1694. (During Fr. Pidou's stay in Isfahan the premises at Hamadan had been occupied apparently by one of the chaplains from the French 'Seminary for Foreign Missions', Monsieur Gaudreau; and two Franciscan Tertiaries, also French priests, were resident in Hamadan—see *Vita P. F. Elia a S. Alberto*, in O.C.D. 320 e.).

On 4.7.1695 Bishop Pidou set off from Hamadan in company with Fr. Elias of S. Albert (who had visited him there between 10.5.1695 and 4.7.1695) with the intention of being the consecrating bishop for Fr. Elias, also raised to the episcopate, who had decided to be consecrated in Isfahan. The ceremony was, however, postponed till 30.12.1696 (*vide* the *Vita P. F. Elia* . . ., cited). In 1695 "Monsieur" Roc, a Savoyard, was acting as chaplain at Hamadan during the absence of Bishop Pidou.² Immediately afterwards the Bishop of Baghdad returned to Hamadan (see his letter from Hamadan, 23.1.1697), and remained there till summoned to Isfahan in October 1699 by the Archbishop of Ancyra (*vide* Bishop Pidou's letter, 23.12.1699, from Isfahan, *S.R.*, vol. 536, p. 121).

(Hamadan saw one episcopal consecration, however—that of Fr. Peter of Alcantara of S. Teresa by Bishop Pidou de St. Olon, who in his letter of 29.6.1706 (*S.N.R.*, II, p. 483), reported that he had performed the ceremony the previous Sunday.)

The Sacr. Cong. on 24.8.1699 ordered, in regard to the complaints of the Bishop of Baghdad that he could not, without risk from the Turks, reside in Basra or elsewhere in his diocese:

"granted that the circumstances set forth" (by the bishop) "be true, he may be allowed— "if it so please our Lord the Pope—to *remain in Hamadan for three years* . . . and in an "audience given on 15.1.1701 His Holiness approved. . . ."

In the Congregation of 4.9.1702 orders were issued (*S.R.*, vol. 543):

" . . . Let the term for residing in the town of Hamadan be prolonged for another three "years. . . ."

¹ There is a mention in *S.R.*, vol. 487, attached to Mgr Picquet's letter of 27.7.1682, p. 502, purporting to show that 4,400 scudi had been given him by the Sacr. Cong. to make a chapel and residence in *Baghdad*: and he was to get 538 scudi yearly.

² *Vide* his letter, 31.10.1695, *S.R.*, vol. 525, p. 257.

From his letters it is evident that the Bishop of Baghdad was at Hamadan on 21.7.1706¹ (*S.R.*, vol. 559), and on 23.11.1711 (*S.R.*, vol. 587), but arrived in Julfa from Hamadan 24.9.1712 (*S.R.*, vol. 589), and was given a residence in the Carmelite Convent in Isfahan city, and there became half paralysed 20.8.1714 (letter of Fr. Jerome Francis, Isfahan, 18.9.1714, in *S.N.R.*, III, p. 70, who also used the words:

“ . . . Monsignor himself has told me more than once that from the time that the bishops of Baghdad have the mission at Hamadan. . . . Now that the mission at Hamadan is “abandoned for the reasons given above . . .”:

and in that Convent at Isfahan Bishop Pidou de St. Olon remained till his death on 20.11.1717.

It was following abandonment in September 1712 by Bishop Pidou of the residence of the bishops of Baghdad at Hamadan that for the first time a Discalced Carmelite was sent from Isfahan to take charge of it, see *Chron. Basra*:

“Anno autem Domini 1712 die 2 Novembris Pater Paulus Augustinus discessit Aspahano “Amadan versus, domum id est residentiam Illustrissimi Domini Pidou Babilonensis “Episcopi gubernaturus” (but on the 2nd November A.D. 1712 Fr. Paul Augustine left Isfahan for Hamadan to administer the house, i.e. residence of Mgr Pidou, bishop of Babylon),

but only remained there one year; for *Chron. Basra* continues:

“ . . . propter quas scripturas post unius anni gubernium illius Domus discessit Amadam “et pervenit Bassoram anno Domini 1714 die 3 Februarii” (on account of those documents after administering that house for one year he (Fr. Paul Augustine) left Hamadan and reached Basra on 3.2.1714).

From his own letter, dated 22.1.1714 from Julfa, Fr. Paul Augustine would seem to have quitted Hamadan about the end of 1713.

Before he arrived at Hamadan in 1712, however, and after his departure in 1714 there was in charge of the episcopal property at Hamadan a French secular, born in Avignon in 1690, from the Seminary for Foreign Missions, Paris,

“ . . . a native of Avignon, who had been secretary to the late Mgr Pidou, Bishop of “Babylon. He assisted in the mission at Hamadan with Fr. Paul Augustine, now Vicar of “Basra, in the place of Mgr Pidou. He knows Armenian and Turkish well, and Persian “sufficiently. When he has been professed and received priest’s orders . . .” (see letter of Fr. Faustin in 1719, O.C.D. 242 b.).

This French secular was later professed in the Carmelite Order at Isfahan under the name of Fr. John Joseph of S. Antony. Fr. Faustin of S. Charles, as Vicar Provincial, on 26.5.1721 (O.C.D. 238 g.) wrote:

“ . . . In the month of February last year I wrote to our Father General and Fr. Vicar “General informing them that the bishop had appointed me to be his representative “(‘regente’) in the diocese of Baghdad, and that I was going to Hamadan to take “possession of that episcopal residence, as the late Mgr Pidou, Bishop of Baghdad, who “died in this Convent, had recommended me in his last testament, as also to look after that “mission. . . .”

¹ Letter of 29 6.1706 in *S.N.R.*, II, p. 483. Père Jean Baptiste Roc, from the Seminary of Foreign Missions, Paris, being with him still—his “sole helper in work among the Armenians”.

A letter (unsigned, but probably by Fr. Alexander of S. Sigismund), dated 23.6.1720, from Isfahan, in O.C.D. 238 g., distinctly stated that on orders from the Sacr. Congregation the Vicar Provincial of the Carmelites occupied and took charge of the episcopal premises at Hamadan:

"... I have remained here four months without our Vicar Provincial who on orders "of the Sacr. Cong. has left to recover the mission of Hamadan. . . ."

The Vicar Provincial himself (13.2.1720: O.C.D. 238 g.) supplied a reason for the orders of the Sacr. Congregation (apart from the maintenance in repair of the buildings at Hamadan, in which the Congregation had a financial interest):

"... To-morrow I leave for Hamadan to take possession of the episcopal residence of "the Bishop of Baghdad . . . *who has been suspended*. . . ."¹

If, then, Hamadan can be styled a 'mission' of the Carmelites—and probably it is more correct not to describe it at all as such, but rather as the episcopal residence of the Bishops of Baghdad, of which the Discalced Carmelites were the guardians responsible for keeping it in repair—1720 should be assigned as the date of its inception.

Fr. Faustin gave further information about the 'mission' at Hamadan in his letter, dated 21.5.1721, after his return to Isfahan:

"... I arrived there on 8th March, and remained alone for 5 months, and afterwards "there came to aid me Fr. John Joseph of S. Antony, a Religious of great virtue and well "informed about that 'mission', having remained there some years together with Mgr "Pidou and also afterwards. . . . From the latest letters I have understood that the greater "part of those Armenians had fled . . . on account of the hardships and losses inflicted "on them by the Khan . . . and that only a few with one priest (out of seven that were "there before) have remained. In fact, the rumour here is that they have obtained a " *raqam* from the king permitting them to come and live in Julfa, which, if true, means "that that 'mission' there will be brought to an end. The residence there is partly in "ruins, and partly in a ruinous state, and it has become necessary to repair it before it fall "down entirely, in advance of the advent of the rains and snow which there fall in abun- "dant. I have . . . with all economy spent 19 Tumans, which make 340 piastres, and "three rooms still remain to be repaired. . . . In Hamadan there is only Fr. John Joseph."

From May 1722 a Vicar Apostolic for the diocese of Baghdad—the first administrator of it to reside inside it—reached the city, Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, a Discalced Carmelite formerly in Persia. He was intensely interested in the episcopal residence and church at Hamadan, nearly all his letters dealing with their state of repair. In that of 1.7.1723 (*S.N.R.*, III, p. 564) from Basra:

"... My companion" (i.e. Fr. John Joseph of S. Antony), "came here as he had been "compelled to leave Hamadan on account of the Persian war. . . ."

Fr. John Joseph himself added in a letter from Baghdad, 2.11.1723 (*S.N.R.*, III, p. 580), that he had been at Hamadan for 13 years, and considered it his native home. He had then been absent in Baghdad 7 months in 1723, 4 months in 1722.

The Vicar Apostolic continued, 9.12.1723, from Basra:

¹ This was Dominique Marie Varlet, a priest who came from the Seminary for Foreign Missions, Paris, and who after being Vicar General for the diocese of Quebec was recommended for nomination as, and appointed coadjutor bishop of Baghdad, 17.9.1718, but who on account of his joining the Jansenist heresy was suspended from all functions by a Special Session of the Sacr. Cong., 25.5.1719, and orders given for his arrest on his journey to his diocese. Bishop Barnabas Fedeli, O.P., of Isfahan, on 22.12.1719, had reported to the Sacr. Cong. that 'being unable himself to proceed to the said 'diocese of Baghdad, he had chosen as its superintendent Fr. Faustin of S. Charles'.

" . . . Fr. John Joseph, my companion, left Baghdad 27.11.1723 for Hamadan. If the "Sacr. Congregation send me money, I shall do my best to keep up that house: if not, I "shall be obliged to abandon it: it is without furniture and greatly ruined. . . ."

In 1742 came a first Turkish assault, and their capture of Hamadan (see letter of 28.9.1724 in *S.N.R.*, III, p. 584):

" . . . The Turk had captured Hamadan after great bloodshed",

and (from Baghdad 14.11.1724, *S.N.R.*, III, p. 586):

" . . . The Turks had besieged Hamadan 2 months. They spared no one, not even "Christians, few excepted. Fr. John Joseph, who during the siege had remained hidden "in a cellar, on coming out was made captive by a Turk and sold as a slave to a Catholic "Christian. . . ."

The Vicar Apostolic must have himself arrived in Hamadan before 25.3.1725, and on 2.12.1725 (*S.N.R.*, III, p. 588) wrote from Baghdad:

" . . . I return from Hamadan, where I left the bishop's house in good condition. . . . "But last year it had been despoiled of everything, and half ruined, when the town was "taken by the Ottomans and plundered. I had recovered certain things needed both for "the church and for furniture of the house: and now recently I bought back at a price "about 500 of the books of the library. There I have left one of our Religious. . . ."

On 25.2.1726 (*S.N.R.*, III, p. 598), speaking of the administration of the diocese before his own arrival in 1722, Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus wrote:

" . . . The Sacr. Congregation had committed the care of this diocese to the Bishop of "Isfahan, and he to Fr. Faustin, the Superior of our missions in Persia. . . . I proceeded "to Hamadan as quickly as I could, and recovered more than 400 books of our library, "but not without spending money. . . . The heretics in Hamadan have endeavoured to "get the Turks to expel us from the town, for which reason I have three times written to "the Envoy for France residing at Constantinople about this matter."

Again, on 23.12.1726 from Aleppo Fr. Joseph Mary explained:

"I came here in order to go to Constantinople to beg for a permit for the house at Hama- "dan, without which there is imminent danger, as the heretics are suborning the Pasha to "throw us out of the town. . . . The house . . . is in a better condition than perhaps it "ever was. . . ."

In *S.N.R.*, III, p. 595, there is a letter of the ambassador of France at Constantinople, Monsieur d'Andresel, 10.11.1725, assuring the Vicar Apostolic that he would do all he could to obtain letters from the Ottoman Government for undisturbed possession of the house at Hamadan. Fr. Joseph Mary recurred to the matter, 20.5.1729 (*S.N.R.*, IV, p. 34), explaining regarding the schismatic Armenians in Hamadan that they were:

" . . . accusing us to the Governor that we had intruded ourselves into the house of the "late bishop, and saying that it should belong to the imperial treasury, because the bishop "had died leaving no heirs. The Governor, however, prohibited anyone from disturbing "the missionaries. . . ."

By 1730 the Persians had regained Hamadan, and the Vicar Apostolic wrote (*S.N.R.*, IV, p. 544):

"The house at Hamadan . . . once again has been reduced to nothing, though it is
"intact . . . and the Religious, whom I had there, is well. . . ."

Next year, in a letter of 7.10.1731 (*S.N.R.*, IV, p. 548) the new pro-Vicar Apostolic, Fr. Emmanuel of S. Albert, also a Discalced Carmelite, reported the news of the Turks having completely destroyed the Persian army and taken Hamadan back—its third change of occupation.

" . . . So for the third time the poor 'mission' of Hamadan is ruined. Fr. John Joseph, 'who was there, has fled to Isfahan. . . . I hope that . . . Providence will give me the 'means to restore this mission. . . ."

Further evidence that the interest attached by the authorities in Rome to Hamadan was on account of the residence of the Bishops of Baghdad, not because of any Carmelite missionary work there, is to be found in a letter of Fr. Philip Mary of S. Augustine from Julfa, 21.9.1734:

" . . . On the 9th instant I received Your Eminence's letter of 20.1.1733, in which you
"communicate to me that the Sacr. Congregation wants from me a detailed, exact and
"confidential statement regarding the state in which is the church and house of the Bishop
"of Baghdad in the town of Hamadan . . . , secondly, to what amount the cost of repairs
"to both might come, and, lastly, what precisely, in what number and of what kind would
"be the furnishings with which the said church needs to be provided and what sum would
"the expenditure reach. To which I reply that at the same time as Your Eminence's letter
"was received there was in our house at Julfa the servant of the said house at Hamadan,
"whom I had known when I passed by there on my first coming out to the Mission" (i.e. 1717)
"who has always continued to be the servant there, and to live in it with his family
" . . . and who had left it about two months ago. After interrogating him I have gathered
"that:

"1. The church, sacristy and refectory, and some other rooms are in their former condition with doors and windows; that all the rest, which with those just mentioned come
"to twenty in number approximately, are lacking doors, windows, water-conduits, etc.
"In addition, in some of the rooms the ceilings had fallen in or the roofs which, being
"made of mud, in the rain are liable to such accidents unless repaired.

"2. The total cost of repairs to the roofs, windows, doors and all the damage done by
"soldiers would amount to 3 Tumans, if greater damage be not caused in the coming
"winter season through those repairs not having been effected.

"3. There was one closed room with various books in it. In 1731 the Father dwelling
"at Hamadan . . . left for fear of the wars and took away with him . . . the ornaments
"of the church and, as the said Father died at Bandar 'Abbas, consequently the ornaments
"in question should be at Bandar 'Abbas or Basra, where he stayed for some time. . . ."

The accounts of the Sacr. Cong. with the pro-Vicar Apostolic for Baghdad diocese from 18.12.1732 to November 1733, docketed 18.12.1734 (*S.N.R.*, IV), include a sum of 100 scudi for repairs and for the sacred utensils of the church, and for the house at Hamadan: acknowledging receipt of these accounts and remittance of the money, Fr. Emmanuel from Baghdad, 13.3.1736, sent a voucher for more than 100 scudi expended in repairs to the house and church by his companions, Fr. Charles Raymond and Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia, O.C.D. Referring to the former, Fr. Joseph Mary wrote from Baghdad, 26.4.1735 (*S.N.R.*, IV, p. 385):

" . . . He wrote that he found it in ruins, empty of all furniture, and full of Turks,

"whom he cannot eject. . . . For several years I had charge of it, and enlarged it as much
 "as I could: for that reason I retain a love for it. . . ."

A few months later the pro-Vicar Apostolic wrote to the Cardinal Prefect (Fr. Emmanuel, 9.9.1735, in *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 390):

" . . . The bishop's house at Hamadan now is in excellent condition. I sent there a
 "Religious almost a year ago, and besides all the things needed for the church and house
 "I gave him money sufficient for its upkeep and to make the repairs necessary for the
 "house, which was almost destroyed in so many wars . . . last week I received another
 "letter from him, informing me that the house was very well restored, the garden walls
 "and the cloister and doors and windows of the house and church being finished, but there
 "still remained the terraces to be made anew; so he wanted some more money. . . ."

The following year, 1736, Fr. Emmanuel, the pro-Vicar Apostolic, himself paid a second visit to Hamadan (*S.N.R.*, IV, p. 421—his letter of 3.10.1736):

"Immediately after Easter I left Baghdad in order to go and visit the house at Hamadan.
 "I have found it necessary to make many repairs there on account of the constant wars
 "which from time to time caused these damages; but it can be said to be a sort of miracle
 "that the church and house have remained as they are, all the more so as they are the
 "buildings in the best condition in all Hamadan. The said town is totally destroyed and
 "might rather be called a heap of stones than a town. I have remade the terraces, made
 "altogether new walls for the cloisters and garden, and done all the water-conduits, white-
 "washed afresh the rooms and made new windows and doors, bought a chalice, chasuble,
 "surplices, and in short made all the furniture necessary for church and house. . . ."

A voucher signed by Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia, at Hamadan, 26.5.1736 (*S.N.R.*, IV, p. 422) confirms:

" . . . I also bear witness that the above-named Father" (i.e. Emmanuel of S. Albert)
 "who arrived in the town about the end of the present month, has brought for the church a
 "silk chasuble, with a missal, fine surplice, four branches of flowers, two crucifixes. . . ."

In the report of the pro-Vicar Apostolic communicated by him to the Sacr. Congregation, while he was in Rome, 21.9.1740 (*S.R.*, vol. 703, pp. 447-8) he gives details of trouble that had arisen:

" . . . In 1737 a Persian near the bishop's house at Hamadan seized possession of the
 "water required for the house and garden: no title-deeds were forthcoming: and there was
 "no money to expend in bribes."

Fr. Leander (companion to the pro-Vicar) had written that he had

"paid 55 piastres for the damages and costs in Hamadan, and that the two servants of the
 "house and an Armenian Catholic were severely bastinadoed and forced to pay 24 'hazar',¹
 "which together with the 55 piastres make 254 Roman scudi: and Fr. Leander does not
 "know what to do . . . that is the miserable condition of the house at Hamadan. . . ."

In his report to the Sacr. Congregation while in Rome, i.e. about April-September 1740 (*S.N.R.*, IV, pp. 577-89), Fr. Emmanuel also mentioned that Hamadan

¹ 'Hazar' means 'thousand' in Persian, and stands for 1,000 dinar—being usually used without that word—the equivalent of one qran of modern Persian usage.

"contains about 100 families of the Armenian rite, all heretics, and insooth more obstinate
"that others in all Persia . . . the Carmelites up to this day have charge of the Residence
"in Hamadan. . . ."

From Malta, 13.11.1743 (*S.N.R.*, V, p. 94) he wrote:

" . . . Avant mon depart pour cette isle, j'ay envoyé tout le peu que j'avois aux Mission-
"aires d'Amadan et de Babilonne pour les soulager dans ce temps de guerre et de
"famine . . ."

so that there was a Carmelite at Hamadan still in 1743. Then four months later, March 1744, the newly consecrated Bishop Emmanuel addressed the Cardinals on his needs (*S.N.R.*, V, p. 124):

"The first consists in the necessity of repairing the church and episcopal house" (i.e. at Hamadan) "almost entirely destroyed by constant wars: the second in getting back the
"books, the articles of the chapel, and other movable objects left by the penultimate
"Bishop, Mgr Pidou de S. Olon, which are in pawn in the house of the Carmelite Fathers
"in Isfahan on account of certain expenditure and repairs to that episcopal house, which
"they claim to have done about twenty years ago. . . ."

He proceeded, however, to a diametrically opposite proposal:

" . . . Then, too, your petitioner must represent to Your Eminences that the bishop's
"house is situated at Hamadan, a town of Persia in the jurisdiction of the diocese of Isfahan:
"that there is not even in that town a single Catholic: that this house is situated 18 days'
"journey distant from my diocese of Baghdad: that in the past 30 years that house has been
"plundered and destroyed various times: that the said town, being a fortress on the frontier
"of the country of the Turks, is always exposed to the first attacks: that for all these reasons
"the missionaries, whom the bishop sends there, remain there very unwillingly. . . .
"Therefore, should Your Eminences deem it suitable, it would appear to your petitioner
"*convenient to abandon that ruined house of small value to the Carmelite Fathers at Isfahan,*
"in order to compensate them for their claims on it: and your petitioner would then bind
"*himself to build or buy another house in his own diocese* with the same sum as is now required
"for the restoration of the former" (i.e. that at Hamadan): "and this would be of great use
"to the diocese of Baghdad, for in it there would work the missionaries now *appointed to go to*
"*Hamadan* (an alien diocese) *merely to look after the house.* When the house at Hamadan had
"been united to the Carmelite mission of Isfahan it would be (by its proximity to them—
"only 10 days' journey) better staffed with missionaries. He would add that of all the
"various bishops, his predecessors, from the beginning of the foundation of the sec none
"had yet made his residence in his own diocese of Baghdad. . . . Your petitioner hopes
"to be the first to make his residence in his diocese, as ordered expressly in the Bull of
"Urban VIII creating it. . . ."

The reason for this abrupt change of policy—apart from the fact that, now consecrated bishop of the diocese, he had the title to make representations for disposal of its property which, as pro-Vicar Apostolic, he had not possessed—lay in the fact that in 1731 the Pasha of Baghdad had personally given the pro-Vicar Apostolic permission to found a house at Baghdad, and in that year Fr. Emmanuel had

"bought for 500 piastres a house in ruins, the extent of which, however, would provide a
"place for a church and a very spacious house: we built a chapel suitable for existing
"requirements. . . ."

This gradually he enlarged into a dwelling fit for a missionary bishop; while, despite sporadic persecution and imprisonments, the prelate could henceforth reside openly in Baghdad, by tacit assent of the Turkish governors—was he not also French consul?—so that there was no use at all in keeping up another residence in Hamadan.

The last references to the premises at Hamadan noted by the present compiler are in the report of Bishop Emmanuel to Pope Benedict XIV, dated Rome, 15th of the Kalends of January 1753, printed there in 1754 (see original in *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 123):

“ . . . Now that town, as I have said, is almost destitute of inhabitants and not one single Armenian remains there: all of them have either been killed, or driven into slavery, or have fled to the Turkish dominions. The church and house of the bishop are almost “destroyed . . .”

and in the Bishop's letter of 20.9.1754 to the Cardinal Prefect (*S.R.*, vol. 759):

“ . . . all the Armenian Christians of Hamadan, none excepted, have withdrawn to Baghdad, besides a quantity of families from Julfa and other places in the diocese (of Isfahan). “ . . . From Hamadan to Baghdad there is not a single Christian to be found: the house, “the church at Hamadan are entirely destroyed, and the town too to such a point that not “200 (two hundred) inhabitants are to be found in it. . . .”

In the undated report (written after 1806, from the context) on ‘Missions in Persia’ (see *S.N.R.*, I, p. 334) occur the words:

“ . . . 6. Hamadan. There is no priest. There are six poor families of Armenians.”

That is the story of *the church* and residence at Hamadan. On the evidence given above,

- (a) it would appear a misnomer—and, indeed, a detraction with regard to real missionary work elsewhere in Persia—to call it a ‘mission’, and include it among the Carmelite mission stations of the ‘province’ of Persia and the Indies (as is done in *La Orden de Sta Teresa . . . y las Misiones*, and by Père Berthold-Ignace and other writers);
- (b) from 1684 a non-Carmelite bishop of Baghdad made his residence in Hamadan, bought the premises, and his non-Carmelite successor, assisted by priests from the Seminary for Foreign Missions at Paris and French Franciscan Tertiaries, made his residence in the house he built until 1712; till about 1719 the bishop's secretary, a secular not ordained priest, from the Seminary for Foreign Missions, was in charge of the premises;
- (c) in 1720, in his position as Vicar General for the diocese, on instructions from the Sac. Congregation the Carmelite Vicar Provincial for Persia proceeded to Hamadan—primarily to prevent the Jansenist Bishop of Baghdad Varlet from entering and occupying the house;
- (d) there was a Carmelite missionary in residence for a total of 14 years, more or less: 1712–3, 1720–31, 1734–6, possibly also between 1737 and 1743—but in the capacity of ‘guardian’ and ‘caretaker’ of the bishop's house and chapel, and not regarded as part of the Persian mission, being styled “my companion” by the Vicars Apostolic of Baghdad from 1722 to 1740 and paid by them on instructions from the Sac. Congregation;
- (e) the church and house at Hamadan were consistently called by the two Vicars Apostolic and the Sac. Congregation itself not a ‘mission’, but the “bishop's house and church”. The Sac. Congregation was interested in the upkeep and repair of the buildings at

Sites, Vicissitudes and Duration of Each Separate Establishment. Hamadan 1113

Hamadan, and therefore some representative was kept there until about 1740, *because* the Bishop of Baghdad had been given 4,400 scudi to make a chapel and residence at Babylon (*vide S.R.*, vol. 487, p. 502) and had spent some of it instead on the premises at Hamadan;

- (f) the premises were abandoned by Bishop Emmanuel of Baghdad from about 1743 (as he proposed for the Carmelites at Isfahan to take them in lieu of claims); but after 1752 there were no Carmelites at Isfahan, and in the interval almost certainly they had no missionary to send there.

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THE PROPOSED MISSION AT KUNG

WRITERS among the Religious of the Order, such as Fr. Eusebius ab Omnibus Sanctis in his MSS. *History of the Missions* (O.C.D. 284, 285): Fr. Berthold-Ignace de Ste Anne in his printed *Histoire de l'Etablissement de la Mission de Perse* . . . (1604-12), Bruxelles, 1885: Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus in his *La Orden de Sta Teresa* . . . y las Misiones Carmelitas, printed Madrid, 1923, include in the missions established by the Order one at: 'Bander Congo' in 1670. Besides stating that this 'mission' together with one at Bandar 'Abbas "were founded "both in the same year, 1670", the last-named author indeed makes (p. 98) this mission to have been maintained during the cooler weather of each year "up to round about the year 1750".

As far as can be detected from the epistolary evidence now extant these statements would hardly appear accurate: if a hospice or dwelling, as well as an oratory, chapel or church with a Religious usually resident, be the minimum requisites to constitute a missionary 'foundation', there was none such at Kung. It is a fact that nearly twenty years before 1670 the high authorities of the Order had agreed to such a foundation, when it was proposed: but it was never carried into effect, and those authorities later demurred to it, as will be read below.

First of all, as to the name of the place, by every missionary spelt 'Congo', thus making identification at first glance dubious—the real word, according to a system of transliteration of Persian words accepted by orientalists and officially approved, is 'Kūng', without a final vowel: a small place on the seashore, with a few gardens and fresh water, some miles east of the modern port of Lingeh. Its situation is fixed by the following quotations from the *Voyages d'Orient* of Fr. Philip of the Most Holy Trinity (afterwards General of the Order), published by Antoine Jullieron, Lyons, 1669. Of his first voyage from Basra to Goa about September 1631 he wrote:

". . . Ayant passé après cette isle celles de Caïs" (i.e. Qais) "et de Pilore" (? Farur) "nous vinsmes donner fond le deuxième jour dans le Port de Congo, où nous nous arrétâmes "quelques jours pour charger de nouvelles marchandises que nous n'eusmes pas sitôt prises "qu'en estant desmarez et ayant rasé les Isles d'Angam" (i.e. Hanjam), "de Quexomis" (i.e. Qishm) "et d'Ormus" (i.e. Hurmuz) "nous abordâmes dans fort peu de temps à "Mascati . . .":

and of his voyage of 1640, from Goa to Isfahan, together with Fr. John Stephen, i.e. in the reverse direction and up the Gulf:

"De la nous traversâmes la mer durant toute la nuit et parvînmes à l'Isle de Angam. "Le jour suivant ayant passé l'Isle de Quexomis nous abordâmes le quatrième de Mars "au port de Congo. . . ."

At the end of 1630, or early in 1631, only some 8 years after the Portuguese had been dispossessed of Hurmuz by the Persians, the latter—presumably moved by the financial loss they were sustaining through there being no recognized port for the landing of goods from Europe by the Portuguese fleet—assigned the small port of Kung, three days' distance overland from Gāmbnun, for a monopoly of imports and exports to be maintained for the profit of Portuguese interests. A letter from Edward Haynes and William Gibson to the English East India Company, dated 17.3.1631,¹ includes the following news:

¹ *Vide List of Factory Records of the East India Company*: Catalogue of original correspondence, in India Office archives, London.

"The Portugall" (i.e. the Portuguese) "begins to be in favour againe with the Cane of 'Xiraz . . . and by capitulacion granted them (the copy whereof translated wee send 'you) hath licence to trade att Port Counge, which is 3 daies journey from Gombroon in 'the kingdom of Persia, and there hath half the Customs given him for procurement of 'trade to that port. . . ."

As a port of call for ships passing in the Gulf to and from India and Basra, Kung succeeded Hurmuz before the rise of Bandar 'Abbas: the Religious as well as European lay travellers took the road from Shiraz to Kung in order to find passages, for ships of all the maritime nations trading with India came there. Thus, Fr. Melchior of the Kings, as early as 9.10.1634¹ was writing from Kung:

"I . . . arrived the other day at this port of Persia called Kung. . . ."

The Portuguese official in charge was styled the 'Factor'² (Factory was the term applied to the establishments of the English East India Company, the Dutch East India Company, etc., in the Gulf till the middle or end of the eighteenth century), e.g. there wrote from Basra in 1636 a certain Antonio Perez, who had been sold

"to the Sultan of the said Gāmbroon in Persia, and by the Sultan the third time I was sold
"to Balthazar Borgias, Factor of the Portuguese who resides in Kung, and being conducted
"to Kung . . ."³

This official was mentioned, too, by Fr. Philip of the Most Holy Trinity in the account of his journey of 1640, when he revealed the result at Kung of ten years' use of the locality by the Portuguese:

" . . . Il y a en ce port un certain procureur des Portugais, qui suivant le traité qu'ils 'ont fait avec les Persans prend la moitié des Péages. Nous demeurions tous là dans la 'maison des Pères Augustins. Avant que nous partions de Congo, il faut que je dise que ce 'lieu de forts petits comencements, ou pour dire mieux de quelques mauvaises cabanes de 'pasteurs, est devenu une grande ville à raison du trafic des Portugais, des Gentils, et des 'autres nations. . . ."

The Hermits of S. Augustine were, therefore, installed at Kung from the first years of Portuguese concentration there. (The Portuguese later on, and perhaps then too, maintained an armed force at Kung, with a 'general', as will be seen from *Chron. Basra*, paragraph 112 of the original manuscript:

" . . . 1682 the ships from Surat . . . were detained in the port of Kung by the *army*⁴
"of the Portuguese . . . the Pasha . . . begged us to write to Senhor Rodrigo da Costa,
"general of the Portuguese army . . .":

and in paragraph 136:

" . . . the ships coming from India, Senhor Antonio Machada, the *General*, kept all those
"ships at Charak, in front of the Portuguese fort. . . .")

In the first years of their tenure at Kung there had been, it would seem from the following extracts from letters of Carmelite Fathers, dissatisfaction on the part of the Portuguese and some uncertainty whether they would not use as the trading emporium a locality on the coast,

¹ and ³ *S.R., Lettere di Spagna*, vol. 106, p. 280.

⁴ For 'armada' = fleet, presumably.

² "Illustrissimus Dominus Factor pro Rege Portugaliae."

which the Italian Religious spelt 'Rascel', and which perhaps may be identified as 'Rishire' (Rishahr) on the peninsula of Bushire (though it sounds strangely like Rās-ul Khaimeh). Thus Fr. Dimas, 26.11.1634,¹ from Shiraz:

"I have learnt from the letters of Fr. Basil from Basra that the Portuguese are taking "a new route for their goods at a port of Persia, so as no more to go to Basra, on account "of the small satisfaction they have of the Pasha of that town. . . . The port, then, where "it is said that the Portuguese will go, is about 8 days' distance from Shiraz: and the "patron' of the port is a person of this town, called Bahram Baig, who formerly was "Daruga (governor) of Shiraz and our very great friend: and I am sure that, if we were "to go there, he would take great pleasure in having us there, and that, if some Religious "of ours were there at the time when the Portuguese come, it would be of great profit for "this mission. . . ."

Fr. Ignatius, 16.2.1635, from Shiraz² wrote:

"We met a person, who was coming from a port in Persia and gave us news that the "Portuguese wanted to come by sea with their ships to set up their trade in a port . . . "called Rascel, which port, I think, would be the nearest of all the others to this town of "Shiraz. After our arrival here we heard nothing more in this respect until after some "2 months (about 20 days ago) we learnt that the Portuguese Factor *had removed their* "commerce from the port of Kung, and there had already come many vessels to this port of "Rascel (? Rishire). . . . This trade will be most useful financially for our mission" (at Shiraz) "because they come twice a year in great numbers with their merchandise and "stay there 1½ months each time, and many people will come to Shiraz. Already a chief "merchant our benefactor is here in Shiraz. Our Fr. Visitor General has ordered that at "the times when their merchants come I should go to *that port* and Fr. Basil from Basra, "as it is *half-way between Shiraz and Basra*. . . ."

Evidently this transfer of the Portuguese emporium to Rishire, or whatever modern site it may have been, was evanescent and limited to the end of 1634 and early 1635: and in the latter year they returned to the use of Kung, the prime reason for the change having been the difficulties previously experienced with the 'Khan of Kung'. For Fr. Stephen of Jesus mentioned in his letter, 30.4.1635:³

"Here near Shiraz a port named Rascel had been opened up by the Portuguese, and "they had already begun to come with their ships full of merchandise, and we were hoping "to do some fruitful work; but the Devil . . . has woken up so many robbers at that port, "and for other reasons too they are compelled to cease from coming again: and for this "cause they have made peace with the Khan of Bandar Kung, where formerly they were "coming and they will continue to come in future. . . ."

Gradually the Portuguese became powerful at Kung:⁴

"Some time ago, two days" (sail) "off Kung, a vessel of the Sultan of Kung was plundered "by the people of Nikulu [*? sic* for Nakhilu] and in it was a Dutchman with much money— "almost 1 million 'abbasi—which he wanted to employ in pearls, which they fish up in "Bahrain, close to here where I have been. It is true that his money was returned to him, "and he was released by order of the king of Persia who is lord of Nikulu [*? sic*], whose "chief is the sworn enemy of the Portuguese and kills every Portuguese in the ships he "captures. The Portuguese do the like; although affairs are not going so hotly as that at

¹ O.C.D. 237 b.

² *Idem*, 238 r.

³ From Shiraz to Fr. Paul Simon in Rome, O.C.D. 238 e.

⁴ Fr. Barnabas, writing from Kung, 16.10.1643, O.C.D. 238 s.

“present, since the Muslims (Arabs) are eating humble pie and ask permission of the “Portuguese to sail” (the straits) “and the latter readily grant it them as also to others. . . .”

It was Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas, a Dutchman by race, who suggested the founding of a Carmelite mission at Kung. In December 1648 he reached Isfahan from Europe, as Vicar Provincial, entirely new to the Persian mission. Writing in Latin to the syndic of the Order from Isfahan, 28.5.1649, on the subject of a warning from the Praepositus General that the Residence at Shiraz should in no wise be abandoned, Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas gave his opinion that:

“If your Reverence and our Superiors were to wish the Residence of Shiraz transferred “to Kung, a seaport, I should judge this more opportune, because at Kung the climate is “most healthy, provisioning easy, there are very many Portuguese and Christians, and “therefore the fruitfulness of the mission would be greater, both in this and in the neigh- “bouring port of Gāmbnun: and, what is of much moment, there is great facility for “communication with Basra and Goa and Tatta, business from all of which meets in this “port and spreads through Persia. It would help your Reverence, because a Residence in “Kung would not cost so dearly as that in Shiraz does. . . .”

Five months later,¹ when he was on his way to Goa, from Masqat he took up the suggestion again, this time to the Praepositus General although, as an alternative to Kung (or superior to it), he urged the establishment of a mission in Al-Hasa on the Arab coast:

“I passed through Kung, about which I wrote previously, and now again I write that “the place is most favourable, and an excellent post for a mission, where without any “expenses, and on alms alone, two or three Religious can live, and do it with notable “fruitfulness. For this place is in the middle of the Persian Gulf, where many Portuguese “and caravans from Persia, Arabia, Sind and other parts of India are wont to do business.

“There are also the fortress and settlements of the Portuguese in the Gulf on the Arabian “side, Al-Hasa² and other places as far as Masqat, where under the protection and juris- “diction of the Portuguese the Gospel of Christ can freely be preached to the very Arabs. “As in fact our companion, Fr. Matthew, did in the Arabic language, disputing and “conversing with them to the great satisfaction of both Portuguese and Arabs, since all, “and both races, begged us with many pressing prayers either to let him remain with “them, or to send them other Fathers. I frankly acknowledge that hitherto I have never “seen a place more suitable and fertile for missions, and where no other Religious have “penetrated, than the Persian Gulf or—as I had better say—Arabia. On the Persian side “there would be little or scant utility. It is true that *in Kung there are the Fathers of S. Augus- “tine*; but they accomplish little or nothing; and, if there be any difficulty or reserve about “agreeing to a Residence in Kung by reason of those Fathers, on the Arab side of the “Gulf—in Hasa—where only the Portuguese rule and many places in Arabia are subject “to them, there is no difficulty at all.

“Wherefore once more I say and indicate, that it would be to abandon Shiraz, where “the ancient and superfluous mission entailing many expenses cannot be maintained, and “to take up the Persian Gulf, and Hasa in the middle of the Gulf, where the Portuguese “themselves are ardently longing for us; not only on account of the conversion of the Arabs “subject to them, but indeed on account of the utility to themselves, since they have no “priests except when, perhaps once a year, one of the Augustinian Fathers may pass by “there. And I assure your Reverence that this mission would be for us very honourable, “not only in the sight of God, but also in the eyes of the king and the Portuguese military, “by whose senior captains and general I was compelled to promise that I would always “work with my Superiors for the sanction required. . . .”

¹ 25.10.1649, O.C.D. 242 a.

² Presumably ‘Hasa’: he spelt it ‘Cassab’.

(It may be remarked here that the Portuguese Crown lost Masqat a few weeks after the above letter had been written, and the Portuguese forces had to withdraw from all their other positions on the Arab coast of the Gulf—so that from 1650 onwards they ceased to be a Power with territorial possessions in the Persian Gulf, except as far as the lease and farm of Kung could so be termed. Apart from other inherent obstacles to the evangelization of that part of the Arab coast, which his visionary enthusiasm and lack of acquaintance with the people did not let him perceive, the project of Fr. Dominic was still-born, therefore.)

His proposal about Kung had, however, gained some measure of sanction from the Definitory General, it would appear. A letter of Fr. Stephen of Jesus from Isfahan, 4.12.1651,¹ refers to:

“two foundations accepted—Julfa and *Kung*: . . . that of Kung offers still less hope of “fruit, but will be easy to work. . . .”

Nevertheless in regard to the suppression of the mission at Shiraz and selling off of the premises there in order to provide for a foundation at Kung opposition existed among the Religious in Persia and, when Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas' term of office was over, that opposition was expressed in downright fashion. Here is the next Vicar Provincial, Fr. Felix of S. Antony, 8.4.1654:²

“. . . In the past three-yearly period” (i.e. the term of office of the previous Praepositus General) “sanction was given for abandoning the House at Shiraz and taking on a new “foundation in Kung: and inasmuch as it is not judged convenient nor suitable for our “mission for a number of reasons to found a post in Kung, there has not a word been ever “spoken about it.

“It was Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas, who asked for that mission to be founded: and, as “he had had no experience of the ground nor knowledge of the country, it is no wonder “that he made an error, because he had then arrived out in the mission with a great ardour “to found many posts. Now, repeatedly in their letters the Prior of Isfahan and other “Fathers are writing to me and urging strongly that I should procure from your Reverence “permission to retain the House at Shiraz in place of that which was to be erected at Kung, “for many good reasons. The Capuchin Fathers have told us a number of times that, “were we to abandon that Mission” (at Shiraz) “they would take it . . . and to found a “house at Kung is not fitting for us by any manner of means, as it is a land broader than “India, very hot and unpleasant. . . .”

Evidently by that date the Definitory General had cancelled their authorization. For, writing on 20.6.1654³ from Isfahan to the Procurator General of the Order Fr. Felix remarked:

“. . . Recently a letter has come from our Father General addressed to Fr. Stephen of “Jesus, in which it is stated that our Superiors deem useless establishments at (Julfa) and “*Kung*. . . .”

The port was, however, frequently used by the Religious as a centre for meeting, and for taking ship: thus Fr. Dionysius of Jesus:

“mense Maio” (i.e. 1655) “appuli ad portum Congonsem . . .”;⁴

but the wars between the Portuguese and the Dutch in the Indies had prevented him for 22 months from reaching his destination, Tatta, and he was still at Kung, 29.10.1655, ‘hoping

¹ O.C.D., 238 c.

² *Idem*, 241 k.

³ *Idem*, 237 i.

⁴ *Idem*, 237 d.

'to leave in 15 days as he had asked for and obtained a passport from the Dutch' (see also his letter of that date,¹ in which he lets it be inferred that Kung was more or less blockaded:

"the wars between the Portuguese and, on the other side, the Dutch, the Arabs and other
"many enemies").

Early in 1657 Fr. Casimir of S. Joseph had left Basra, in the hope of meeting the Vicar Provincial at Kung or Gāmburun, and:

"he was overtaken by sickness at the said Gāmburun, and died of it at the end of 6 days in
"the house of the Dutch gentlemen" (i.e. the factory of the Dutch East India Company)
"without the comfort of the Holy Sacraments; but, in passing by Kung (which is only
"3 days' distance from Gāmburun) where he stayed some days, he had the opportunity
"of confession and saying Mass, as there is a vicar of the Order of S. Augustine stationed
"there. . . ."²

Fr. Matthew of S. Joseph (on his way then from Isfahan to India) wrote, 3.5.1668,³ that he was

"doing here in Kung, as I did last year on the mission at Gāmburun, Kung and Basra,
"baptizing dying children . . .":

while on 13.4.1669 a 'Congress' of the Priors of Isfahan and Goa and their 'Companions' under the direction of the Visitor General, Fr. Raymond of S. Margaret, was held at Kung and a Procurator, Fr. Valerius, chosen.⁴

All these previous quotations, as also the sanction to establish a mission in Kung, refer, it is true, to the period prior to the year 1670, cited by the Carmelite authors named as the year of a mission being established there. Now, as to 1670 and the years immediately following, in a letter of 2.9.1670⁵ Fr. Angelus wrote of:

"l'armade Portugaise en ce sein Persique: et 7 vaisseaux sont au Bander Congo pour avoir
"leur droit du Roy de Perse . . .":

and he went on to specify that the Carmelites then had one Father at Bandar 'Abbas, one at Shiraz, two at Basra, two at Tatta, two in Isfahan—there is no mention of one at Kung: while two years later, 12.11.1672,⁶ the same writer affords further negative evidence:

"L'armade Portugaise, qui est cette année à Congo, est en procincte de faire guerre à la
"Perse pour exiger les droits du Roy sur ce port qu'on n'a pas payé depuis plusieurs années
"à raison de peu de forces et du déchet de cette nation: il" (i.e. le Capitaine-Général)
"a envoyé vers ce Roy un *Père de S. Augustin* . . .":

and he then named two Carmelite Fathers at Shiraz, one at Bandar 'Abbas, two at Isfahan, two at Basra—again no mention of one at Kung.

Negative evidence of the existence of any hospice, or permanent mission of the Discalced Carmelites at Kung is furnished by (a) the memorial⁷ of the Praepositus General of the Order, Fr. Alexander of S. James, 9.5.1671, to the Sac. Cong. giving a list of missionaries serving at: Basra, Isfahan, Shiraz, Sind (Tatta), Goa, Diu, Malabar, and (b) the report of the Procurator of the Mission, Fr. Valerius, to the Secretary of the Congregation when in Rome, docketed 26.3.1671,⁸ giving the list of missionary establishments of the Carmelites at that date as:

¹ and ³ O.C.D. 238 s.

² Fr. Dionysius of the Crown of Thorns, 16.7.1657, O.C.D. 237 c.

⁴ Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, 13.4.1669, Kung, O.C.D. 238 s.

⁵ and ⁶ O.C.D. 236 i.

⁷ S.R., vol. 428, p. 135.

⁸ S.N.R., I, p. 252.

"Basra. Isfahan (besides this house in Isfahan we have two other Residences, one in 'the town of Shiraz, the other at Gāmburun recently taken up). In India we have one 'Residence at Tatta in Sind in the territory of the Great Mogul, another at Diu, where 'the Portuguese have an impregnable fortress."

Being Vicar Provincial, Fr. Dionysius of Jesus had again come to Kung in June 1672, and there awaited till November the Procurator, Fr. Valerius, returned from Rome: he had then been ill some months, and by 1673 had died at Kung.¹ A successor of his as Vicar Provincial, Fr. John Baptist, also was very ill at Kung from November 1678 to January 1679.²

But all these sojourns were not of the nature of a fixed mission, with residence and chapel (even though there is extant a letter written from Kung by the Portuguese official, Gaspar de Souza de Lacerda, testifying to work done by Carmelites there:³ in 1679 Fr. Fortunatus was writing from Isfahan of 3 Religious, being then posted in the City, one at Bandar 'Abbas and one at Shiraz, and not mentioning Kung.

The writer of the *Life of Fr. Elias of S. Albert*⁴ related how:

'In October 1687 he' (Fr. Elias) 'received from Rome his appointment as Vicar Provincial, 'so that he had charge of Isfahan, Shiraz, Basra, Bandar 'Abbas, and, in India, of Goa, 'Diu, Tatta and the Malabar coast':

Kung was not included in the list.

Except for allusions to Religious and others travelling via Kung there is no further mention of the port in *Chron. Basra* or in the letters preserved until 18.3.1695, when Fr. Elias of S. Albert, Vicar Provincial and Bishop-elect of Isfahan, wrote to the Cardinal Prefect in Rome:⁵

"the naval armada of the Portuguese, consisting of 6 large and 2 small ships, is expected 'in Kung: and, if they succeed in taking some revenge for the descent, which two months 'ago the Arabs of Masqat made on Kung, they will easily obtain from this Court whatever 'they wish . . .';

but neither then, nor in his memorial to the Pope considered at the session of the Sacra. Congregation of Prop. Fide on 30.4.1703,⁶ did he allude to any mission of the Carmelites at Kung:

" . . . Finally, for the other missions of his Order in Persia—Isfahan, Shiraz, Basra, 'Gāmburun—he humbly begs that provision be made for a larger number of missionaries, 'together with funds, for lack of which the port of Gāmburun remains without the customary 'mission of the Fathers. . . ."

Under the year 1716 (para. 362 of the original MSS.) *Chron. Basra* speaks of an individual whom the Fathers got away by ship from Basra:

"provided by us with a certain amount of charitable gifts and a letter of recommendation 'to the Portuguese Agent, John Leitan, he sailed for Kung".

"On 26.12.1717, too, the Vicar Provincial, together with Fr. Antony Francis of S. Joseph, 'left Basra. When they left it was their intention to put in at Bandar 'Abbas, in order to 'reach Isfahan by way of Shiraz. But a storm . . . forced them to put in at an island 'near Kung, whence after a short voyage they proceeded by land to Kung, where they were 'very kindly received by the Portuguese Agent, Senhor John Leitan . . ." (*Chron. Basra*).

¹ *Chron. Basra*.
⁴ O.C.D. 320 e.

² Fr. Agnellus, 25.1.1679, O.C.D. 242 a., from Gāmburun.
⁵ *S.N.R.*, II, *post* p. 114.

³ *Miscell. Corr.*, Shiraz, O.C.D.
⁶ *S.R.*, vol. 545.

In 1720 the Augustinian Fathers were still at Kung, but perhaps no longer in 1721: for *Chron. Basra* (para. 389 MSS.) speaks of:

“ . . . Gregory . . . thence proceeding to Kung having been for some time hospitably
“received by the Portuguese Fathers of the Order of S. Augustine . . . returning to Shiraz
“ . . . for three months, until the Portuguese Father arrived from Kung who had known
“him there. . . .”

while a letter of Fr. Faustin of S. Charles, Vicar Provincial, from Isfahan, 26.5.1721,¹ alluding to the journey of Fr. Alexander of S. Sigismund from Isfahan to India,

“now at Bandar Kung with the Portuguese Agent, a gentleman of much piety and prudence,
“who has made me the request that an *Augustinian Religious* should come from Goa, *they*
“*being the missionaries proper* of that place and the chaplains of the gentleman in question . . .”

seems to imply that the Augustinian at Kung in 1720 had left by 1721.

Then in 1722 Fr. Urban, who had left Basra for Bandar 'Abbas,

“reached Kung . . . after a few days' stay at Kung he proceeded to Bandar 'Abbas.”

After 1722 there is no mention in either *Chron. Basra* or *Cont. Basra Chron.* of Kung, nor in the letters of missionaries: and, as that was the year of the invasion of the Afghans and the overthrow of the Safawi dynasty, it may be surmised that the Portuguese 'Factor' and other Portuguese withdrew from Kung.

Till 1910, at least, the remains of the ruined walls of the Portuguese Factory²—and possibly one part visible was the chapel of the Augustinian Fathers—were to be seen, the sea-wall with its local cement washed smooth as glass by the action of the sea.

The above recital should furnish sufficient evidence that:

- (a) there never was any mission of the Discalced Carmelites founded at Kung, with hospice, chapel and resident Religious, but the place was a station of the Portuguese Hermits of S. Augustine from about 1631 to 1721, or later;
- (b) after the destruction of Hurmuz, and the cession of the moiety of the Customs to the Portuguese Crown in 1630, Kung became the regular port of call for shipping to and from India and Basra, until finally sometime after 1722 it was supplanted by Bandar 'Abbas, and later by Lingeh;
- (c) it had been sanctioned as a mission post of the Carmelites after the proposal of 1649, but no action was taken to establish it.

* * * * *

¹ O.C.D. 238 g.

² Compare Sir W. Foster's printed volume: *English Factory Records* for 1637-41: “Kung near Linga. The Portuguese “established themselves here after the loss of Hurmuz: and the remains of their fort and factory are still visible. . . .”

THE RESIDENCE AT BASRA

ALTHOUGH for nearly all its existence situated under another sovereignty and government than those of Persia, and so subsisting under very different political and economic conditions, this foundation was integrally part of the group forming 'the Mission of Persia and the Indies' (later 'the Persian Mission' only), until almost the final disappearance of the latter in about 1768, i.e. until the Bishop of Baghdad and the Carmelite mission at Baghdad began to regulate the movements of the Religious posted at Basra. No outline, in consecutive form, of events concerning the Religious and the mission building at Basra from the founding in 1623 till 1670 is known to have been published: the *Chron. Basra* MSS., edited by the late Sir Hermann Gollancz, begins from 1674, and the gap in information is troublesome. Fr. Agathangelus of S. Teresa began his record of events in that manuscript in 1674, because, as he wrote in the opening words of his narrative:

"For many years no record was kept of things which happened in the Residence of Basra "or, if it was, has been lost owing to the wars and to the flight of the Religious. . . ."

The explanation is to be found in a letter of Fr. Severin of S. Maurice, docketed with the date 25.5.1669, Basra, where, after relating the sack of Basra during the revolt of the Arabs against the Turkish governor and troops in that year, and his attempted flight and imprisonment, he wrote:

"my writings together with other books and writings, which I had hidden, have been "eaten by mice, even down to a small quantity of writing-paper, as is to be seen in the "present sheet, which is all that remains besides 3 or 4 others. . . ."

For the above reasons alone there is sufficient justification for including here such an account as can be compiled from current records, in order to preserve, as far as possible in the words of the Religious themselves, some narrative of the mission during the interval of fifty years: and for the convenience of the reader, who has not at hand Sir H. Gollancz' edition of *Chron. Basra*, extracts have been made from it to piece together the rest of the story. First, however, it may be noted that there was a brief period at the beginning, when Basra was intended by the authorities in Rome to be a separate and pontifical 'Mission in Mesopotamia', i.e. apart from that of Persia, and under the special aegis and instructions of the Sac. Congregation de Prop. Fide, as can be deduced from Fr. Philip Mary of S. Augustine's "Responsio" of 20.6.1725¹ on the relative precedence of the Residences:

"residentiam Bassorae fuisse prius sub Provincia Siriae deinde aggregatam fuisse Provinciae "nostrae Persidis post foundationem Scirasis . . ." (that the Residence at Basra was first under the province of Syria, and then it was attached to our province of Persia, after the foundation of (the mission at) Shiraz . . .).

That statement appears to refer back to the following 'offer', and its sequel:

"The General of the Discalced Carmelites offers to send to *Basra in Babylonia* five Fathers "of his Order to propagate the Faith *in the said town and in Babylon* itself, and in Arabia

¹ O.C.D. 238 u.

"and other neighbouring places, together with 200 scudi journey expenses for each one, "and some books of 'Doctrine' in Arabic and Armenian. . . ." ¹

On which the session of Sacr. Congregation, held on 16.1.1624, decreed:

"His Holiness has decreed a mission of 5 Discalced Carmelite Friars, to be selected by "the General of their Order", (to be sent) "to the said places, and ordered formal letters "patent to be issued for the missionaries, and recourse to be had to the Sacr. Congregation "of the Holy Office for the necessary faculties, and, as to the journey expenses and books "requested, directed . . . to give orders for whatever seemed just and suitable . . . (sd.) "Francisco Ingoli, secretary."

In evidence of which there may be inspected the original 'Commission' dated 22nd January 1624, signed by Cardinal Ludovisi as prefect of the Sacr. Cong. de Propaganda Fide and by Monsgr Ingoli as secretary:²

"Sanctissimus in Christo Pater, et D. H. D. Urbanus Divina Providentia Papa VIII "omnium hominum salutem pro suo apostolico munere cupiens, vos fratres Ciprianum de "Sta Maria, Eliseum de Sto Andrea, Joannem a Jesu Maria et Eustachium de S^o Sacra- "mento Carmelitas discalciatos ad *Bassoram Babyloniae Arabiam et finitimas provincias* mittere "decrevit et mittit ut in eis cum facultatibus vobis per alias literas concedendis cum sensu "tamen Patris vicarii provincialis Persiae vestri Ordinis prius requisito. . . ." (The most Holy Father in Christ . . . Urban VIII, of his apostolic office desirous of providing for the salvation of all men, has decreed that you, Brothers . . . be sent to Basra in Babylon, Arabia and adjoining provinces, and he sends you, so that with the faculties to be granted you by other letters, but with the consent of the Father Vicar Provincial of Persia of your Order first sought . . .),

and also the "Instructions³ by Mgr Ingoli for the Discalced Carmelite Fathers, who are to go "to the mission at Basra in Babylon,"⁴ undated, but presumably of December 1623 or January 1624. Finally, the "Instruction for Father Eugenius of S. Benedict in his visitation of Persia "and India", signed by Fr. Paul Simon, Praepositus General, undated but prior to February 1624:

" . . . From Isfahan your Reverence will send four Religious or at least three to *the mission* "at Basra, which His Holiness has commended to us, and they will reside there and on "your return you will cause them to write to the Congregation of Prop. Fide and to Mgr "Ingoli. . . ." ⁵

It would seem as if the above proposals and directions were made and issued in Rome before news of the action of the conventual Fathers in Isfahan in dispatching one of their number to Basra to make a foundation dependent on Isfahan had reached Rome.⁶

There exist three accounts by Fr. Basil of S. Francis of the manner of the foundation of the hospice, dated:

20.6.1623 (O.C.D. 241 g)
8.4.1625 (O.C.D. 241 a)—addressed to the Cardinals of the Sacr. Cong.
2.2.1636 (O.C.D. ?)

¹ O.C.D. 241 a.

² *Idem*, 241 (?).

³ and ⁵ *Idem*, 284 g.

⁴ Mgr Ingoli was the first Secretary of the newly created Congregation.

⁶ See Fr. Basil's account of 2.2.1636: ". . . Fr. Eugenius was delighted to see this Residence begun, as he knew nothing "of it when he left Rome. . . ."

The following account is a compendium of all three versions, so as to include facts omitted in one or other of them, but chiefly based on the second:

"In the year 1623 on the 26th March I was sent from Persia, from the city of Isfahan capital of that kingdom, from our Convent of Jesus Mary, in which at the time there were 7 Fathers priests and two Lay Brothers: and the cause of this mission of mine was first to see whether it were possible to make a House" (of ours) "in Basra, and, even were it impossible to effect, to seek alms from some of the Portuguese ships which sometimes carried merchandise to the town in question, because at that time the Fathers in Isfahan stood in great want for means of subsistence (for two years past having maintained themselves on loans . . . and in the greatest misery)—the Fathers . . . judging it would be very useful for all our missions, as the town was large and many people, Portuguese in particular, resorted there, and because it is a port, where vessels from various towns of our East Indies are wont to come.

"The Fathers of the Convent having resolved to undertake this mission, I was chosen for it, and so busily did they set about putting it into execution that after a few days I set off in company of an Arab Christian, known at our House, with whom in whose language I was able to converse to some extent, though I had had little practice and exercise in it, having never dwelt in countries of the Arabs: and, because the permission of the Shah had not been obtained, in order to be able to proceed undiscovered¹ I was obliged to go in clothing after the Arab style.

"For so long a journey the provision we had for us both was little enough, for at the time the Convent was in straits for money. The things I carried with me were in an old sack an altar-stone, a very small chalice, a corporal, two or three purificatories, a missal, a breviary, the four Gospels in Arabic and 16 piastres for the expenses of the journey: that which I wore on my back was old clothing—a chasuble was lacking. About half of the journey I did on foot because I desired to save something from the funds, in order to be able to have a habit" (of the Order) "made for me directly I had arrived in Basra, so as not to be seen by anyone in that disguise. On the whole journey up to the seaport, whence one crosses to those parts of Arabia Felix, I cannot remember that anything remarkable happened to me. As I had been advised, I tried to avoid occasions of conversing with natives, in order not to be recognized, and with the little of the language I knew and the adroitness of my companion, I disentangled myself and he did all that was necessary, though some, it appeared to me, were suspicious. I arrived in 27 days at the seaport,² where I waited four or five days, and left on the 22nd April. I had a little more difficulty there both because of the discomfort on the boat and for the small provision of food I carried, which by an accident fell into the sea, while I was weak from the land journey: . . . with the motion of the sea I felt ill and thought I should surely die: however, one of the people on the boat gave me food. Although I was as good as recognized because of the prayers and ceremonies which the Muslims are wont to observe, still I no longer troubled much, nor was there much risk for us. Always I recited mentally the Little Office, and the daily Hours mentally too, and sometimes from the Breviary, but when there was an opportunity without risk: during the whole journey, on land as at sea, I was following our Observance in everything I could, and did not fail one day in the fast of Lent which caught me for most of the road journey—everything so that the Lord might deign to help me and free me from all danger.

"Finally I arrived at this town of Basra on the last day of April 1623 two hours after nightfall; but landing about 1½ miles distant from the town I entered it on foot and unshod, and went to sleep that night in a caravansarai in a lonely place and got up to my knees in mud. . . . That night I took off everything in order to be able to rest a

¹ This was the year after the fall of Hurmuz, and the year after the martyrdoms: intercourse with the Portuguese was regarded with suspicion.

² Probably Bandar Rig.

"little, and I remember that one of the greatest acts of mortification I have endured in "all my life was on the morrow to put on that clothing once more; but I was unable to do "anything else. On the morning after my arrival I made enquiries and learnt that there "was no 'Frank' " (i.e. European) "of any nationality whatever in the town, nor any "person who would be able to know who I was, nobody to whom I could go for assistance, "no Portuguese ship.

"I took a very small house on hire, very secluded, because I was unwilling that anyone "should see me until I had a habit. Then I bought something to wear, because whatever "I had on my body was, as I have said, in rags and worn out: after that I would not go "out of the house except 2 or 3 times when I was obliged. What at this time I felt most "was that the man who had come with me, a respectable individual, had thought to find "here many Portuguese ships, which would bring him in something: while I had not the "wherewithal to get him back to Isfahan, not even to feed him here: for 8 or 10 days I "tried hard to find a loan of 8 or 10 piastres in order to send off that man to Isfahan; but "I did not succeed because nobody was acquainted with me, and I knew nothing, and not "even by pledging that small silver chalice could I obtain 5 or 6 piastres. It so happened "that there was great scarcity prevailing in the town, and many hundreds died of hunger: "I was thinking of going to the desert to eat grass, as I did not know how and where to "beg. In that state of affliction I went for 10 days, and already I had not even anything "to get food: but it pleased the Lord that at this juncture I got news of a ship arriving: "and, according to what the captain afterwards told me, he came here almost by a miracle "(the Lord knowing how greatly I stood in need of it) for at that season they were not "wont to come here, but he had been forced to put in, for besides having sustained great "storms and perils at sea he also had escaped from falling into the hands of the Portuguese "fleet, which captured another boat sailing in his company. For these vessels proceed by "stealth, without the licence of the king" (of Portugal) "and, if they are discovered, forfeit "the whole vessel and goods on board—as happened to that other vessel, in which all the "valuable cargo was being carried. When I knew that he had arrived—although it "displeased me to be in such garb, as I had been unable to get a habit made, none the less "I wrote to the captain telling him in what plight and where I was, and for that reason "I did not go to see him. All rejoiced greatly and at once, one after the other, delighted "as if they had found their own father, they came to see me. The captain told me that "I was not well lodged there and, as they had taken a house, I should stay with them: "and so the next day in the evening, when they had taken the house, they brought me in "there. One thing I noticed nor have ever forgotten, namely, that at the hour when I "went to the house of this captain I had finished all the funds I had brought with me, "and, to tell the truth, it appears that I had one or two farthings; so that in this I perceived "clearly the providence of the Lord God who was biding His time to provide me in His "own way, which I was unable to foresee. After I had been to his house I was given "sufficient in alms to be able at once to dispatch to Isfahan the man who had come with "me and give tidings to the Fathers: and with that I was greatly relieved, because it had "much preoccupied me. Then straightway I bought wool and sent to have cloth made "for a habit, mantle and tunics, because I found nothing after our style: and I had sandals "made too, and all the rest after our fashion, so that in a few days I was completely clothed, "and remained well satisfied with it all. I remember that, when I went out of the house "thus clothed for the first time, although the populace marvelled somewhat at the novelty "of the costume, all the same I was much rejoiced, as in my heart it seemed to me that "our habit and our Order had already taken possession of this town. (On the very day "my habit was ready, it so happened that the river rose and flooded the place crossed on "the way to the Pasha, and I was the only one of the party dropped in the mud by the "men carrying us across.) All of the men" (from the ship) "made their confessions. . . "I did not say Mass, because no wine made from grapes was to be found. People began "to flock to me—Christians and Arabs—giving alms. At once I commenced negotiating

"the business of making a foundation here, which at first seemed absolutely impossible, "that I was the rather prepared to have to go to India: the first and chief need consisted "in getting the permission of the Pasha, because, if he did not give it, there would be "nothing else to do but take myself away. I took counsel, and it seemed advisable to wait "some days to see whether some other ships came, so that then all together might ask this "favour of the Pasha. I waited a month; but, knowing that the Portuguese fleet was "sailing in the 'straits' " (i.e. Gulf), "for which reason it would be difficult for any vessel "at all to come here" (to Basra), "I determined to wait no longer, and to go myself to "speak to the Pasha: and so, trusting in God alone, I went with this captain and men from "the ship, and another man of the country, a friend of the Pasha.

"I spoke to him, and gave him notice of my intention, together with some reasons for "it, which appeared to satisfy him; for he was much pleased, and told me verbally that he "gave it" (the permission) "to take a house and dwell here, showing great goodwill and "pleasure, perhaps—as he afterwards let me know—because he had certain monetary "claims in Goa. I was rejoiced, seeing in it a good beginning. After a few days had "passed I went again to speak to him: and I obtained the permission in writing, written "with his own hand and under his own seal—he even gave me to understand (although "he did not put it as a condition) that he would give it on my arranging to *obtain from "the Viceroy of Goa permission for Portuguese ships to come freely to this port*, which these gentlemen "tell me will not be difficult. I was the more content at this, because everyone said that "it would never be possible to succeed in having a church made in this country, where "there has never been seen anything like it, and from what I have understood his chief "Mullas opposed the grant. But as he" (the Pasha) "had need of the Viceroy of India at "that juncture he easily came to an agreement: the need that he had was that, in case "there should happen to him some ill encounter with the king of Persia, of whom he stood "in great fear, he would be able to betake himself to India—this was according to what "was said.¹

"So, although I had the permit, still, as I possessed nothing, I remained for two months "in the captain's house, acquiring some experience of the country and information about "necessary matters. On 3.7.1623 there arrived a Father of S. Augustine from Isfahan, "Fr. Nicolas Perez, with a like intention of establishing a Residence here, and he brought "with him so much material that it would have sufficed to supply a fair-sized church: all "that he lacked was the wine,² but already at this season the grapes began to ripen. This "Father came to lodge in the same house where I was, and for some days we stayed together, "on the best of terms and in friendly intercourse, though each of us attended to his own "business. When I saw that he had every provision for it and could say Mass, I begged "some piastres and in 3 or 4 days made altar-cloths, chasuble, surplice and all the other "accessories. I took a house to let, and immediately constructed an altar. I had no pic- "tures, nor candlesticks, nor other incidentals: notwithstanding, the best that I could, I "got ready everything to say Mass on Sunday the 9th July of the said year 1623. The "Father knew nothing of this: otherwise he could have said Mass some days previously: "and so on the Saturday previous I told him that, if he wished to hear Mass, I was to say "it the next morning. He remained a little surprised, because, as he knew that I possessed "none of the accessories, he thought that he was certain to say it before I did: and, although "saying Mass first or later might not seem to be a matter of much consequence, still for "all that, for certain reasons, it seemed to me to be a good thing to do, in view of what "might happen, and also, since I had been the first to arrive, it might have been considered "negligence on my part" (i.e. not to have said it).

¹ This Pasha (an Arab) died some 4 or 5 months before the arrival at Basra of Fr. Eugenius of S. Benedict, i.e. he died about August 1624, and was succeeded by his son—see letter of Fr. Eugenius, Basra, 16.1.1625, O.C.D. 242 i.

² Though grapes grow at Basra, they are not of a kind to make useful wine. alcoholic spirit made from dates—*araq*—is the liquor of that country. See Fr. Aurelius of S. Augustine, Basra, O.C.D. 241b., 78 1678:

"They have never been able to make wine which would keep in Basra, but this year I hope it will keep, as I have made "it in the way it is done at Prague."

"Finally on the Sunday in question, half an hour before it became light, I said Mass. "The captain came and all the soldiers and also some of the local Christians. After me "the Father in question said Mass at the same altar. (It being the opinion of all, we gave "the church the name of 'Our Lady of Ransom'—*Nossa Senhora dos Remedios*.) From "then on I began to stay in that house, although it was a little far from the town and was "almost in ruins. I took a servant and a Portuguese, a respectable man, for company: "and every day food was brought for me from the house of the captain in question, because "I had nothing in the house except that small provision for the Mass. I remained thus "for some days, and then on the 8th August there arrived here 6 ships, which stayed here "for the space of a month and a half." (There were nine Portuguese ships in all at Basra then—"a thing that had never been seen there before: so that the Pasha was greatly "pleased, because the town was so much honoured, and much merchandise was coming. "The Viceroy of India had written to him and sent his Factor to stay here, and other "things, which the Pasha desired exceedingly, and so today he is a great friend of the "Portuguese"—letter of 20.8.1623.) "Then I became provided with some things for the "church and began to arrange the house, and received 120 piastres as alms besides. The "other Father had become somewhat disgusted for certain reasons and so did not wish to "say Mass in his own house, which he rented, but continued to come and say it in my house: "and this good Father was much my friend and behaved well towards me. While they "were here, all the 'Franks' on those ships came here to make their confessions and do "their business and provide themselves with what they needed, so that there was no shortage "of work then. Finally those ships left, and also that captain of ours who had been feeding "me. About thirty persons from the vessels, however, remained here that winter and, "although it was a little far away, continued to come to my house, especially on Sundays "and feast-days, and also many Christians of the country. So I passed that winter and "daily continued to arrange the house better, and God made provision for us so that it "began to get into shape.

"I spoke to the Pasha several times, and worked hard to obtain a house of our own, "laying great insistence on this, but at the time did not succeed. At this time too I was "also teaching some boys of the Christians to read and write in Arabic, prayers, and the "Christian doctrine, and I baptized some of them, as I shall relate: the rest of the time "I was studying: many times I preached to the 'Franks' and to the Christians of the country: "I read and explained the Gospel in Arabic, together with some doctrine seasonable for "them. On the 2nd December of the same year the Father of S. Augustine who was "here died in our House, and there was no one besides myself in the town. Without "my knowing anything, the Factor of the king wrote at once to his Prior at Isfahan not "to trouble to send other Fathers, as the country could hardly support one House. Other "things, which occurred at that time I do not mention here, because for the present I intend "only to give a brief narrative of the beginnings and state of this mission.

"Later, on the 8th February of the following year 1624, some 7 merchant ships came "here, and together with them 5 warships,¹ which the Pasha greatly desired to see, because "of the fear of the king of Persia in which he stood.² Many people came, and all were "received with much joy. Together with them too there arrived from Goa two Fathers "of S. Augustine: and, although they found that their Father had died, none the less they "followed up his intention to establish a House. When they arrived, I went at once to "greet them and conducted them to our House, because they had nowhere else to lodge "with greater decency. They stayed with me 15 days, and then took a house, and said

¹ The senior captain was Don Gonzalo de Silveira, nephew of the Conde de Sorteglia [? *sic*].

² This "fear" is no doubt explained by the following reference in the letter of Fr. Eugenius of S. Benedict, Basra, 16.1.1625, O.C.D. 242 i:

"... This land is in peace at present, though a short time ago there was fear that the Persians might take it, as they "had come one day's journey away to capture a fort, and, if there had not been 20 Portuguese ships, in local pay, which "went to the rescue, it might have been taken, it is said. . . ."

"Mass in it at once:¹ they had brought a good supply of requisites, and together with what they found here left by the dead Father they were well provided, and even shared with me some things of which I had great need.

"This was in Lent. Many people were coming to the house, and it was so small that it did not hold more than 25 men: so I began once more to become very eager to find better accommodation, and I wanted it to be our own property because I had a letter from Isfahan, in which they notified me that our Definitory General in Rome had given orders that this mission was to be acquired in any case: and with that I had a rather greater desire still, although we had no money" (to buy), "nor did the Pasha give me any further help beyond fair words, and putting no obstacle in my way.

"They" (i.e. the Fathers in Isfahan) "also notified me how in Shiraz they had taken and bought a house for 60 Tumans, which make nearly 1,000 piastres, and sent me a request to find money on loan here to help to pay for it, sending the debit to Goa. I remained a little surprised at this news, because it did not seem to me that together and at one and the same time both this and that mission could be founded; but, as they were already settled and at Shiraz and bound to pay so large a debt, it appeared to me as well to try and secure something even if for the time being our own aim had to be left on one side. So I found a loan of nearly 300 piastres . . . and I began once more to negotiate about taking some house here, and I was the more solicitous in this because of the great discomfort in which I was living, and also because the Pasha then was well disposed towards us. And so after many talks and much labour, I got from him"—it was the first Pasha who made the grant, and at Easter at night together with his son, his successor, he came to visit Fr. Basil—"a house, very small, poor and ruined, in which there was only a single room standing, but this was granted as a gift (and this by the help and intercession of the Factor of the king of Portugal who was here).

"At once I had two other rooms arranged, and I came and inhabited them. *The day when I began building in that house was the 10th March 1624: the day when I went to inhabit it was the 5th April of the same year.* Of those rooms which I had arranged one served as an oratory.

"I then began to set about making a small church, because many people were coming, and the oratory in question was still small and inconvenient. And so on the rest of the site, which was very cramped, I began to make the church. I proceeded little by little, and in the space of 4 months had finished putting a roof on it: and I shall not omit to say also how I had so little in the way of funds that many times I had to go out and beg in order to pay the workpeople. But, with all that, I never ceased working through lack of coin, for the Lord always had care to make provision in His own time.

"As it was within such limits, the church did not appear bad; but, since the place was so cramped, stood in front of the door a wall of another house, a matter of a distance of 7 or 8 hand-breadths: and there was no more space for cells, and the other necessary offices, nor even a little garden: and all we had was the church, the 3 rooms mentioned and a small entrance: and I say in truth up to then there was no thought of being able to have anything more. But the Lord, who had thought for this, provided a good remedy for it; because the discomfort was indeed great. As I was then alone I did not feel it so much; but afterwards, when Fathers came and things grew, it was better perceived.

"At last it began to come into my mind that, if the house next the church could be obtained, matters could be better adjusted. I had no money, but still I began to speak about this. Yet I could not obtain the building because the owner did not wish to sell. I did not cease to importune the more for the space of a month, and finally by the intermediary of one of these notables I succeeded in getting the house sold to me: the price was 200 piastres and with this I was well content, and at once went off to our fleet and

¹ These Augustinians remained for some years in a hired house, till they too built one, where they still were in Basra in 1636—see Fr. Basil's report, 2.2.1636.

"gave an account of all to the senior captain, who gave me 50 piastres and the other captains another 50 piastres, and we paid this on account: and they" (the owners) "waited 2 months for us to pay the other 100 piastres. I had the deed" (of sale) "made out by the public authority, and felt much relieved. . . . Later I had some trouble over this because, after the sale had been made and the house pulled down, the owner of it repented having sold it and he belonged to one of the chief personages in the town. . . . I went and spoke to the Pasha, and he supported me so that I got out of the difficulty well, as in other like matters which occurred. The sum that I remained owing I paid off at due time (even though it was by borrowing it) in order not to fail in my promise. Then I began to make some cells, a refectory, sacristy, kitchen, and there was also a small piece of garden, though very small.

"This was at the beginning of July: when 3 months had passed I had already arranged 5 cells and the other offices. It began to rain afterwards, so I left everything unfinished, but with a roof over the whole, so that the cells and the rest were usable, although not in order: and of this state of progress the Fr. Visitor, Eugenius of S. Benedict, will give a good account, because when things were at this stage he arrived here, at the beginning of January 1625. He stayed here about 15 days, and encouraged us to continue with the work begun . . . and it was also of much happiness to us to hear the news that he brought with regard to the" (creation of a) "Sacr. Congregation of Propaganda Fide under the direction of the most reverend Lord Cardinals, and that they too desired to aid this mission in particular. . . . The said Fr. Visitor left here as our companion Brother John of Jesus Mary, and he took with him to India Brother John, the Lay Brother. . . . He ordered me to finish the church, and do nothing more without instructions from the Father Provincial. . . .¹ A few days after the departure of the Fr. Visitor, as spring was beginning, I wanted to put in order the church, in order to say the first Mass in it on the following Easter-day, if it were possible. In this I am at present occupied, hoping that it will come to pass, and be finished with the aid of God, and that it will be greatly to His glory, as being the first made in these parts. . . . Up till the time of the arrival of the Fr. Visitor I had always been alone, without a companion, as none could ever come from Persia, and I was expecting to be provided with one from India, and so I am awaiting daily one Father and one Lay Brother, because it is necessary that Brother Fra John should go off and be ordained a Mass-priest. It is now two years since I arrived in this land: of the first year I stayed 3 months in the house of the Captain mentioned, 9 months in the hired house, and the rest in this House of ours: and already today by God's grace it is fashioned like a convent, and we follow our Observance the best we can. . . . The Portuguese fleet still remains here, and on account of this every Sunday and on feast-days we have a large attendance and . . . now that it is Lent we go and preach there, where the warships are lying, on one Sunday the Father of S. Augustine who is here, and on the next I go. . . . This past summer I had considerable trouble because I was obliged to have always in the house many sick soldiers, and then I was alone, and I had no convenience for it all; but it was not labour lost, for besides being a work of mercy the Lord repaid us well for it, and we owe much to the soldiers in India, who do much for us on all occasions. Up to today I have baptized 20 or 21 children of Christians, save one a Gentile" (i.e. pagan, probably Hindu) "and another a Muslim whom the Fr. Visitor baptized. There are also many associate brothers who take our scapular. As soon as the house is finished, with God's will we shall pay more attention to learning the languages.

". . . There are a large number of those whom they call Christians of S. John, and who are ignorant to the utmost degree. . . . Other kinds of Christians, who are here,

¹ The visitation of Basra on 10.1.1624 showed accounts there as: from April 1624 to 6.1.1625 receipts 742 piastres, expenditure 712 piastres: and in his letter of 16.1.1625 (O.C.D. 241 i.) Fr. Eugenius wrote that 'Fr. Basil had built much in a short time, having made a church, offices such as refectory, kitchen, sacristy, buttery, pantry, and 4 cells, spending 712 piastres'.

"such as Nestorians, Armenians, Jacobites, Syrians know Christian principles much better, though there is work to be done among all of them; but they appear to me very easy to bring to submission, and to recognize the Sovereign Pontiff as head of the Church. Up to today I have seen no one who denies this, or who fails to take well what we are telling them,

"(sd.) Basil of S. Francis,
"8th April 1625.

"After having finished this, on the *14th April of the year stated* [the Sunday after Easter. "Twelve ships were in port. They sent flags and banners with the Madonna painted on it, and drums and other instruments, so that a great concourse of people came] we performed the dedication of this church of ours, with great festivity, solemnity and a large concourse of people. The Portuguese landed pieces of ordnance the night before.

"On this occasion the Pasha did us the greatest honour possible because, knowing about our festival, he sent and had lights put at the gate, and, in addition, sent to say that the Portuguese should not fire off their artillery till he gave the signal, because he wanted also to accompany us with his own. And he sent to a square near our house some very large pieces of cannon which he had and ordered that all the arquebusiers (who would be more than 2,000) should post themselves on our part of the wall, which lies behind the church and very near it—a thing which had never been wont to be done. And he also had put on the roof of the house many illuminations. And with all these things, the people who gathered that night were so many that the streets hardly held them all.

"When therefore the Pasha had given the signal, first the artillery of the town began to fire, and after that the cannons of the Portuguese, the arquebusiers following at the end, so that there was a fine salvo and being at night all the showier to see.

"I consider it certain that it will not cease to cause astonishment to see how in a land where but little previously it did not seem possible to speak of a church, our Lord had ordained things with such ease that the very 'king' (i.e. governor) of the land and the Muslims were those who made the festival, and rendered the honours at the dedication of the new church. It did not appear that at that time we were in a land of the Turks and enemies because, besides that they themselves helped us as we have seen, the number of Christians was so large that it seemed as if we were in some country of our own. . . . The honours which the Pasha wanted to pay on this occasion did not stop at those mentioned above, because on the afternoon of the following day (the feast having been celebrated with a sung Mass and sermon) all the captains of the warships remained to dinner, and almost all the soldiers, and the Pasha himself came with many of his notables in the day-time—a thing he had never done till then. . . . On this occasion there was a great throng of people in the house. The Pasha stayed a while. Afterwards first we gave him a good collation of various sweetmeats from India, and other things customary in the country, together with a fine orchestra of three voices,¹ with which all the Muslims showed themselves pleased. Finally the Pasha got up to go and see the church, which was full of many perfumes: he went and sat on a seat, and stayed a while, talking with his men: on leaving he asked an attendant 'page' for a certain sum for alms, which he must have had brought. . . . and unnoticed he put it into my hand. . . ."

The Turkish Sultan Selim I had annexed Mesopotamia to the Ottoman Empire in 1518—only about 100 years before the opening of this mission: and there had never been a thorough conquest of the Arab tribes of southern Mesopotamia, where Turkish authority in the 1600's was shadowy, for the most part exercised through Arab governors. The licence to make a church and establish a hospice of a Religious Order in Basra had been conceded to Fr. Basil by the Arab governor on his own responsibility, and under his personal seal. In his letter of 22.7.1625 Fr. Basil touches on a point, which was to cause years of trial and suffering to subsequent Carmelites:

¹ "And they danced"—adds one of the three versions.

"I think that this mission will be (if God preserve it) very fruitful in everything, and to "this end it would be of great help, and stabilize our position, *if a licence in proper form were obtained from the Grand Turk*" (i.e. the Sultan), "and I think that your Reverence will "obtain it easily through the intermediary of the Venetians or of the French. . . ."

A year later¹ (while observing that he was daily noting down everything that happened—evidence of what was lost to history by the mice in 1669) he referred again to the need:

"I am still waiting for the 'farman' from the Grand Turk, which will be of no small use "on some occasion: the reverend Father in question wrote to me that it was being sought, "and would be sent as soon as possible. . . ."

At that period caravans crossed the desert at long intervals:

"the reason why I did not then write at greater length was because a caravan was due to "start and there were Venetians, trusty persons by whom one could write, but the said "caravan remained from day to day and week to week up till today, which makes 7 "months. . . ."

In his letter of 11.11.1625 Fr. Basil mentioned that he had bought a piece of land for 1,000 piastres, and he had not had all the money for it—some acquaintances from other countries had sent him much help. Pietro della Valle, the celebrated 'Pilgrim' and author of the *Travels*, was about to leave Basra then, on his return to Europe.

With all the general participation in the celebration of the dedication of the Carmelite church at Basra, matters were not all plain sailing for the mission: owing to the presence of the two Augustinian Fathers in Basra, a question of parochial jurisdiction caused difficulty before it was settled. Fr. Basil wrote to Rome on 11.4.1625:

"I arrived here two years ago at a time when there was no Father here, nor even any " 'Frank' at all: there had never been a Religious House here, nor a church, nor Mass said. "Two months after my arrival I had a house, said Mass, and by virtue of our Brief from "Clement VIII I exercised my office, and administered the Sacraments to the 'Franks', "when they came here. I made a copy of the Brief in the vulgar tongue, and read it to the " 'Franks', so that we were considered by them as Parish Priests. After a year had passed, "that I had been here alone in peaceful possession . . . there arrived, as I say, two Fathers "of S. Augustine with letters patent from the Archbishop of Goa, in which he gave them the "charge of this country. As I know that they have as Archbishop one of their own Order "and we are far away from Rome, I could not, and did not want to oppose them, but I said "to them that, while we were reporting to our superiors, they and we should continue helping "each other and agreeing together mutually. This did not appear ill to them at the time. ". . . The Fathers say that the Archbishop has authority to make a parish priest here, "and that he would not have done so, had he not had it, but they do not exhibit" (the text of) "their commission. . . . Your Reverence will see now what appears to you proper, and "do it: because what I feel most is that they are now going about saying that they have to "excommunicate all those persons who made their Communion in this House this Lent, "and they make small account of us, thinking that there is no one to show us favour . . . "they say that we cannot even preach without their licence. I have said nothing till now ". . . if your Reverence sees fit, please cause them to be informed in these countries that "His Holiness . . . sent us here and we are his missionaries . . . and for the rest, so long "as we have liberty to exercise our office, to be parish priests or not matters little. . . ."

Again in his letter of 12.5.1625 he referred to

¹ His letter of 6.11.1626, O.C.D. 241 g.

"these good Augustinian Fathers wishing to rule everywhere . . .":

still the technical difficulty did not prevent his stating that

"with the Fathers here I get on well and there are good and holy relations between us. . . ."

The point at issue was still unsettled when Fr. Basil wrote, 27.9.1628.

On 6.11.1626 he mentioned that in the previous month he had received letters from the Praepositus General (then Fr. Paul Simon) in which the latter signified how greatly the Order esteemed that mission at Basra:

"I am well respected both by the Pasha and by all his chief men. A few days ago, from a place where he had gone against some rebels, he wrote me a very courteous letter and recommended himself much to our prayers. This House is frequented by Muslims as well as by 'Franks', and especially by the Armenians who know no other. . . . Our site has been such a success that I can say no better could be found: and that today is the general opinion of everybody. . . ."

Additional building followed, however, in 1628:¹

"By the last letter which I had from the Fr. Vicar Provincial there came his order to me to make some more cells on an upper storey, because there were none till now. I have made five, and with other trifles, which I have arranged, we now are more comfortable and have much privacy . . . true it is that everything is still in the rough, and nothing plastered, as it is necessary to go slowly; but with all that everything is so satisfactory that I consider well employed the labour, which was not small. . . ."

Seven months later, 29.9.1628, he informed the Praepositus General:

"this house is daily growing, not only in a very pleasant dormitory which I made with 5 cells and which I have just finished plastering, but still more in the esteem of the public, all sorts of people resorting to it. The Pasha came to see us last Sunday, and stayed here a good time very familiarly, and with him were many of his chief men: he came as far as my cell, an extraordinary thing, which caused much marvelling. . . ."

To be noted too:

"in my opinion we have increased in the esteem of the Muslims, because with contact and familiarity they have greatly changed the conception which existed here about Christians and their Faith: formerly they were under the impression that we did not know anything of God. . . ."

More surprising still is the statement (letter of 26.9.1628) that:

"in this country, although it is of Muslims, it has happened to me more than twice that the numbers of those² wanting to take our scapular were so many that it was necessary to give it publicly in church; because there was no room in any other place: and let it be retained as proof of this that the Muslims, knowing about this practice of devotion, sell scapulars publicly in their shops and thus help the Christians to take it, a thing which consoles me and at which I marvel. . . ."

¹ Fr. Basil of S. Francis, 26.2.1628, O.C.D. 241 g.

² Presumably Portuguese and others off the ships, and local oriental Christians.

He added, comparing conditions in Basra with those in Persia, that they needed the more help of God and men at Basra because

“the Muslims here are very different” (i.e. to those in Isfahan and Persia) “and much more opposed to Christians, and their friendships are of small constancy. . . .”

On the other hand there was a promise of funds, mooted by the Spanish Court:

“I sent to Goa the letters of the king of Spain, accompanied by others from grandees ‘in Spain regarding the provision of subsistence for 12 Religious in these parts; and, if this materialize, your Reverence will not have so much preoccupation because, together with other aid which God will provide, it will be sufficient; but I doubt much whether it will take effect, at any rate to such an extent—we shall see.’”¹

Much of the pastoral interest and exploratory work of Fr. Basil and his earliest successors was taken up by the Mandaecans, so-called ‘Christians of S. John Baptist’ (and, by a misconception, often ‘Sabaeans’): and on 29.4.1627 he wrote, in reply to a letter received from the Prefect of the Sacr. Congregation, a long report to Cardinal Ludovisi regarding this remarkable race. In another letter of 26.2.1628 to Cardinal Ludovisi, when thanking his Eminence for the interest of the Sacr. Congregation in the Christians of various oriental rites and the Mandacans displayed in a letter from Rome of 26.2.1627, Fr. Basil mentioned that the desire of the last-mentioned was

‘for the Pope to bid the king of Spain assign them some one of the places the king possesses ‘in the Persian Gulf, so that they may live with more liberty than under the Muslim ‘yoke. . . .’

On 2.12.1633 Fr. Basil returned to the theme of the Mandaecans:

“. . . With regard to the ‘Christians of S. John’ I wrote at length to your Reverence “and to the Sacr. Congregation several times, how last October I sent to our territories “in the straits of Hurmuz a matter of 700 souls of both sexes . . . all of them full of “good spirits, in order to begin the conversion of this race, there being humanly speaking “no other means for it unless this; because, were they to find contentment there, little “by little all would emigrate. For the expenses of this journey I gave them by order of “the Viceroy of India 1,200 piastres, so that they went off contented. But, just as this “year everything was in a state of confusion, so too it happened that these people found “the general, Ruy Freire de Andrade (to whom they were going), dead: and with that they “were all scattered in various of our forts, to their small satisfaction . . . a few of them went “to India to interview the Viceroy, and up till now I do not know what success they have “had, but victuals will in any case have been given to each one of them. Still the business “is in a bad state, because those who have remained are scattered and rightly disgusted, “and I, so very far away, can help them little. Will your Reverence please consider this “business, and take it up with the Sacr. Congregation so that, before all of them die off, “some order come from the king of Spain recommending these people? . . . let the order “be that first they should be given some financial assistance, then as to the rest, and chiefly “that a decision be taken as to what can and should be done. . . .”

He wrote once more on 20.11.1634 to Rome:

“The ships that left Goa last year did not come here to Basra, and so I have received no “letters. . . . All the ships, that were coming here from Sind (Tatta) this year, on account

¹ See, in this account under the year 1701, a footnote quoting Lay Brother Francis Mary of S. Sirus on this subsistence und for 12 Religious: and also Fr. Agathangelus’ letter of 1.11.1680 on the subsidy promised by the ‘Prince of Portugal’.

"of tempest returned to that port. . . . Of this House of ours at Basra I shall say, firstly, "that it is inhabited . . . although the inhabitants are very few . . . at present I am with "one Lay Brother alone. . . . I have written several times to your Reverence about the " 'Christians of S. John', whom we sent to India two years ago, and as last year no one "came from India I did not know the state of things. Now I have had a long report, and "I think that with the enclosed your Reverence will be well informed of what happened. "It pleased the Viceroy very greatly, and he spent much money on them, and showed them "great consideration; but at present they are much diminished in numbers and harassed, "because on arriving to take possession of the land for which they had asked, they found it "occupied by the Arabs to such an extent that our people possessed nothing besides the fort: "and with that they were compelled to remain in Masqat, a bad country and very dear, "where they have only the 'king's' quarter, which is insufficient for them. Some time ago "I had 3 letters from their leader and chief, in which he gives me a narrative of this business, "and says that he was about to leave for Goa, where he had first gone. I have written "to the Sacr. Congregation to assist them from Europe with letters from His Holiness to "the king of Spain: and, if these were to arrive at present, it would be excellent; for I "apprehend that, if something does not soon come from Europe, their numbers will go on "diminishing, and those whom we first assisted will have lost all interest. . . ."

By 1628 the neighbourhood of Basra was insecure: in his letter of 26.2.1628 Fr. Basil mentioned that for almost a year past a chieftain of the desert had blocked all passage to and from Basra (which explained why previous letters of his had not come to hand in Rome) and some Europeans and Muslims, tired of waiting, had gone off to try the route across the desert from Katif in Al-Hasa on the southern coast of the Persian Gulf: he had no more heart to write, when all his work of the previous three years and his letters had all been lost on the way. Although the Pasha

"is on good terms with us, and pays us much respect: yet, as he is rather young and inexperienced with regard to governing the people, he is very remiss: and that is the cause "of the many troublesome affairs which ordinarily happen in this country. Seeing that, "the Portuguese are coming here rarely and show a desire to come still less: and it is even "suspected that in this monsoon very few ships or none at all will come: it is already later "than usual. . . ."

From such comments it may be judged how little Basra depended on the situation round Baghdad: for this was the year of the attack by the Turkish army on Persia, and their investment of Baghdad in an attempt to recapture it from the Persians. As a reprisal, however, in 1629,

"shortly before the death of Shah 'Abbas I, Imam Quli Khan, his viceroy in Fars and the "south, besieged Basra and would have taken it, despite the flooding of the country round "by the Arabs, had not the news of the Shah's death made his presence in Persia "requisite."¹

In August 1630, however, once more there was a revival of Portuguese shipping:

"At the beginning of this month of August there arrived here 25 Portuguese merchant "ships—a thing which had never happened for them to come in such numbers: it has been "a great relief to us, because without them this country is dead, and still more so this House, "especially as they had failed to come in past monsoons. . . ."

At that date there were in the Residence at Basra four priests (Frs. Basil, Elias of the Mother of God, John Antony and Philip of the Most Holy Trinity), two choir brothers, and two lay

¹ See Fr. Philip of the Most Holy Trinity, *Voyages d'Orient*.

brothers—eight in all: by December of that year the number had fallen to four: when Fr. Basil wrote three years later, 30.12.1633, he was entirely alone, and had been for a year past, and it pained him:

“it seems a pity to me that a House so commodious, and at present more so than ever, “should be so deserted. . . . I should not be satisfied for there to be less than four Fathers “and a Lay Brother here, because there is no lack of subsistence here, without anybody “being given any trouble over it . . . the House is not empty of people because, even if “there be no Religious, it needs servants, for there is a great deal to manage; but our Lord “has given us simple and good servants. . . .”

In 1633 a breach had occurred between the governor of Basra and the Portuguese. Of the several letters giving an account of this none appears to have reached its destination in Rome. In that of 2.12.1633 Fr. Basil makes only a passing allusion:

“From the letters that I have written your Reverence will see in what peril our House at “Basra stood of being lost, and with it also a large number of Christians. . . . I shall not “now say more than that it has all ceased: and lately peace and friendship have been “confirmed between this ‘king’ ” (i.e. the Arab governor or Pasha) “and the Portuguese: “and the General in the Gulf entrusted me with this business, and to that end sent two “warships this last July, and the peace in question was made to general gratification on “both sides, and of all the populace: and, as a result the merchant ships, when they arrived “later, did better business than hitherto; although this year very few came, as it did not seem “that trouble of such great importance would be arranged so speedily. . . .”

So that at the end of that month and year Fr. Basil was able to write with satisfaction:

“. . . The Pasha is well affected towards us, and I go to see him sometimes. This “*land is at present most flourishing*: and the concourse of people coming here is great: because “it has acquired a great name, and I doubt whether in these regions there be any land so “prosperous . . . and with it the buildings and houses that are being constructed are “innumerable. Trade with the Portuguese has already been renewed, and, I think, will “continue better than before. . . .”

This must have been the case, for 1½ years later, on 20.4.1635, Fr. Basil mentioned:

“This town has grown so greatly in riches, merchandise and for the numbers of people “resorting to it, that it can be compared with Constantinople. . . .”¹

His own part in fostering trade, with the Portuguese flag in particular, and in all this growth and the development of the commercial importance of the port was no small one in view of the honour and respect in which he was held by the Arab governors: and his influence was clearly recognized by the East India Company in the instructions of the President and Council to John Drake, on one of the earliest trading voyages of the company to Basra taking place, 28.3.1636, to the effect that they had:

“written to Padree Frere Basilio, a Carmelite, who hath lived many years in that place, “*begging his assistance*: at the delivery of this letter a present should be given him. . . .”

But he ceased to be Vicar from February 1636, and proceeded to Rome. His successor testified more than once to the detriment caused by his absence, and wish of the populace for his return. By the end of 1639 he was back in Basra, and a second time Vicar: in the spring of

¹ *S.R.*, vol. 135, p. 530.

1641 he was called into Persia, and thence once more set off for Italy, as 'Substitute to the Procurator', in 1643.

He was followed, firstly, by Fr. Stephen of Jesus, Vicar from February 1636 till August 1640, whose letters during that period gave little reference to affairs of that particular mission. To Cardinal Antonio Barberini, Prefect, and to Mgr Ingoli, Secretary, he wrote, 3.2.1637, of having sent a "brief summary of happenings in his first year to the reverend Fr. Praepositus "General", and he promised to inform the Sacr. Congregation "with greater minuteness in "future"; but such summary is not extant apparently. Fr. Stephen reported too on 6.5.1639 that of 8 Portuguese ships, which had left Basra that winter, only three reached Masqat in safety, five having been lost in a very great storm near Kharg. In 1637 there were two other Religious with him: in 1640 three (one of them Fr. Leander of the Resurrection).

If not so long as that of Fr. Basil, the stay of Fr. Ignatius of Jesus in Basra from the end of 1641 till October 1652 lasted thus over 10 years: and in his activities he was a worthy successor, greatly interested in the Mandaeans, on whom he wrote a monograph¹ printed by the Sacr. Congregation in Rome, as well as other translations. At the beginning of 1643 there was friction between the Portuguese and the Muslim authorities and others at Basra: Fr. Ignatius explained in his letter, 29.8.1643:

"Last year the General of the Straits of Hurmuz, by order of the Viceroy of Goa, wrote "to me giving me the commission to send to India all these 'Christians of S. John', who are "scattered in these parts: and I began at once to deal with the business, so that already some "30 of them were ready prepared to go, scouts as it were to see the place which the Portu- "guese want to give them, i.e. certain lands in the realm of Ceylon: but they were denounced "to the Muslims, and some of them taken away, so that of the 30 only five went off with "letters from the rest of their race. This year they thought to finish the business with better "success; but a far greater impediment has interfered, because a convoy² of Portuguese "ships has not come this year—on the contrary the General in question is every day "expected to arrive with a fleet to make war on the Pasha here, on account of the quarrel "which has arisen between them over two Polish youths, slaves of a Turk from Constan- "tinople, who in passing Masqat declared themselves to be 'Christians', and whom the "Portuguese there took away from their Turkish master, a man of importance. The General "wrote to me to withdraw myself to some safe place: and I was thinking of doing so and "escaping from the perils that might ensue, were I to remain among the Muslims at a time "when our people were making war on them; but I decided to stay because, once this "house were abandoned, it would be difficult or impossible to recover it.³ Fr. Barnabas "and Fr. Peter, who were here, ran away from the menace of hostilities, but encountered "some risk of not being able to do so, because they were but little acquainted with this "country and, wanting to do so in their own fashion, the Shahbandar (the man who "controls everything) came to know of it, and prohibited anyone from going on board; "but by reasoning with him, and speaking nicely I obtained permission for them to go. . . .

" . . . And it might happen that things quieten down because some days ago the Shah- "bandar came to see me here at the House, and asked me for letters to the General; and "he also wrote on instructions of the Pasha, asking for friendship and peace. . . ."

(Letter of 11.10.1643) " . . . When the Pasha and Shahbandar wanted to effect a "settlement, it was already late, as when the letters they gave me, in which they made "many promises and asked the Portuguese commander to divert their" (i.e. the Portu- "guese) shipping to this port, reached Kung, the fleet had already left for Katif,⁴ whence "the Portuguese sent 5 ships which did some damage to this port" (i.e. Basra), "so that "affairs have become a little difficult. . . ."

¹ *The Origin, Rites, and Errors of the Christians of S. John*, 1652.

² The Arabic word *qafilah* is used, literally 'caravan'.

³ A true prophecy of what actually occurred after the death of Fr. John Athanasius in 1707.

⁴ Kung being the headquarters, Katif on the opposite and Arab coast was also a Portuguese stronghold up till 1650.

Incidents of this 'little difficulty' are described by Fr. Barnabas in a letter, after he had reached Kung from Basra, 16.10.1643:

"At Basra . . . the truth is that the governor has prohibited everyone from leaving: 'out of fear lest the Portuguese should inflict some harm on them they want to keep the Fathers as hostages, although the Portuguese have plundered 5 ships loaded with corn going there from Persia. The Portuguese can do them much harm by stopping the mouth of the Shatt, as all food comes from the Persian Gulf. They can get nothing, unless it come from Baghdad, which city, as it has a large population and 15,000 soldiers, and is a frontier garrison post against Persia, and very jealous, is not likely to allow provisions to leave its territory. The Portuguese can inflict other losses on their date-palms, which the town of Basra possess in very large numbers, and to which they could set fire. And so for all these risks they would not let the Fathers who remained there go, viz. one of ours, one Augustinian and one Dominican, who chanced to be passing on his way into Persia. But, as I now hear, the Pasha of Basra has already sent to the General of the Portuguese, who was at *Katif*, to see whether he would accept a 'present': and it is certain that, so long as the Pasha wants peace, the Portuguese will make it with good will, and keep it as long as the Muslims keep it: for each time the peace has been broken, it has been from the side of the Muslims who do not keep their promises."

In 1644 Fr. Ignatius was busy repairing the premises:

'despite poverty he had . . . remade all the foundation, with burnt brick to the height of 6 palms,¹ of all the cells and corridors inside and outside; and almost entirely remade the 'diwan', which had partly collapsed. . . .'

"The Pasha is showing me many attentions. . . ."²

The Carmelites continued the tradition of acting as conciliators between the local Arab government and the Portuguese command in the Gulf (in 1646 the Captain General of the Straits of Hurmuz was Julian de Noronha) each time a dispute arose. Thus Fr. Ignatius, on 20.1.1646:

"Last year, when the Portuguese sent their trading ships (at my request), a dispute arose and the Pasha at first refused permission; but I got a writing out of the Pasha and went on board the Portuguese warship, to the benefit of the Portuguese who gave me a large sum in alms, sufficient to pay debts and maintain the mission for many months. . . ."

31.8.1646: ". . . The Portuguese had just arrived, but did not land goods at Bandar 'Rascal' (? Rishire = Rishahr) "because the 'Sultan' there had been sent for by the king of Persia."

In December of that year Fr. Ignatius saw his companion, Fr. Peter of the Mother of God, depart: from 1650 to the middle of 1651 Fr. Matthew of S. Joseph was with him. Early in 1647 he mentioned that he had sent away about 50 'Christians of S. John' that year to Masqat and Goa ("all become Catholics", he added): more had not gone because during that year Masqat had been besieged by the neighbouring Arabs, and a terrible war had been proceeding.

(In confirmation see the following 'certificate' from the Factor of the Viceroy of the Portuguese Indies—O.C.D. 241 n.):

"We, the undersigned, affirm and solemnly declare that the very reverend Fr. Ignatius of 'Jesus, Vicar of the Discalced Carmelites at Basra, two years ago sent off some of the chief

¹ About 5 feet, a Roman 'palm' being about 25 cm.: *aiwān*, not *diwan*, is a term used in Persian for a portico, veranda.

² 10.1.1644, O.C.D. 241 m.

“men among the Christians of S. John as envoys of their race to the Viceroy of Goa, together with another 20, who accompanied them, in order to negotiate regarding their transmigration and transfer to Christian territories, and to inspect the lands, which the said Viceroy wants to give them in the island of Ceylon. And, if this year there had not been the serious attacks which the neighbouring Arabs have made against Masqat, a large proportion of the said ‘Christians’ would have gone there. Further we certify that the said Fr. Ignatius of Jesus in the month of October last sent about 50 of these above-named Christians to Masqat, and from Masqat they proceeded to Goa: others of them went with their whole families to live there as Catholics. We declare that we have seen letters from the Viceroy of Goa and the Captain General of Masqat, in which they thank Fr. Ignatius for the trouble and diligence taken in this business, and beg him to continue till he complete the work effectively. . . .”

“Today, 1st February, 1649.

“(sd) Matthew of S. Joseph, C.S.

“Francis de Campos, agent of the Viceroy in Basra.”

In his letter of 1647 mentioned above Fr. Ignatius went on to refer to his book, *The Origin, Rites and Errors of the Christians of S. John*, which contains useful information on the customs, habitat, and condition of the Mandaeans, and as to their attitude towards the true Christian Faith at that period:

“I have written to Mgr Ingoli” (i.e. the Secretary of the Sac. Congregation) “regarding the book of the rites of these ‘Christians of S. John’, which the Sac. Congregation desired to have, and I have notified it of a book which I have composed. . . .”

It is not clear from his letter of 18.8.1652:

“. . . the Portuguese have come with a powerful fleet against the Arabs, and have already been successful in some of their enterprises: it is hoped that they will be more powerful in this strait” (i.e. the Shatt ul-ʿArab) “than they were at Masqat . . .”—

whether this fleet had come to Basra, or remained down Gulf round the waters of Masqat.

Even Protestant Englishmen, rivals of the Portuguese traders whom Fr. Ignatius helped, testify to his benignity and affability—see the intimation by the President and Council of the East India Company from Swally, 25.1.1650, to the Company:

“Any letters overland may be directed to Basra for the care of a Carmelite Padree, one Ignatio an Italian, whose hath a good report as a lover of our nation. . . .”¹

From 1649 Fr. Barnabas of S. Charles was at Basra, and began a residence there of some 12 years, broken by a call to Isfahan of some months in 1652. His first impressions were a lament:²

“What have I to do with Arabia, who speak only Turkish and Persian? For more than one year I have been in Basra, and have not heard the confession of more than 10 persons. . . . and once I preached to the Portuguese, at the time the convoy came. . . . Some say that ‘were hell on earth it would be in Basra and Hurmuz’. . . . The country is altogether desert and only inhabited for a distance of two miles from the river. . . . And, though Basra on account of the benefits to be obtained from its rivers ought to abound in everything, yet as the people are Arabs and little industrious, content with dates and rice, the land produces neither wine, nor fresh vegetables, nor fruit, and if there be a small yield and crop, it is finished in 10 days, I think because of the extreme heat. . . .”³

¹ *Factory Records of East India Company*, by Sir W. Foster.

² 1.9.1650, O.C.D. 242 a.

³ The temperature at Basra in its summer may rise to 124° Fahrenheit in the shade, some 50 centigrade.

"I add that the house is singularly inconvenient: as in its construction our method was observed, all the cells in the upper storey are uninhabitable for 6 months in the year. "It is true that the Father made another 4 cells down below, but one is damaged and the other two occupied, one by the Fr. Vicar. It is true there is another room, but used almost all this summer by a layman guest: so that 5 Religious (Fr. Felix, Fr. Matthew, Fr. Nicolas, Fr. John and I) have dwelt almost all this extremely hot summer in the sacristy, which is no larger than half a cell. . . . As regards the 'Christians of S. John', they desire to emigrate to a Christian land . . . in order to escape the incredible persecution of the infidels. For the truth is, though I have several times demonstrated to them the ill case in which they now are, and that every one of them ought to embrace the true Faith, out of which there is no salvation, wherever he may be, . . . yet neither I, nor Fr. Matthew nor Fr. Ignatius, though Vicar of this house for 9 years, none of us have been able to find one disposed to be baptized. Besides, daily they are going off to Portuguese territories, and many come back; but of as many as do return I have not seen any who have become Christian except one poor soldier, 16 years at Masqat. . . . I consider that their departure for Christian lands should be obtained, because little by little fathers and sons would become Christians. . . . As regards the Christians in this country there is little labour to be done, and small is the fruit gathered. . . . Fr. Matthew is preaching on Sundays . . . for 11 years past the word of God had not been preached to them. They could be and ought to be taught the catechism . . . but the Vicar has scruples lest we should not do greater harm. . . .

" . . . As to the Muhammadans, the case is absolutely desperate . . . "

and then Fr. Barnabas urges that the field among the schismatics in Armenia, Assyria and places he had seen on his travels such as Erzerum, Nisibin, Mardin, Mausil, would be infinitely more profitable. Again he emphasizes, in another letter of 14.6.1651:

"I have written to our Father General that what is done in Basra is nothing, nothing, altogether nothing. . . ." ¹

At this period Portuguese influence in the Persian Gulf had been almost annihilated with the capture of Masqat by the Arabs in December 1649: their convoys of merchantmen, and the visits of their warships to Basra had declined, or almost ceased. All this meant a great loss, not only to the income and upkeep of the Carmelite mission at Basra, but also to the pastoral work of the Religious and their value and esteem in the eyes of the Pasha and Muslim inhabitants. That explains why Fr. Barnabas wrote, 12.10.1652, ² begging the heads of the Order in Rome:

"to consider commended to you this poor and miserable and falling House, since there can be hoped from the Portuguese nothing save greater distress every day: may God not permit it, but the Father Vicar and I fear that this establishment may be lost. . . ."

(On the words "falling house" a passing witness of another Order, the Capuchin Fr. Marius d'Orleans, throws light in his letter of 9.6.1653: ³

"Le Bacha de ce lieux a fait batir une mosquée dans le milieu du bazar proche la maison et esglise des dicts Révérends Pères pour l'acomodement dicelles le dict Bacha veut prendre la dicte esglise et maison comme estant trop proche de la dicte mosquée, et que les Portugais ne venent plust pour leur traficq . . . ce qui a obligé le Révérend Père vicaire d'aller aux Bender Congo, où il y a 3 mois qu'il y est pour voir s'il fera quelque chose avec les Portugais pour le maintien de ce lieux, estant eux seuls qu'ils le l'ont fondé,

¹ O.C.D. 241 c.

² *Idem*, 241 f.

³ *Idem*, 242 a.

"et qu'ils le peuvent maintenir, et pour n'avoir pas bien fait les fondements *le tout sans exception est près de tomber, ou les Turcs ne manqueront pas leur coup.* . . ."

Evidently Fr. Basil's building had not been made sufficiently strong at its base and foundations.)

More Fr. Barnabas gave in later letters regarding the changing political situation in the struggle for mastery in those Indian waters:

"14.7.1653. . . . The news is that the Dutch in the Persian straits have taken at different times four merchant ships of the English with a great quantity of money and valuable merchandise. In the same straits the Dutch have got possession of another Portuguese vessel. These same Dutch have taken seven other Portuguese ships at various places in India. . . . The Dutch are masters of the Persian straits with their fleet, which they have off Ras-ul-Had¹. . . which must necessarily be passed before the Persian Gulf can be entered from India. . . ."

"4.8.1653.² The Dutch . . . remain now masters almost of all the trade of India, Persia and this port of Basra: for which reason this year not an English nor a Portuguese ship has come to Basra: and therefore we have lacked altogether and totally the financial aid we used to have from that nation: and so the Father Vicar of this House writes to our Definitory General that they" (i.e. the Order in Rome) "should issue a statement how this House is to be maintained financially. Otherwise I do not see how we can persevere for more than 8 months in Basra: and here we have no one to whom we can turn, as our Fr. Vicar Provincial is already for 4 years past in India. . . ."

Yet the Carmelite missionaries had friendly relations with the new maritime Powers in the Persian Gulf: for Fr. Barnabas' letter quoted continued:

"The Father Vicar of this House writes . . . that they want to provide some young (Religious) for this house . . . arrange that he shall know some Dutch or English, because these nations here are much our friends, and among them Catholics are to be found."

"9.11.1653. . . . This year no Portuguese or English have come to this port, but Muslims (Arabs) and Dutch: and there have come to this port more than 3 million Spanish reals in gold, and more than 6 million gold reals have gone off to Gāmburūn . . . and from what I see all the money which comes from the West Indies comes to these East Indies. . . ."

"Here, the Pasha had gone out on campaign with 15,000 Arab rascals from the desert" (i.e. Baduin) "against two of his uncles, brothers of his father: but, having come to a settlement together he returned to the town with his uncles; but, after the Turkish fashion, when he had them in his power, he put them by force on board a ship and wanted to send them to India. . . . The Dutch this year have taken 4 English ships and 10 Portuguese, among these ten being two of great value, in which the Sultan of Macao had a share. . . ."

Mention must not be omitted of the 'postal forwarding' work, which the Carmelites undertook for the 'East Indies' companies of the various nations, and to this good office—it brought them in substantial reward in alms—there are frequent references, e.g.:

"By today's opportunity, when I am sending off two couriers with letters of the Dutch Company . . ."³

and, for instance:

¹ He spelt it "Ras el gati".

² Compare Fr. Felix, Basra, 5 8.1653, O.C.D. 241 k :

" . . . this House has always been maintained by the alms which the Portuguese left here: and, with the loss of Masqat and the war they have with the Dutch, they no longer come here: so that means of subsistence has failed altogether."

³ Fr. Barnabas, 27.5.1654, O.C.D. 241 f.

"The Dutch gentlemen by this courier have sent us 60 piastres as a present. . . ."¹

The matter was first propounded from Isfahan by Fr. Felix to the Definitory General on 12.5.1655, as a problem or scruple of conscience (*dubbio*—a doubt to be decided by higher authority in Rome):

"The Dutch for some years past have been in the habit of addressing their letters to our 'Fathers at Basra for dispatch by courier to their consul at Aleppo. This happens three times a year. For this correspondence and the services rendered good donations and offerings are received at the mission, and the Dutch show them favours on many occasions. 'The trade of the Portuguese [on account of whom we were admitted here, and the master 'of the country' (i.e. the Pasha) 'allowed us to reside in peace'—see letter of 28.8.1655 from Basra, O.C.D. 241 k.] is now totally lacking in Basra . . . when they' (the inhabitants . . . 'there was a talk of sending us away'—letter of 28.8.1655) 'tried to get rid of 'us from Basra, it was of help for us to say that we were there not for the Portuguese alone, 'but for all Christians. If they' (i.e. the Carmelites at Basra) 'cease to do this forwarding, 'and have a rupture with the Dutch Company's agents, it may do great harm—with the 'fresh war between the Dutch and Portuguese—for *the Dutch are all-powerful*, and with one 'single step could have us turned out of Basra, and even all Persia. What are we in 'conscience to do?"

In 1656 this scruple was again troubling the missionaries, Fr. Barnabas of S. Charles writing on 16.12.1656 to Rome:

"I desire also that your Reverence give your view on the proposition submitted by our 'Father Vicar Provincial a year ago, viz. whether anyone incurs pain of excommunication, 'or of light censure, prescribed in the Bull . . . or elsewhere, for forwarding letters of the 'Dutch. I speak of those matters which concern affairs of State, or the war against the 'Portuguese; because I am the one receiving all their letters that come from Europe and 'go to India and Persia, and it is I who am sending on intact their letters coming for Europe, 'and I do the same with those of the English, because they have none of their own people 'here to send the letters on their way: and with this too we have the convenience of sending 'and receiving our own letters speedily, because I dispatch them by the same couriers 'as those by which theirs are forwarded; besides which they do us many favours and give 'us large alms, and our Fathers, wherever they go that they' (i.e. the Dutch and English) 'are, receive a good welcome and are honoured for my sake. . . . The Father Commis-sary² and Fr. Vincent Mary and the Lay Brother, together with a servant, left Basra, '12.9.1656, on a Dutch vessel, going to Surat and for our sake they were embarked gratis, 'whereas according to the usual charge they would have had to pay 150 piastres as far as 'Surat: twice since their departure they have written me, once from Kharg and the other 'time from Bandar 'Abbas, begging me to thank the Dutch gentlemen' (i.e. the Dutch East India Company's agents) 'for the many presents made them on board the ship and 'at Bandar 'Abbas. . . ."

By May 1654 Fr. Barnabas was so far settled at Basra that he wrote to Rome, cancelling his previous request for recall to Europe:³

" . . . Truly I have a little scruple at leaving the missions after spending so much labour: 'especially as I see some result, which God means to give, and is already giving. . . ."

¹ Fr. Casimir Joseph, 29.11.1655, O.C.D. 236 l.

² This was Fr Joseph of S. Mary, sent by the Sacr. Congregation to Malabar, afterwards Bishop of Bisignano, q.v. in biographies.

³ 27.5.1654, O.C.D. 241 f.

He then had Fr. Maximin as his companion, and the next year Fr. Casimir. His letter of 15.1.1655 touches on the state of political turmoil and civil strife in Mesopotamia:

"Here we are in fear of attack and warfare once more from the direction of the city of 'confusion' (i.e. Babylon-Baghdad), 'but I think that . . . finally the Persians will gain possession of this country of B. (? asra). For my sins, it fell to me to be Vicar at this juncture: for 40 days I remained with death close at hand: God freed me. We are in great affliction . . . I shall send you a full report . . . it has been a tragedy that a territory of 100 miles should have had in thirty days four different masters, and for one of them and his brother it did not last a day: today acclaimed as sovereign prince and the next day strangled together with his brother, and left out in the square with only their drawers on them and then dragged through the town. . . ."

He asked too that:

"if any Father should be coming out from Europe, 10 small watches, costing 10 to 12 piastres each, should be sent: even though only samples they would suffice, because here 'what is worth 10 sells for 50: one needs to try and help oneself':

and again 5 months later, 24.6.1655:

"This 'prince' (i.e. governor) shows himself kindly disposed towards me and must be kept 'so: . . . anyone coming out might bring some fine clock, one of those large ones to stand on a table, so that I may present it to him. With a paper in his own handwriting he has 'made our House exempt' (? from taxation) 'and for my sake has refrained from taking the house of the English gentlemen' (? the East India Company) 'so there is need for me to show some gratitude. . . ."

There is another allusion to this revolt of the Arabs of Basra district, the beginning of a series, in a letter of Fr. Casimir Joseph from Baghdad, 4.11.1654:¹

". . . Puis les nouveautés et les troubles qu'a causé ceste guerre de Bassora en rendant 'les chemins dangereux . . . un Père Jesuite qui vat aux Indes attendra icy que le passage soit libre par Bassora. . . . Nous avons entendu par un homme, qui est venu de là, que nos 'Pères' (i.e. at Basra) 'n'ont rien souffert, et qu'ils avoient desia embarqué leur sacristie et principaux meubles pour s'enfuir en cas de quelque sac ou désordre et la prise et reprise de la dicte ville. Le Bassa de cette ville' (i.e. Baghdad) 'y estoit allé avec armée pour 'reduire le Bassa de Bassora à l'obéissance du Grand Seigneur, ce qu'ayant oui, le dict 'Bassa il se retira, et ainsi le Bassa d'icy prit facilement la ville, où il comença de faire mourir quelques principaux entre autres deux oncles du Bassa, et voulut encore maltraiter les marchands, ce que voyant le peuple, ils firent sous main sçavoir à leur Bassa, qui tenoit la campagne avec force Arabes qu'il avoit ramassés, qu'il les trouveroit tous à sa dévotion 'au cas qu'il voulut retourner et attaquer le Bassa de Babilone, ce qu'ayant faict au de-pourveu il força le dict Bassa d'abandonner la place, et retourner icy apres avoir perdu 'presque toute son Armée. . . ."

Two Mandaeans sent to Rome had been baptized there as Christians with the names, John Baptist Orsino and Isidore Panfilio: and this seems to have excited hopes of better results from proselytism among that race: thus on 30.11.1655 Fr. Barnabas wrote that he and Fr. Casimir were well content

"seeing the mercy of God extended over these poor 'Sabaeans', nine of whom and one

¹ O.C.D. 242 c.

"pagan have been baptized: and we have hopes that by the grace of God it will spread to many more, in which matter certainly the two brothers baptized in Rome will assist us greatly . . . pray to God because these women in these parts are very obstinate, and do not easily yield to reason. I hope that God will be gracious and send Fr. Matthew to gain the favour of these Sabaeen women through the practice of medicine, which here is esteemed above measure, particularly when given gratis—*mu'af* as they say here . . . in no wise is it convenient that he should be taken away from Basra, both because of the Arabic tongue, which he knows well, and also on account of his knowledge of medicine which will be very welcome to the whole town. If I am still here, I shall introduce him to the household of the 'king' " (i.e. governor) "for, when that is secured, there is a cessation of all the dangers which exist for anyone in infidel countries, which, after all, are hostile to the Christian Faith and employ every means to destroy it. . . .

"If Fr. Stephen is to come as Vicar, he will find the house improved both in spiritualities as also in its financial condition, so that for another 20 years he will not have to spend 20 piastres, as I have repaired it all when it was on the point of collapsing, and I spent 120 piastres. If it had not been for the journeys of several Religious and that I spent some 300 piastres in building, the House already would have had sufficient income for its maintenance so long as the Vicar be satisfied with little as at present. The money on which he lives is all placed out in Baghdad at 12 per cent . . . and so the Fr. Provincial was about to transfer the money of (the Convent of) Isfahan to Basra . . . there they do not get more than 6 per cent per annum, and here—at least on what we do not want to send to Baghdad—we shall always have 12 per cent.¹ . . .

"I shall leave him the House enjoying good relations with the 'king' " (i.e. governor) "who is kindly disposed and pays me respect each time I go to visit him. . . . Today I took into the House a young 'Sabaeen' from Durakh,² in whose house I had been at Durakh for some days: he wants to be baptized, and I want to train him well . . . as, he being a Persian, I can speak to him as I wish, and then through his intermediary I hope to draw to God also the 6 households at Durakh, when I shall go there along with this youth. The two Mandaean baptized in Rome . . . employ about 40 of the creed in their house. They have been useful in encouraging Mandeans already baptized. . . ."

(Letter of 2.2.1656): ". . . Affairs continue prosperously, speaking of the object for which we have come: daily by the water of baptism people are passing over from S. John to Christ: to-day, three women and two men will receive the rite, *laus Deo*. . . ."

(Letter of 28.5.1656): Isidore Pamfilio, one of the Mandeans sent to Rome, and Frs. Barnabas and Casimir in a short time had baptized about thirty of this race.

(Letter of 20.7.1756): "Speaking of spirituals, affairs continue very well, for in six months between pagans, Muslims and Sabaeans some 50 persons of both sexes have received the water of baptism. . . . The House, too, is assured against persecution by the Mullas, who were trying to persuade the governor that the church of the Christians should not be so near to the mosque constructed by some people three years ago: it is certainly not more than 30 paces distant from their chief mosque.³ . . . As to the 'prince' (i.e. governor) who three years ago appeared not to want the Fathers any longer in Basra . . . he now shows a great liking for me, and I go to him every week: and therefore I hope that, so long as he live, the Fathers will enjoy all respect and favour: of a surety this 'prince' and all the notables honour us more than is done in Rome. . . ."

¹ Compare Fr. Felix, 8.4.1654, Basra, O.C.D. 241 k.:

"I have received the 350 sequins. . . . I have placed it out at interest here in Basra at 9 per cent and I hope, when I go to Isfahan, to improve the rates on a little more money we have there, which now does not yield more than 6 per cent . . ." and his letter, 10.10.1655, Basra, 241 k.: "Money, which is at 7½ per cent interest at Isfahan, here in Basra, because it is a seaport and place of call for much trading, it gives more than 12 per cent. . . . I hope to transfer here part of the Isfahan money."

² Durakh is not far from the Persian sea-coast, in the province of Khuzistan.

³ It would be interesting to ascertain whether there is a mosque that distance from the present site of the church of the mission to Basra: partial destruction of the town at times since may, however, have obliterated edifices of the 1650's built of dried mud, for Basra has no local stone.

One letter of 16.12.1656 deals almost entirely with the news received from Rome of the transfer of administration of the Mission from the Order to the Sacr. Congregation of Propaganda Fide, which caused affliction as well as lively misgivings and apprehension among the missionaries: they felt that they would no longer be in the hands of their own brethren, who took in them and their wants often a personal, family interest, but that especially in the matter of the provision of funds for their maintenance and other needs—uncertain as that had been in the past—they would be worse off than ever. The change will receive attention in the history of the mission in general: here allusion is made to the subject in explanation of an interesting item of information in this letter. For, asking to be allowed to leave the missionary field and withdraw to his province in Europe, Fr. Barnabas described how he would close the mission at Basra:

“I shall hand back to the ‘prince’ (i.e. governor) that part of the House of which he, ‘i.e. his predecessors, made us a donation, and I shall sell the rest . . . and as to the church ‘we shall break the altar, so that it be not defiled. What troubles me are the *bones of so many of the Faithful, who were buried in our church, and in all the House*; but, if they” (i.e. the townspeople) “should become aware of this, that anyone of another creed had been buried ‘inside the town, we should run the risk of a rising of the populace against us. . . .”

It seems remarkable that for the previous 30 years burials of Christians could have taken place in the narrow limits of the property acquired by Fr. Basil of S. Francis, without the place of burial of those dying have been patent to all in the neighbourhood; but the reason for the opposition to such burials within the walls of Muslim towns deserves notice. Later in the story of Basra specific mentions occur of Religious being first buried in the Christian cemetery (of ‘Isa ibn Mariam’—Jesus son of Mary¹), and their bones being removed years afterwards for reinterment before the altars of the church of the Residence. Presumably, therefore, this Christian cemetery was assigned for use at some date later than 1656. A second letter on 16.12.1656 reported:

“Many of these ‘Sabaeans’” (i.e. Mandaean) “go on being converted: in this monsoon ‘I sent to Portuguese territory two Indians baptized in Goa who, I feared, might become ‘Muslims, and also I sent a Pole for the same reason and another from Basra, all embarked ‘on Dutch and English ships which is no small service” (i.e. to God’s work) “since as ‘regards Portuguese ships not a single one comes any longer to this port. I have adopted ‘this expedient to make sure of the souls in question and am determined to do the like ‘with all Christians whom I find abandoned and with nothing: this I have also done with ‘some Armenian Christians, and a few days ago I sent off one who was due to become a ‘Muslim in another two days and had spoken to the ‘prince’ (i.e. the governor) about ‘it. The ‘prince’ knew of it, but said nothing to me about it, only asking me where the ‘man was, and I replied that I had had him taken on board out of charity. Should the ‘position of our affairs change I beg your Reverence to send me by the first opportunity ‘a clock of the kind we have in our dormitories, in order to make a gift to the ‘prince’, who ‘had asked for it, and has kept ours from this House for more than eight days. . . .”²

Despite the outward official correctness of relations, or even personal esteem shown by the governors of Basra to Fr. Barnabas and the Carmelite Vicars, there was between them an undercurrent of warfare for souls: in each case a creed was concerned, at the core of which lies proselytism: his letter of 18.1.1657, after saying that:

“the state of Christianity in India is, as I have said, being melted away like snow in the ‘sun, as one learns every day of some territory of the Portuguese being lost: in a short time ‘they have lost eleven places, partly taken from them by the Imam” (i.e. the Imam of

¹ Or ‘Isu wa Mariam—Jesus and Mary.

² Perhaps that same clock which Fr. Paul Augustine got to work and repaired in 1714.

'Uman), "an Arab prince in Arabia Felix, partly by the 'king' of Canara, and partly by "the Dutch, who in the month of May captured the strong and important town of Colombo "in Ceylon with the loss of which they" (i.e. the Portuguese) "have been evicted altogether "from Ceylon . . . it can be credited that in a few years the Portuguese nation will be "altogether thrown out of the Indies, because there is neither concert between them, nor "courage nor any money, and they are disunited among themselves . . .",

he went on:

"With regard to the Christians here, whom God has made within the last three years "almost entirely (for as to the former Christians almost all had left on account of the "governor being rabidly set on harassing the Christians, in order to cause them to become "renegades), there is hope of many more, and in a few days we shall baptize a family of "16 'Sabaeans' " (i.e. Mandaeans) "with whom I have been working for the past three "years, and on whom I have spent many days. . . . If we go away, the 'king' (i.e. governor) "will make them all Muslims, because I know, and say so with sorrow, that the chief "desire and main efforts, cunning as those of a fox, of this governor are to cause Christian "faithful to become renegades: and now that he has learnt that these 'Sabaeans' are "becoming Christians, he has turned his mind to making them Muslims and he leaves "nothing untried to bring them over to his faith. . . . God knows how much I have "laboured yesterday and to-day to set free a Christian youth, 16 years old, who had been "to the 'king', talking about becoming a Muslim because he had received a beating in his "home . . . because although I am not afraid, and this 'king' pays me much respect "and I have always the place of honour when I go to see him—he allows no one to sit down, "unless a very important person, yet, when I enter, always at once they bring me a seat, "and he converses willingly and for many hours with me; and although in all freedom I "tell him of the emptiness of the Muhammadan faith—even though it be fruitless—none "the less I do it willingly for the sake of those who listen to me speaking, for he *has more "than one hundred young renegade Poles*, of whom the Turkish empire, and the Persian and "Indian empires are full, and in *this town*, there will *be more than 3,000 Poles, male and female*, "all slaves, who are in no wise allowed to speak to Fathers. When I saw that it was im- "possible for me to have speech with the youth mentioned above, in considerable wrath "I said to the governor—and it is the truth—"Well: you will make this poor youth a Muslim "by force and by giving him a fine suit of clothes; but I swear to you that I shall write "to my Fathers in Malta, Venice and other places, where there are Muslims, telling "them to strive to make a hundred of them Christians in return for this one, and so your "gain will be small'. And for this reason I tell your Reverence that it would be a good "thing that there should be some Religious knowing the Turkish language in Malta, at "Venice, in Hungary and Genoa, etc. and that this could be done there very well, and we "should strive to make Christians just as these people strive to make Muslims. Your "Reverence cannot believe the immense zeal all those of the Muhammadan creed have "for making people become renegades. . . ."

(Letter of 12.5.1657):

" . . . I cannot tell you everything, but shall only say that the king of Persia has taken "off the mask. . . . The 'prince' " (i.e. the governor) "here has received letters from the "king of Persia, exhorting him to purge his state of the infidels (as they call all those who do "not belong to the Muhammadan faith): and so all are afraid, the 'Sabaeans' in particular."

In the wars, and disorders, and epidemics of those centuries, like other communities and creeds the Mandaeans had to suffer: but the particularly marked decline in their numbers and in their range of habitat by comparison with the sixteenth century and previously should,

perhaps, be attributed to forcible conversion to Islam in the 17th and, in some measure, to the drain to the Portuguese possessions, there to be absorbed in Christian communities, demonstrated in preceding extracts. Fr. Barnabas' letter of 14.6.1658 again refers to the Polish slaves at Basra:

"... This year . . . we have spent money on feeding and in clothing three Polish 'slaves, who had become renegades (of whom this empire is full), and I do not know how 'to get rid of them without exposing them to the former danger . . . and I am about to 'send Fr. Blaise to Kung with the three in question, as otherwise I cannot make sure of 'them. . . . Our Fr. Vicar Provincial had two of them in Persia . . . one aged 21, the 'other 16, who knew very well the oriental languages which they had learnt during their 'slavery. These two our Fr. Vicar Provincial left in this House at Basra, so that I might 'put them in safety: and now, without my knowledge, about 40 days ago the 'prince' " (i.e. the governor) "with his son and all his counsellors came to our house, entered the 'church, saw the statues, and told me that I should whitewash the church. He went into 'various places in the House, among others into the garden and said to me: 'You have a " 'fine place, and you are letting it go to ruin: repair the building, and restore the garden'. 'I replied that I had no running water. 'I shall have it brought to you', he said: and so 'in fact we now have much water coming in once every day. On this occasion he caught 'sight of that youth, who is 16 years old. He spoke to him in Turkish and, as the lad is 'well featured, the 'king' took a great liking to him. Within three days he summoned his 'commander of artillery (who is a renegade German, though he denies it to me), and asked 'whether, if he made the request, the Father would make him a present of that young man: 'the commander answered, 'Not even if you were to put him to death'. . . . Such travails 'often happen, and only a short while ago two other cases occurred, one with the mother 'of the 'king' " (i.e. the governor), "who wanted a girl who had become a Christian, 'baptized by me six months ago but previously a pagan, another with the son of the 'prince' 'over a Christian lad also recently baptized. . . ."

With regard to the Mandaeans Fr. Barnabas propounded various problems troubling him—those who had become Christian could not find wives outside the sect, who in such case wanted the converts to go through their non-Christian ceremonies: others had two wives when they became converted. In Baghdad at this juncture the Capuchin missionaries were, however, having a stormier time:

"We have no news except for one distressful item. In Baghdad the Pasha has had the 'Capuchin Fathers put in prison, though he did not subject them to the customary ill-treatment. Then he sent the Qazi to offer prayers in the church of the Fathers, and 'immediately had the house, church and everything pulled down: and began to build on 'the site of this church and house a very sumptuous mosque. I wrote to the Fathers, 'condoling with them and offering them our House, as if more or less they were some of 'our own Religious. . . . They thanked me, and said they had written to their Religious 'in Aleppo for their opinion whether they ought to remain or depart. So after much labour 'and so much progress made in that city the good Religious are in the end thrown out, 'for I do not think they will be able to persist" (in remaining).

Then, as the sequel to some serious breach with the 'Pasha' or governor of Basra Fr. Barnabas had left Basra for Baghdad in April or May 1661¹ and Fr. Blaise had written from

¹ Letter of 29.8.1661, from Baghdad, O.C.D. 242 c. Fr. Felix, on 20.12.1661, O.C.D. 241 k., wrote that. Fr. Barnabas had mixed himself up in so many affairs, when he should not have done, that he had been expelled by the 'Pasha' and had to pay a fine of about 400 piastres: see also letter of 8.9.1661 from Fr. Felix, O.C.D. 238 p.:

"Fr. Barnabas, Vicar of Basra, for having refused to consent to some impertinent demands of the 'Pasha' there, was 'expelled by the Pasha in question; and he also took 300 piastres as a *loan* from Fr. Blaise, who lent it him in order not 'to lose all of it. . . ."

Basra that the Pasha and the 'Tupchi-bashi', i.e. commander of artillery, and others had wallowed the 1,000 scudi the Residence at Basra had out at interest for the upkeep and provisioning of the mission:

"With the expenses of the Visitor General a sum of 4,500 scudi has gone in 3 years and "nothing has been sent as subsidy from Rome for three years past."

The Pasha had however written inviting him to return to Basra. But Fr. Barnabas did not go back to reside in Basra, for at the end of that year he was transferred to Shiraz, where he hoped to write an

'account of the events which had happened in his time at Basra, where by his industry more than 100 persons had been baptized and he had sent away other Christians to India, while there were now 130 women going to church, whereas on his arrival he found not a single one went to church. . . .'

In fairness it should be stated that there were other Carmelites at Basra, some of them masters of Arabic, who penetrated below and took a different view of the pseudo-Christian nexus of the Mandaeans, and found the influence of various Suras of the Quran in their books and cult, and their rites to be derived from a mixture of Jewish, Pagan, Christian and Muslim sources, while their 'conversions' to Catholicism were make-believe:

"Further, they mock at us all, and particularly at us Catholics, and say that they would rather become Turks (in order to carry out their frequent ablutions) than be baptized as Roman Christians. If they are wanting to go and live among the Portuguese, they say so in order to escape from the tyranny of the Turks, not in order to abandon their superstition and beliefs: and anyone writing the contrary to this to the Sac. Congregation is "being deceived. . . ." ¹

Two descriptions in French of conditions in Mesopotamia at this period are not without utility in permitting an understanding of the environment and conditions, in which the Religious worked. The first is by Fr. Casimir Joseph of S. Teresa, a Fleming, and dated Baghdad, 4.11.1654 (O.C.D. 242 c.):

"Je me suis donné l'honneur d'écrire de Damasco à Votre Révérence comme n'ayant pas là trouvé de caravane selon que le Vicaire de Tripolis nous l'avoit persuadé nous estions résolus de nous mettre à la Compagnie du Seigneur Michel, Général de l'Artillerie de Babilone lequel est Catholique. Il vat tous les ans en Babilone partant au commencement d'Octobre et come le dict Seigneur vat en train de guerrier le Drapeau volant et le Tymble come officier du Grand Seigneur il veut que tous les Religieux qui vont en sa compagnie s'habillent à la Turquesque affin de paroître de son train, ce que nous avons aussi fait, prennant la veste et le turbant Turquesque. Nous fumes contraints d'acheter trois chevaux, l'un pour le bagage à cause que le dict sieur ne veut pas que les chevaux que l'on monte soient chargés affin d'estre lestes au besoning et quand il voit beaucoup de bagage cela le dégoute et puis c'est presque une ruse insupportable de trainer du bagage après soy allant avec luy, ce pourquoi quand il viendra des missionnaires avec intention de passer en Babylone en sa compagnie, ie leur conseilerois d'apporter le moins de bagage qu'ils pourront, car avec luy l'on ne vat pas doucement come avec les caravanes mais le voyage avec luy est fort rude et laborieux et faut souvent estre 13 et 14 et aucune fois 17 heures à cheval. Il est vray qu'il y a cela de bon avec luy qu'on fait en 20 iours ce que les caravanes ne font qu'en 6 semaines et aucune fois deux mois. D'un autre costé on vat avec luy avec plus de seureté, et il n'y a point toutes ces chimères

¹ Fr. Matthew of S. Joseph, 28.5.1649, O.C.D. 241 n.

"qu'on nous avoit faict croire, puis avec luy l'on n'est pas vexé des Caffares n'y douanes
 "car l'on ne pay rien, ny mesme pour les personnes ny pour les chevaux. L'on ne faict
 "aucunes dépenses, car en tous lieux il nous faisoit defrayer et vouloit tous jours que nous
 "fussions logés auprès de luy et que nous mangeassions avec luy. L'on est fort bien traité
 "avec luy, car il passe fort peu de désert, et vat tousjours de vilage en vilage le long de
 "l'Euftrate, que l'on vient gagner à la 7me ou 8me journée après estre partii de Damas à
 "5 journées d'Aleppo. Tout coste où il arrive ils sont obligés de le défrayer et il se faict
 "traiter et respecter come il faut, et où il ne le peut avoir par beau il faict jouer le baston
 "d'importance. C'est plaisir de voir un Chrestien commander ainsi les Turcs . . . il ne
 "se peut dire les soings qu'il at eu de nous, et la charité et l'honneur qu'il nous a faict,
 "ayant faict le mesme aux Pères Mathieu, Ignace, Blaise, Corneille et autres, qui sont allés
 "en sa compagnie. Luy mesme a voulu acheter les chevaux et tout l'equipage pour nous
 "affin que nous serions pas trompés par ceux du Pais. . . ."

Six years later, 5.4.1660 'de notre Résidence de Balsora' (i.e. Basra) Fr. Anselm of the Annunciation addressed to Fr. Dominic of the Most Holy Trinity, Rome, his *Briefve Relation et Rapport véritable de l'estat auquel se retrouve pour le présent la Mission de Balsora de l'Arabie deserte gouvernée par les Révérends Pères Carmes Deschaussés*:

"... Cette ville infortunée" (i.e. Basra) "... ne laisse pas d'être habitée de 50 à
 "60 mil âmes: mais durant la Motion¹ qui est au temps qui dure 3 mois scavoir Juillet,
 "Aoust, à Octobre, la ville de Balsora est remplie de beaucoup plus de gens se trouvant icy
 "durant cette riche foire quasi de toutes les nations qui habitent cet hemisphère, je veux
 "dire Anglois, Holandois, Portugais Grecs Arméniens, Syriens, Chaldéens, Arabes, Persiens,
 "Parthes, Indiens de toutes les sortes, et encores quelques François Allemands et Italiens;
 "et la raison de cela est que l'on apporte icy des Indes plusieurs Marchandises comme Nil,
 "Kaoue, Thoiles, Rhubarbe, Espiceries, Perles, Saphirs, les quelles Marchandises² sont
 "enlevées par plusieurs Marchands qui se rendent icy de Constantinople, d'Alepp, de
 "Babilone, d'Aspahan et d'autres lieux, de telle sorte que l'Orient et l'Occident contri-
 "buent à faire et à deffaire cette grande foire, le premier en fournissant ses denrées, et le
 "second en envoyant ses piastres, en si grand nombre que j'ay ouy dire à une personne
 "digne de croyance qu'un seul vaisseau Anglois, après avoir vendu ce qu'il avoit apporté
 "des Indes, s'en retourna en eschange chargé de huict cent mille piastres.

"Hors du temps de la dicte foire qu'ils appellent la Motion, à cause que de certains vents
 "soufflent durant le dit temps et servent à faire mouvoir ou venir les navires des Indes en
 "Balsora hors le dict Temps dis-ie cette ville est habitée de quatre sortes de sectes et nations,
 "scavoir est: (1) d'Arabes qui suivent les erreurs du petit filz de la servante d'Abraham,
 "selon l'interprétation d'un de ses descendants nommé Omar, (2) de Persiens qui révérent
 "pareillement le fameux Sarazin, en compagnie de son gendre nommé Haly. Les deux
 "autres sectes sont Bagnans³ et Sabéens. Les premiers sont de certains Idolatres qui pour
 "leur grande abstinence et cruelles superstitions se peuvent nommer les Martyrs de Lucifer:
 "et les Sabéens sont de certains Infidèles, qui s'appellent entr'eux *Manday*⁴ *Haya* c'est-a-dire
 "'disciples de Jehan' et de nos Chrestiens ilz sont ordinairement qualifiés du tibre de
 "'Chrestiens de St. Jehan Babtiste' . . . Ores nostre Mission s'exerce envers ces derniers,
 "j'entends les Sabéens ou Chrestiens de Saint Jehan, lesquelz ont une aversion extrême
 "aux Mahometans, de sorte que j'estime qu'ilz se laisseroient plus tost mourir de faim que
 "de manger du bœuf d'un mouton ou d'un autre Animal, qui auroit esté csgorgé par un
 "sectateur du f. Prophète. Ores les dicts Sabéens n'ont pas envers les Chrestiens une
 "semblable répugnance, au contraire extérieurement ilz nous font paroître quelque sorte

¹ The south-west monsoon, a wind in the Indian Ocean continuous in those months.

² The first two are the Persian names for indigo and coffee: then *toiles*, *rhubarbe*, *épices* = cloth, rhubarb, spices.

³ i.e. Hindu *Banias*, a moneylending and trading class.

⁴ He gives the correct name 'Mandaecans'. the other word is presumably meant for the Arabic for John = *Yahya*.

“de bienveillance et d'affection mais ce non obstant en ce qui concerne de professer nostre
“sainte foy ou bien de la maintenir après en voir faict la profession, hoc opus hic labor
“est!

“ . . . Le nombre des dicts Sabéens peust arriver à huict ou neuf mille” (8,000–9,000) “tout
“au plus, y compris les femmes et les enfants, et ilz sont dispersez en 40 ou 50 habitations
“qui sont viles, villages ou isles: une partie des dicts Sabéens est soubz l'Empire du Sophi
“de Perse et qui habitent de l'autre costé du dit fleuve, dit Chat el Arab, et l'autre partie
“est de l'autre costé du dit fleuve, dans l'Arabie soubz la domination de Bacha de Balsora.
“Lequel Bacha est de Race Arabe, et est peu s'en fault souverain, à la réserve de quelque
“hommage ou reconnaissance qu'il envoie tous les ans à la Porte de celui qu'improprement
“nous appellons 'le Grand Seigneur'. Il y a environ septante ans que le Bisayeul du
“susdit Bacha s'impatronisa de ce pays et le successeur d'Ottoman le souffre de la façon
“quoyque malgré luy, veu qu'il luy est difficile de le visiter avec une Armée, oultre que
“l'Empereur de Trébizonde appréhende que ce Bacha ne mette pas son pays entre les
“mains du successeur de Kosrooes, lequel accepteroit bien volontiers ce pays qui luy est
“bien séant pour se rendre Maistre de la ville, où doibt naistre l'Antichrist, à la prise de
“laquelle les Sophys aspirent. . . . Ores pour retourner à nos Sabéens. J'estime que,
“comme elle est entre toutes les nations une des plus feintes et des plus dissimulées, elle est
“encores une des plus chétives et misérables qui soit au Monde. Car ilz sont tous ren-
“fermez dans l'exercice de quatre mestiers ou vocations. Je veux dire ilz sont tous ou
“orfèvres, ou serruriers, ou charpentiers ou laboureurs. . . . Je dis ordinairement parlant
“que si quelqu'un d'eux se faict Chrestien, c'est afin, ou que l'on leur fasse prester quelque
“argent pour augmenter leur trafic ou bien soubz l'espérance que durant le Temps de la
“Motion le révérend Père vicaire de cette maison le fera employer par les Anglois, Holand-
“ois, ou autres Marchands avec lesquels ilz trouvent beaucoup de profit. . . . Il est vray
“que si nous avions bon nombre de Sekins” (i.e. sequins) “ou d'escus blancs, nous pouvions
“faire plusieurs Chrestiens et les maintenir. Mais, de grace, mon Révérend Père, comment
“voulez-vous que fusse un pauvre Vicaire de Balsora qui n'a que 100 piastres tous les ans
“de la Sacrée Congrégation, et qui n'a point l'elemosne de ses Messes, à son advis ce qui
“à peine suffit pour entretenir l'église de cire et de linge, pour subvenir aux Reparations
“de la Maison, et pour payer l'eau que nous beuvons, peust-i-estre suffisant pour faire
“subsister et pour entretenir quatre Religieux et un serviteur, pour deffrayer les hostes qui
“passent, et pour faire de grandes aumosnes à nos Chrestiens?

“Mais pour dire en passant quelque chose des hostes, comme nous sommes icy les seuls
“Chrestiens prestres, si quelque fidèle vient d'Europe pour passer en Perse ou aux Indes,
“ou s'il arrive des Indes pour traverser en Europe, il luy semble qu'il a droit de prendre
“nostre Maison pour la sienne, et en effet il y vient descendre sans cérémonie et nous
“sommes obligé de le maintenir, et à dire le vray il n'a point d'autre Refuge que cette
“pauvre Maison. De sorte qu'il nous le fault loger et nourir durant qu'il faict son séjour
“de Bassora, mais cette hospitalité est si longue et si onéreuse qu'un des plus patients
“supérieurs s'en ennuyeroit, car j'en ay veu qui ont resté chez nous l'espace de 5 mois
“attendant la commodité de passer droit aux Indes. Laquelle commodité ne se trouve
“qu'au temps de la Motion durant lequel j'ay ouy dire au révérend Père vicaire de cette
“maison qu'il s'est veu avoir 27 bouches à nourrir. Cette charge des hostes qui coûtent
“jusques au pas que vous faictes, et aux morceaux que vous mangez en ce qui touche la des-
“pense, elle est si pesante au pauvre Supérieur que j'assure Votre Reverence, si Dieu ne
“pourvoyait que si miraculeusement, il faudrait abandonner et la Maison et la Mission. . . .”

“Ores, pour retourner à nos Sabéens. . . . Oultre que nous avons appris des plus sensez
“de cette Nation que quand nous aurons faict quelque Sabéen Catholique, si nous le
“voulons conserver tel, il nous le fault envoyer à Goa où les Portugais et la Sainte In-
“quisition auront soin de le faire déterminer comme il fault, mais d'envoyer les dits
“Chrestiens à Goa, ou autres lieux des Indes c'est une charité que nous ne scaurions exercer
“qu'envers peu de personnes, à cause que les Portugais, qui les prenoient volontiers dans

“leurs vaisseaux, depuis la perte du port de Mascati et de l’Isle de Seylan ne viennent plus
“à la foire de Balsora.

“Encores veux-je dire à Votre Reverence une parole du lieu de nostre habitation. Vous
“scaurez donc que Nostre Maison, aussi bien que le sérail du Bacha, n’est bastie que de
“Terre et de quelques meschantes briques: elle est edifiée dans un lieu de 50 pas au carré,
“au plus bel endroit de la ville, car elle est *située entre la grande Mosquée et le Palais du Bacha*.
“En Icelle il y a une Église de 25 pieds de long et 10 de large, où nous disons nos Messes
“et faisons nos oraisons avec toute sorte de liberté; en suite se trouve un petit carré qui
“compose nostre jardin, et vis à vis est une sale, ou divan pour recevoir ceux qui nous
“viennent visiter, puis d’un costé se trouvent 3 cellules pour les Religieux, et quelques
“officines pour les necessitez de la Maison, et de l’autre costé sont 3 grandes chambres,
“où nous logeons les Hostes. Voylà la description de nostre Maison.

“ . . . Depuis Alep jusques à Surat, qui est un espace de 700 lieues de long, si vous en
“exceptez 3 révérends Pères Capucins qui résident en Babilone,¹ et un révérend Père de
“S. Augustin qui faict sa demeure au Congo, excepté dis-je ces 4 Religieux Missionaires,
“vous n’en trouvez point d’autres que les Pères Carmes Deschausséz. Nous servons à
“faire évader quelques hérétiques, comme il arriva l’année passée que nous procurasmes
“le salut de 3 . . . Mais avant de finir cette présente Rélation ie veux divertir Vostre
“Révérence en lui racontant quelques choses assez memorables qui se sont passées en
“Balsora depuis un an que j’y fais ma Résidence. Au Mois de february de l’an passé
“retourna de la Mecque la caravanne de la Perse qui estoit composée de plus de 6,000
“personnes et de près de 5,000 chameaux: ce fust un beau divertissement de voir la dicte
“caravanne entrer dans la ville avec un agréable désordre si toutes fois on peust dans la
“confusion y rencontrer de l’agrément. Au mois de May de la dicte année mourut le
“filz aîné de mostre Bacha, lequel estat desià investy du Bachailly de son Père. Il faudroit
“plus de temps que ie n’ay et plus de papier qu’il ne m’en reste pour exprimer à Vostre
“Révérence le grand deuil que causa cette Mort par toute la ville particulièrement dans
“le grand Sérail. . . .”

Points to be noted in that informative report are:

- (i) The population of Basra in 1660 was estimated at 50,000–60,000 ordinarily, but the numbers were much increased during the trading season of the monsoon—July to October (which covers the ripening of the date crop also): it then became a great mart for East and West—coffee, pearls, spices being among the commodities,
- (ii) except for annual tribute sent to the Sultan in Constantinople the Arab ‘princes’, or governors, or ‘Pashas’ to all intents and purposes were ruling an autonomous state, and this position had then been hereditary in one family for 4 generations since about 1537, the region being too distant and too difficult for the Sultans to control effectively; while apprehension that undue pressure might throw these Arab chieftains into the arms of the rulers of Persia who were only too anxious to acquire a footing in Basra and lower Mesopotamia in order to have a base for menacing Baghdad, had made the Turks refrain from interference with the local rulers of Basra till then,
- (iii) The Mandaeans were estimated at not more than 8,000–9,000, inclusive of all those in Persian territory in the province of Khuzistan—all, as in recent times, silversmiths, locksmiths, field workers: their migration and transfer to coasts of India, etc., practically ceased when Portuguese shipping ceased to visit Basra;
- (iv) with the cessation of visits to Basra of large numbers of Portuguese, always generously disposed, the Carmelites lost their real source of income: and their slender resources were depleted in feeding, and their life greatly incommoded by, the numerous European travellers, who used the Residence as a hostelry, sometimes for several months at a time while awaiting a passage;
- (v) by 1660 there was no longer an Augustinian Religious stationed at Basra;

¹ Their imprisonment in 1658, mentioned by Fr. Barnabas, did not lead to their withdrawal at that date, as was feared.

- (vi) the chapel and Residence of the Carmelites were situated between the principal mosque and the governor's 'palace'—the chapel measured 25 by 10 feet,¹ the site of the premises was 50 paces square.

Following the departure of Fr. Barnabas in the spring of 1661 the undermentioned Religious served in the Residence at Basra up to the time when *Chron. Basra* starts the contemporary record with the arrival of Fr. Agathangelus in 1674.

Fr. Blaise of S. Barbara from 1657 to 1665. He produced a report to the Sacr. Cong., 28.8.1664, touching the Mandaecans also.

Fr. Severin of S. Maurice from 1664 to 1670 (except for 1½ years interval).

Fr. Dionysius of Jesus from early 1666 to 1.3.1667.

Fr. Angelus of S. Joseph from 1666 to 1668, save for an interval.

Fr. Joachim of Jesus Mary from December 1668 to 1670, with interval.

Fr. Francis of Jesus from August till October 1670.

Fr. Candidus of the Purification from 1670 to 8.12.1670.

Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary from 3.2.1671 to 23.2.1674.

Fr. Tussanus (Toussaint) of Jesus from 27.5.1672 to 1678, with intervals away in Persia.

It was during the time of Frs. Severin and Dionysius of Jesus, Vicar Provincial, that misgovernment of Basra deteriorated into serious fighting and lawlessness: the prosperity of the previous 40 years came to an end: and, as a sequel, administration by Turkish governors and officials appointed from Constantinople or Baghdad began; but the dispatch of Turkish soldiery to assert authority brought into play a nationalist spirit among the Arabs and was resisted fiercely. A summary in the records of the Sacr. Congregation of a report² made to it by the Procurator General of the Carmelite Order is in these terms:

"In the year 1623 the missionaries from Persia took up Residence in Basra, a city of 'Arabia . . . under the rule of a Muhammadan 'prince', tributary of the Grand Turk. ' . . . In the year 1665 the 'prince' of the town in question, an Arab by race, joining the 'Persian' (monarch) 'rose against the Turks, refusing to recognize the Grand Signor as 'his sovereign. So the Pasha of Baghdad, having armed a powerful army, set out by the 'two rivers, Euphrates and Tigris, for Basra, to fight and conquer him . . . ' (the sequence of events described in the continuation of this summary is wrong at this point—the account of Fr. Severin³ himself may here quoted, to give coherence:) "The Turks came down to 'besiege the fortress at Qurna⁴ near Basra, but left after coming to some agreement: in 'those three months that the siege of Basra lasted, Basra having risen against the Pasha 'who afterwards retook it, *our House like all the others* suffered the *plundering* of everything, 'even to the doors of the rooms, and for some days we were obliged to beg for food here and 'there. Our Fr. Vicar Provincial sent me off from here to Shiraz, to recover health and 'obtain some monetary aid for our House in Basra. . . ."

According to Fr. Angelus' letter, 13.7.1667, Fr. Severin left Basra about January 1666; while the 'List of Superiors' at the beginning of *Chron. Basra* states with regard to the Vicar Provincial that he

"suffered much in the time of the wars, and was even twice beaten by a cudgel on his 'stomach, so that he was grievously ill, and suffered from pain in the stomach until his

¹ He used the word *pieds*; but later on, in 1705 and 1765 "cubits" and *zar'a* (the measure of the Arabs and Persians) were given for the same dimensions. If the ordinary 'foot' of 12 inches, 25 by 10 feet would imply a very small room especially to contain 3 altars: the *zar'a*, however, is reckoned as the distance from the nose to the tip of the fingers of the outstretched arm, i.e. more than 3 feet. But there is a smaller *zar'a* in use too—half the other, and this may be intended. A plan of the premises as first built is in the archives, O.C.D.

² *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 562.

⁴ Qurna stands at the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates.

³ O.C.D. 242 a., letter of 31.8.1669, Basra.

"death in January 1673 at the port of Kung, and how he was beaten appears from his own words, for he wrote with his own hand what follows below:

" 'In the year of our Lord 1666, on the 7th February, owing to certain traders and especially to a certain Indian Christian, who had undertaken the duty of liberator in opposition to the soldiery of Hasan Pasha, governor of Basra, our House at Basra was pillaged by the soldiers of the governor in question, who had been sent by the "prince" from the fort at Qurna to subdue the rebels, and they plundered it of all its ecclesiastical and domestic furniture, some money also was taken, and one of us (the same Fra Dionysius who wrote this) was twice beaten by a cudgel and hardly escaped wounds from a spear about to be inflicted. . . .'¹

The other 'one of us' was the French Fr. Angelus of S. Joseph (who must have reached Basra between 1st January and 7th February 1666): and of those days he wrote in his letter of 24.5.1667² to a Definitor-General, Rome:

"Votre Révérence aura deïà sçeu comme cette maison fut entièrement ruinée à l'occasion des guerres de l'année passée, et à peine a-t-on peu rachepter quelques livres et quelques portes avec des dépenses notables: il y avoit céans un petit thrésor au clé, lequel servit beaucoup en semblable occasion; mais tant le vicaire de céans, qui estoit le Père Séverin ayant fuy à Siras, et notre révérend Père Vicaire Provincial étant resté icy soeul à dépencé avant son départ d'icy (qui fut au 1er du mois de Mars dernier) environ 40 ou 50 Tomans (un toman vaut 15 piastres) et ce tout très à propos soit à réparer la maison et la fabrique, soit à rachepter les meubles etc.: et quant à nostre vivre il est très certain que c'est la moindre dépence de toutes: car, outre les vivres ne sont point icy trop chers, nous nous contentons des plus vils et ordinaires comme des dattes, herbes, poisson, qui est icy à grand marché. Le dit révérend Père provincial étant party pour le Chapitre d'Isfahan³ me laissa encore 12 tomans, avec comission de continuer les réparations de nos trois maisons, et autres comissions nécessaires à la verité, mais qui ne se font point sans de grandes dépenses, de sorte qu'à procéder avec toute sorte d'épargne et d'économie je dépence tous les mois environ un Toman et demy. . . .

" . . . Cette maison est accablée de passagers chrétiens sur tout le temps de la motion, et il faut faire des dépenses indispensables, auxquelles l'on ne pence pas à Rome. Il fallut tout d'un coup donner 70 piastres au Bacha qui print l'année passée de tout le monde pour l'entretien de son armée d'environ 18,000 hommes. Il n'en eust pas fait moins cette année pour la mesme raison, si à mon arrivée ie ne l'eusse prévenu par un présent d'un horloge solaire d'or, portatif, curieux, lequel luy agréa si fort qu'il le porte touiours avec soy, et depuis m'a fait appeler deux ou trois fois de iour et de nuit pour s'entretenir avec moy en langue persienne des choses de nostre loy, des mathématiques, desquelles quelque brin ne me fait point de mal, et de diverses autres choses curieuses dont ce Bacha (le plus grand amy que nous ayons icy s'il n'étoit point avare) se delecte extremement, de façon qu'à présent les capitaines et soldats de son armée commencent à nous respecter, et craindre comme autrefois.

"L'on nous menace d'une nouvelle guerre avec le grand Turc, et des nouvelles séditions entre le peuple divisé en 2 factions mais quoy qu'il en soit ie ne demande autre chose au bon Dieu si ce n'est que j'aye encore 2 ou 3 mois de temps jusques à ce que nos vaisseaux viennent c'est-a-dire anglois, hollandois, et surtout ceux de l'armée Portugaise laquelle est à présent sur cette mer pour reprendre Mascate ou par famine ou par forces. Lorsque le bon Dieu ramenera cette nation en cette ville le Christianisme y ressuscitera et nostre maison refleurira. . . ."

¹ "Nearly lost his life through a sword of a soldier being aimed at his head" is the version of the Procurator of the mission, Fr. Valerius, in his report docketed 23.3.1671, *S.N.R.*, I, p. 252.

² O.C.D. 241 d.

³ Fr. Dionysius left Basra 1.3.1667.

(His letter of 13.7.1667):

“Je receus le 6 de ce mois celle de Vostre Révérence de Rome, 13 Janvier 1666 . . .
 “J’ai demeuré soeul icy depuis le 1er de mars jusques au 6 de ce mois” (i.e. June 1667) “que
 “le Père Sévérin, qui fuit au temps de la première guerre de Baçora, est revenu icy après
 “un an et demy d’absence pour continuer son vicariat: et comme nous sommes icy à la
 “veille d’un nouveau siège tout à l’improviste . . . durant mon temps j’ay baptisé environ
 “12 adultes. . . .”

He added the information, worth remark, that:

“the vessels of the French” (East India) “Company have not yet appeared in the Indies,
 “nor here consequently . . .”

“nous sommes icy à la veille d’un nouveau siège . . . je croy que toutes ces afflictions ne
 “se termineront jamais que par la fuite de ce Baschia, laquelle nous tenons pour assurée,
 “bien que d’ailleurs le gouvernement du Turc nous sera plus fascheux . . .” (as he sapiently
 foretells).

The story may now be resumed from Fr. Severin’s own letter of 31.8.1669:

“From there” (i.e. Shiraz) “I at once sent a chalice, missal and the holy oils so that our
 “Fr. Vicar Provincial might be able to say Mass. I was in Persia from March till June”
 (i.e. 1667) “when I had a fresh order to transfer myself to Basra, where affairs seemed very
 “quiet, but that lasted but a short time because, on arrival of the news that a powerful
 “Turkish army was again coming, the Pasha with unheard of cruelty on the 18th Novem-
 “ber 1667 issued a proclamation throughout the town that all, without exception, must
 “abandon the town within the space of three days and go to Persian territory. Father,
 “I believe that the picture of the universal judgment cannot be better portrayed than in
 “the misery of those three days because, everyone being obliged to leave not only his house
 “but his occupation and affairs and flee quickly, it was a thing enough to have made the
 “stones weep. After divers sufferings we arrived in Bandar Rig, where for a month and a
 “half we suffered no common poverty and at last we were compelled, Fr. Angelus and I, to
 “retreat to Shiraz. Meanwhile the Pasha, seeing that he could not resist the Turks, first
 “caused his soldiers to sack the town and then burnt it, and in the general conflagration
 “our House was also altogether burnt. After that the Pasha¹ fled to Persia, and thinking
 “himself not safe there withdrew thence to the Indies. The *Turks* having made themselves
 “*masters of the whole country* without bloodshed began to restore Basra, which was quickly
 “done, because Wali Aqa,² an Arab and brother-in-law of the fugitive Pasha being there
 “as governor, all the Arabs quickly returned after being absent four months. The governor
 “himself wrote to me at Shiraz, inviting the Fathers to take up residence again in their
 “House. So in the month of June 1668 I had orders to come once more to Basra, together
 “with Fr. Angelus.³ The Pasha received us with many civilities, and, seeing things very
 “promising, with the donations of some merchants *I rebuilt the church and part of the House*,
 “for which reason, i.e. for having made the church, some months later I was put in prison
 “by the Aqa of the Janissaries, and after various threats and sufferings I was obliged to
 “pay 70 piastres in order to get my liberty.⁴ Fr. Angelus leaving at that time, I remained
 “alone until the arrival in December of Fr. Joachim. But the Arab ‘Pasha’, seeing himself
 “held up to scorn daily by the Janissaries and others, and particularly as one had come
 “from Constantinople and deprived him of the Customs receipts and, it was said, had orders
 “to deprive him of his head as well, on the 6th March of this year” (i.e. 1669) “fled by

¹ Named Hasan.

² Elsewhere this Arab governor appears to be called Yahya.

³ “We are re-established at Basra since 17.7.1668,” wrote Fr. Angelus, 30.7.1668, O.C.D. 241 d.

⁴ See for other mention of this payment Fr. Angelus’ letter, 25.3.1669, Shiraz, O.C.D. 238 l.: he left Basra at the end of November, he wrote.

"night, alone but for a single trustworthy man of his own, to the Persian borders, whence
 "having called to arms all the Arabs finally on the 18th April he appeared in sight of the
 "town with an army of about 20,000 men. Though the Turks fortified themselves as best
 "they could, after repulsing several attacks on the 29th of that month they were overcome
 "by the Arabs, who assaulted the town in several directions and retook it. The Turks
 "were put to the sword for the most part, and the sack of the town as well as the butchery
 "went on for three days, during which cruelty of no ordinary kind was seen. Our Residence
 "was once more robbed and for three successive days we lay hidden here and there, although
 "not enough to prevent Fr. Joachim being seen one day by an Arab, and my being obliged
 "to pay 30 piastres to buy his life; and in this way more than 100 persons were killed in
 "cold blood. . . ."

Here, for certain variations of detail, may be inserted a passage from an earlier report of Fr. Severin, dated 25.5.1669:

"Our 'Pasha' fled from here on the first Friday in Lent, from which day I have not had
 "an hour's rest. On the 18th April the 'Pasha' appeared within sight of Basra with a force
 "of about 15,000 Arabs. After several attacks, on the 29th of that month at daybreak he
 "took the town after much bloodshed and the death of the greater part of the Turks but
 "no less of his own Arabs. The sacking and killing lasted for 3 days continuously, not a
 "single house being spared: and then our House too was robbed towards evening, but with
 "considerable politeness and consideration, they" (the Arabs) "contenting themselves
 "with having roughly searched it. . . ."

In a postscript to this report he wrote that he had omitted to state that:

"While we were four days on the canal of Basra, which was full of corpses, we were obliged
 "to drink of that water, which made us vomit and gave me dysentery. Even till now fresh
 "fish are not being eaten because they are too fat with human flesh. The dead on the one
 "side and the other on that first day are said to have reached a total of some 4,000, and
 "on the other days 1,000."

Continuing the extracts of 25.5.1669:

"Before the taking" (of the town) "for a whole day I was in prison, with fetters on my
 "legs, the Turks demanding from me either 1,000 piastres or 10 māns¹ of gunpowder: but
 "having neither the one nor the other I was condemned to pay 120 piastres. Finally the
 "Shahbandar and some other friends got me released; but I was forced to pay 50 'abbasi
 "to the gaoler of the prison and to the men who stood ready to give me the bastinado, and
 "to the munshi."

Resuming the recital from Fr. Severin's later letter, 31.1.1669:

"In those ten days that the siege of Basra lasted we were put in prison by the Turks,
 "being accused of being friends of the" (Arab) "Pasha and of having gunpowder in our
 "house. Finally, they condemned us to be beheaded, but the sentence was afterwards
 "mitigated and commuted to a fine of 1,000 piastres. After making several representations
 "on our behalf some of our friends got the fine reduced to 120 piastres: and we having
 "made a vow to S. Joseph, on our return to the House by a miracle of heaven they sent to
 "tell us that they did not want us to pay anything, knowing well enough that we were poor

¹ The 'mān' (often spelt 'maund' by wrong transliteration).

“and innocent. But we were obliged to give about 20 piastres to the gaoler, scrivener, etc. After the town had been taken the Pasha went off to the siege of Qurna, a fortress situated at the junction of the two rivers, and the siege is still going on, because the Turkish army has not yet appeared from Baghdad, and the Arabs, having no artillery, cannot take it by brute force. . . .”

Once more collating from Fr. Severin's earlier letter of 25th May:

“. . . After the sack of the town, as I was without money, and the House in ruins and dismantled, because I had put in a *safe place the things of the sacristy and also the books*, so that all might be saved, I had decided to go to Kung, find our Fr. Vicar Provincial and seek for some alms for this poor House. . . . The Shahbandar had given me permission and I had already put the things on board, when I was accused to the governor, the Pasha being then away at the siege of Qurna, of being about to carry away to Persia much money left with me in deposit by the Janissaries. The Shahbandar immediately informed me of this and assured me that he had testified to the governor my poverty and innocence. At once he sent with two of the governor's servants, and two others of his own, to examine all my effects: and they finding in them nothing but books and church things, the Shahbandar went with great pleasure to give the news to the governor, who severely punished the spies” (i.e. those who made the denunciation). “After that the Pasha gave orders (according to what the Shahbandar told me), that I should not be allowed to leave, because, he said, if the Father were to depart, there would be no calling by the ships, and for this reason today they have carried ashore all our effects. This is what God has disposed and, as I hope, it is to punish my sins in this life so that I may be pardoned of them in the other. . . . All that is past is nothing in comparison with what is preparing. The Pasha is besieging Qurna, and the Turks have already left Baghdad, they say, in order to relieve Qurna and recover Basra, so that after one wave comes another, and that keeps us in constant perils and alarms. As the Arabs make war at their own expense, they pay no attention to the Pasha or any officials: each one of them is master of Basra and they commit a thousand outrages on anyone it may be, so that day and night we are in anxiety. During these uproars I have been obliged to incur extraordinary expenditure in order to preserve our lives and the house, so that we are now left very poor. Food is most dear and not to be found. In short, everything is as bad as it could be and I do not know what line to take any more, as I feel great weakness both in my head and my heart from so many sudden shocks. I have no one to help me or advise me. In fine, Father, I am well content not to have had till now in the missions anything else but travail and sickness; but I confess too that ‘the flesh is weak’.

“Today” (i.e. 25th May 1669) “news has come that the Turks who had reached the vicinity of Qurna have been victorious against the Arabs, but it is not confirmed. It is true that the governor and the Pasha's relatives together with the leaders of the rebellion are ready to flee into Persia. This only is to be feared that, when the Arabs take to flight, they will proceed to do what Hasan Pasha did, i.e. to set fire to and ruin the town altogether. This too I must needs wait and accept at the hands of God in all patience: the worst is that, as the little money of ours at Basra is in the hands of the” (Indian) “Banias, now that they have all been plundered and robbed down to their shirts, even should they not deny having received it, they are not in a position to give it back to me: so that I remain with only 20 'abbasi in cash: and if they force us to evacuate” (the town) “as Hasan Pasha did, I do not know where to go. I trust in the goodness of our Lord and in our holy Mother, that just as till now she has not abandoned us, she will continue in the future to protect us. If the Turks do not soon recover Basra, there will be no hope for us of any coming” (of the merchant convoy) “and then we shall be also deprived of that small monetary aid. The worst of it is that I do not know where our Fr. Vicar Provincial is; because, if I were to betake myself to him, I am sure that, most courteous Father that he is,

"he would help me as he has always done, and he would free me from some troubles that weigh more heavily on me than do the wars. . . ."

The letter of 31.8.1669 strikes a more cheerful note here in the chronological order of events:

" . . . Amid such trials and anguish the Lord God has willed to comfort us, because there arrived in this port on the 15th August two ships of the French Company¹—the third is not yet come. . . . There are about 150 French, all Catholics, aboard. But, as now there are no merchants in Basra, they have decided to leave in 3 or 4 days and with this opportunity I am having put on board our poor furniture, and we shall leave secretly for Kung, both in order to avoid the disorders that will attend the coming invasion by the Turks, which will be a very cruel one in revenge for the blood of their comrades, and also because, if we remain after the monsoon, we shall be subjected to a thousand indignities. By going to Kung we shall always be in a position to return to Basra when order is restored, so our Fr. Vicar Provincial and Fr. Felix from Shiraz have written me. . . . If the French Company continue to come to these parts, your Reverence will learn of some exceptionally fruitful results. For the missions I consider Basra better than Isfahan and Shiraz, for its worldly material comforts greatly inferior; but when there is no warfare and the monsoon is on, it can maintain itself with very small aid from outside, because people make donations here. However, in the past five years all almsgiving has ceased, twice the House has been sacked, once burnt and with so many flights and so much travelling unusual expenditure has been incurred: and so, when this House is again started, it will stand greatly in need of some extra assistance. . . . The French company not having taken a house here on account of the disturbances, ours has been always full, and I am so busy that I have not a moment's time, having to hear confessions and perform other spiritual functions in the morning, and then also help the captain as interpreter. . . ."

A separate, and brief letter from Fr. Joachim Mary, companion to Fr. Severin, also dated 31.8.1669, was written just prior to the third abandonment of Basra by Fr. Severin, which took place 6.9.1669:

"All the merchants, whether Turks or Armenians, who had remained here (though very few) notwithstanding the risks to their lives, are trying to flee, and the Arabs themselves are daily running away from here. The distress, the killings and robberies seen here cannot be related: and it is publicly rumoured that should the Turks come and take the town once more, they will not leave a single living soul; while the hatred of the Arabs for the Turks is as great, so that daily the greatest cruelties and inhumanity in respect to some poor Turkish prisoner are witnessed and the very stones, that have no feelings, are aghast. . . ."²

There is a postscript to the first of the two letters of Fr. Severin, evidently written in Rome (and perhaps by the Praepositus General Fr. Philip of the Most Holy Trinity?):

"The victory of the Turks at Qurna was confirmed. Afterwards they retook Basra. Yahya Pasha the Arab fled to Persia, and he is staying at Durakh. In his stead the Turks put Mustafa Pasha, who was formerly Kapiji-Bashi at the Sublime Porte. Fr. Severin had written to me in another of his letters how in September of last year some ships³ of the new French Company had arrived at Basra, in which he was getting ready to take flight

¹ A date to notice—the first appearance of the French East India Company's ships in the Persian Gulf.

² O.C.D. 242 a.

³ "Monsieur de Caron avec 2 vaisseaux de la Compagnie Française est arrivé à Sorat: on attendait 10 ou 12 autres vaisseaux" (Fr. Angelus, 30.7.1668, O.C.D. 241 d.).

"to Kung, on account of the Turkish army composed of 7 columns, some of which being "already in Baghdad had left for Basra with orders from the Sultan to massacre all Arabs "and people of the country. But after that I do not know what was done for I have no "further news of the Fathers."

Actually, however, Frs. Severin and Joachim were not long away at Bandar Rig, for, peace having been restored in the town by Kara Mustafa Pasha, on the 17th October they (or at least Fr. Severin) returned.¹

From that date onwards begins the direct administration of Basra by the Turks under Turkish governors in place of the Arab ruling family of the previous century; for *Chron. Basra* under its introductory list of Superiors continues

"This Kara Mustafa governed the town on behalf of Sultan Muhammad IV for 3 years. "On his death he was succeeded in the governorship by Chalibi Hasan Pasha, who arrived "here in the year 1672 and was governor till the month of September 1674, when he was "succeeded by Husain Pasha, who in his turn was succeeded by his predecessor, Hasan "Pasha, in August 1677: and again Husain Pasha followed him in 1680 and was governor "of the town till the 1st day of January 1683, when there entered the town 'Uthman Agha "as Mutasallim or locum tenens² of his successor, Rahman Pasha, who made a solemn entry "in the month of February. Fr. Severin of S. Maurice . . . was therefore Vicar of the "Residence from the 10th day of July 1667 till the 3rd August 1670, on which day God willed "to bestow on him the reward of his labours, which he had borne so patiently. . . . He "was buried underneath a palm-tree in the middle of the cemetery, 'Isa ibn Mariam' " (i.e. Jesus son of Mary). His bones were translated to our church on the 13th August 1680 "and interred in the chapel of the Most Holy Sacrament before the altar, on the epistle "side."

His death was followed the same year, in October and December, by those of Frs. Francis of Jesus, Visitor General, and Candidus of the Purification,

"and thus the Residence remained in the hands of servants up to 3.2.1671, on which "day Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary arrived, and was Vicar there until 11th January 1674, when "he was brought letters patent as Vicar Provincial of Persia and the Indies, and left for "Persia, 23.2.1674."

In his first letter from Basra of 17.2.1671³ Fr. Jerome spoke of the house as "for the greater "part in ruins by reason of the past wars": and he pointed out to the Definitory General in Rome how badly the whole Mission was faring for want of a sufficient number of Religious to staff each House. The Order had in fact represented to the Sacr. Congregation the great damage done to the Residence at Basra, and asked for financial assistance: the memorial was forwarded from the Convent of La Scala, 23.6.1671, to Cardinal Sforza, and on 31.1.1671, "facto verbo cum Sanctissimo"—i.e. after the matter had been laid before the Pope—700 scudi were granted in aid.⁴ Fr. Jerome continued on 16.3.1671:

"I found this house totally in ruins, and the greater part already collapsed, so that it "needs to be almost rebuilt for which we lack the cost." (If it were allowed to disappear), "as apart from our church there is no other Christian one to be found here, little memory "of the name of Christian would survive: because in this town there are only Muhammadan "mosques and three synagogues of the Gentiles. In these past years, on account of the "revolt and the war between the Arabs and Turks, it cost our Religious a great deal to keep

¹ *Chron. Basra*.

³ O.C.D. 241 l.

² The word used is 'Praecursor', forerunner.

⁴ *S.R.*, vol. 428, p. 562.

"up this mission; but they had either to take to flight at great risk and expense, or sometimes "they were put into prison and bastinadoed in the end, as indeed happened, apart from "the impositions in which the Fathers were forced to use up a large portion of that little "saved for their subsistence. Still now things are not very secure, because the Arabs, "many of them, are discontented with the present government and with the onerous "impositions they suffer. . . ."

However, by June 1672 he had received a sum of 100 scudi sent by the Sacr. Congregation for repairs, besides subsistence money for the missionaries: and after 16 months of solitariness in the Residence Fr. Tussanus (Toussaint) had come to join him (27.5.1672). It would appear that schismatic Armenian priests had begun to live (whether temporarily or permanently) in Basra by this date—in Fr. Basil's time there had been none—for a letter¹ alludes to:

'Armenian priests asking sometimes to (be allowed to) celebrate in the Carmelite church; 'but in no wise will they be induced to put water in the wine in the chalice, when celebrating, 'and say "we would rather do anything you want, but we can never consent to this, or ' "otherwise the people will persecute us to death".'

After the departure of the new Vicar Provincial, from 23.2.1674 to 14.12.1674, Fr. Tussanus was 'President' of the mission at Basra and then was succeeded by Fr. Agathangelus. Except for short absences in Persia (7 months in 1678, 10 months in 1685) the latter was at Basra till in February 1686 he set out on the voyage to Bandar 'Abbas which ended in his death: and during those 11 years most of the following notes regarding the Residence at Basra and its work are taken from his own account in *Chron. Basra*—largely from the translation by Sir H. Gollancz in his *Settlement of the Order of Carmelites in Mesopotamia*. Firstly in his tenure of the Vicarship, the Mandaean receive attention. He with Fr. Tussanus,

"finding in the book where the names of those who are baptized are noted the names of "hundreds baptized from the sect of the Sabaeans, and in the book where the names of those "buried are entered not a single one of the said sect buried with us, and seeing how very few "attended the church they began to doubt and greatly marvelled. Note how some have "said that it is easy to convert the Sabaeans and that they easily recant, but they might "have better said that they are in no wise converted, but very readily dissemble: and among "them there is the erroneous opinion that the three or four drops of water of Christian "baptism do not render invalid the immersion of the Sabaeans, which is done in a river and "is repeated as many times as they wish; on the other hand marriage and burial" (according to Christian rites) "does conflict with their" (religious) "law. And so, from the time when "our Fathers came to Basra, though they have baptized very many, they have joined none "in matrimony . . . with the exception of two and these are the only two the sect of the "Sabaeans who celebrated their marriage here at Basra in the church; but there are some "who were joined in matrimony in India in the Christian manner and on their return here "rejoined their original sect. Note that it is found in the book that some, after celebrating "their marriage after the superstitious custom of the Sabaeans, ratified it in the church, "but they dissembled in doing so, that they might obtain the goodwill of the Religious for "themselves.

"As for burial, till now we have buried none of them, because even if, when sick, in order "to please the Religious they have made their confessions and received Communion, "before they die they put on the seven pieces of the robe which are a sign of their profession "of faith and give instructions to their relatives to bury them at once, before the news of "their death reach the Religious. . . . Therefore the two new missionary Fathers men- "tioned above, . . . having taken the names of all those whom they found in the book as "baptized, began to invite them all to attend at church and to preach to the rest that they

¹ Fr. Jerome, 10.8.1673, *S.R.*, vol. 449, p. 211.

“should abandon their infidel creed, and embrace the true Faith. In a few days our church “was full of ‘Christians’ ” (if it be permissible to call them so) “and of catechumens, and “there was not one among the Sabaeans who did not say that he wanted to be baptized: “but, when warned that it was first necessary to leave the *terminus a quo*, and then go on to “the *terminus ad quem*, there was not one to be found who was willing to abandon the sect of “the Sabaeans.

“If the mission be sterile in respect of the sect mentioned, it is fertile in regard to the “various sects of Christians, of whom very many come from every rite of the Christians, “and being converted frequent the church and the sacraments, . . . and we have now here “very many families established, apart from the numbers who frequent this port for the “sake of trade and attend at every Sunday Mass and sermon. . . .”¹

On the 20th January 1679 four Carmelites arrived from Europe, on their way to the mission in Malabar, among them the future Archbishop of Ancyra, Fr. Peter Paul of S. Francis, and

“On the 24th January 1679 we summoned the Sabaeans to our hospice, both those who “had already been baptized and the others not yet baptized, so that we might see whether “there were any hope of their true conversion, both of those baptized who dissembled, as “also of the non-baptized. The reason for calling them together was that, since their dis- “simulation in religious matters was a matter of experience and well authenticated, we had “no small scruple about administering the sacraments to such a brood: a like scruple our “Fathers of old had also had, as is clear from the book in which the names of the baptized “are recorded, in which is found written in the year 1624 in these terms:” (the following words were in Portuguese, by Fr. Basil) “‘For some time now we do not baptize any Christian “‘of S. John, because it appears to us a matter of evident scruple, as they remain in the “‘power of their parents who are pagans and neither know nor observe the law of Christ “‘our Lord.’ Nor is there found in the book the baptism of anyone of this sect from that “year, 1624, up to the year 1655, in which again they began to baptize them.

“And so, when very many came to our hospice on the day and at the hour appointed, “in the presence of the Fathers I, Fra Agathangelus, questioned them as to whether they “recognized the Catholic as the true Christian religion. They replied unanimously that “they had in fact recognized it as such, and that part of those present had been baptized, “and that their whole race would be baptized, the following conditions being observed:

“*First*, if the Pope would send them an annual grant of money towards paying the tribute “which the Muhammadans exact from them every year or, by intervening with the Sultan, “would free them altogether from paying such tribute.

“*Second*, if, besides the baptism of the Christians, the liberty should be left them of baptiz- “ing and re-baptizing themselves as many times as they desire in accordance with their “own custom.

“*Third*, if it would be permitted them to celebrate matrimony according to their own rite, “and if they should not be obliged to give their daughters in wife to Christians, nor com- “pelled to take wives from the daughters of Christians.

“*Fourth*, if it were permitted them to bury their dead according to their ancient custom.

“*Fifth*, if they were not obliged to eat the flesh of animals killed by Christians, Muhamma- “dans, and others outside their sect but the liberty should be left them of eating only meat “killed by their own ministers according to their custom.

“We answered them that, as to the first condition, it depended on the liberality of His “Holiness: and that the last would easily be granted them; but, as to the three others, they “could in no wise be granted them, and the reason for this was explained at length to them. “Then in particular those who had been baptized were questioned as to why they were not “living in a Christian manner at all, but altogether in Sabaean fashion. They replied that “they always thought that it sufficed for them to be Catholics that they had been baptized

¹ Folios 7 and 9 in original MSS. of *Chron. Basra*, published by Sir H. Gollancz as *Settlement of Carmelites in Mesopotamia*.

"in church, and that afterwards it was permissible for them to be baptized and re-baptized, marry and be married and to live according to their former custom. It was explained to them that, when once the Divine law had been learnt to be true, in no wise was it allowable to a man to observe the rites of a false creed, and that no one could become a Christian unless first he renounced his old belief. To which those who had been baptized as adults replied that they had not understood that at all and that, if they had understood that to be the case, they would by no means have allowed themselves to be baptized by the Fathers. And those who were baptized when infants said that they did not know what they were doing, and that they absolutely wished to live and die in the Sabaeen manner. We were greatly amazed at these answers, and greatly regretted that in former years we had admitted a number of those mentioned to the sacraments of Confession and the Holy Eucharist. . . . Therefore, from the time when we discovered such great unfaithfulness in this stubborn sect, we baptized none except certain who were in danger of death. . . ."¹

The next matter of importance in Fr. Agathangelus' vicariate was the commencement of the long struggle of the Carmelites against Turkish attempts to deprive them of their church and establishment at Basra: it will be remembered that Fr. Basil of S. Francis, the founder, who had obtained merely the consent in writing of the local Arab governor to his having a house and residing in the town, had urged in letters of 1625 and 1626 that a 'farman' authorizing the church and hospice should be sought from the Sultan in Constantinople through diplomatic channels. The more tolerant Arab rulers had been supplanted by Turkish officials connected with the Porte (which was permanently at warfare with Christendom in general, and almost adamant in its refusal to sanction any Christian religious building not already in existence when the Ottoman Empire first annexed the province concerned). Now the Carmelites were to feel the want of such a 'farman' and the difference between the two régimes. Trouble began with a private case of trespass by a neighbour:²

"In the same year 1675 a certain soldier of the Sultan, a Janissary as they are called, named Rum Muhammad, a native of the island of Zante and son of a Greek Christian, who had been captured by the Muhammadans in his boyhood and for many years in captivity had persevered as a Christian but afterwards had in Baghdad been wretched enough to sell his faith in exchange for liberty, and then been taken into the number of the Janissaries, becoming rich in time thought of building a palace. So he bought a certain old house adjacent to our House and erected a superb building higher than our House, and opened up six large windows in it, two of which overlooked our *talar*³ and the other four looked into our courtyard: so that nothing could be said or done there nor happen without it being heard or seen from those windows. Warned of this Fr. Agathangelus, who then was lying in bed seriously ill, sent for the Janissary, and asked him in an amicable way to have those windows closed, as otherwise we should be obliged to have recourse to law. He dissembled, and willingly promised that he would block up the windows and added, with even craftier fiction, that he had in no wise forgotten the reverence due towards a church and Religious, and so he did not wish to inconvenience us in any way and would block up the windows as soon as he could. . . . But the greater reverence he feigned, the more cunning he cherished at heart and, though many times warned by the Father mentioned to have the windows blocked up, he was always promising and never performing what he promised. At length the Religious sent a scout to find out his intention in this matter and report it to them, and the scout brought back word that he had heard him saying that he would sooner spend 15,000 scudi than close one of those windows. When the Religious heard this, they first informed the judge for the merchants

¹ *Chron. Basra*, folios 31-42 of original MSS.

³ *Talar* is used in Persian for an open-air 'loggia'.

² *Idem*, folios 16-7, MSS.

"called the Shahbandar, who at once promised that he would give them redress from such "a wrong. But he was bribed by the Janissary and merely exhorted us to be patient: so "then we had course to the judge for the town, commonly known as the Qazi, to the "captain of the Janissaries, to the deputy of the Pasha, known as the Kakieh, and finally "to the Pasha, or governor himself, of all of whom, as they had been bribed, there was not "one who was willing to do justice or give a right decision: and we found that, adding "together the sums, with which he had corrupted the magistrates specified, he had spent "more than 70 scudi. However, the Religious did not entirely lose hope and, having recom- "mended the matter to God, they remained silent for several days until it happened by "Divine providence that Senhor Pedro Tavera, the admiral of the Portuguese force in the "Persian Gulf and Senhor Manuel Rodrigues d'Aguilar, Resident for the Portuguese nation "in Kung, wrote to us and notified us that at our request they had set free two small boats "belonging to traders of this town of Basra, and in fact the two small boats were set free "and arrived in this port. When the Pasha was informed by us of this he at once ordered "that the windows should be blocked up, and so it was done—but lightly, that is, he "merely filled up the apertures with mud, meaning to open them once more when this "Pasha had left. But in order to provide a fitting remedy against such an evident risk of "the future, we at once, when the windows were blocked up, built up a wall against the "other wall, and made cells in front of the windows.

(Para. 25 of MSS.): ". . . 1676. . . . Let us return to the Janissary Rum Muhammad, "about whom we spoke last year; taking it hardly that he had been bested by poor Religious, "he was daily meditating how to ruin them and especially Fra Agathangelus whom, it "was reported to us, he had sworn to kill: and on separate occasions he attempted to disturb "us, while we were praying daily to God for his conversion. At length on a certain day, "when he had insulted us anew, during the Mass the Fr. Vicar recited the prayer which "is provided in the Mass to be recited as a ward against those doing evil and persecutors: "and after Mass, as he was going out of the church, he heard shouts in the house of this "Janissary. The reason was that, by the mysterious judgment of God, his servants, armed "with axes, daggers and clubs, having closed the door were trying to kill him: and they "would in fact have killed him had not another Janissary run to his help and climbed down "from the roof and freed him from the hands of his servants. He had received nine dagger "wounds and, because he knew that no one in the town was well disposed towards him, "he called us in, and humbly begged that we would be so gracious as to help him, protesting "that he considered us the greatest friends he had: and we did not fail to prescribe medica- "ments by which he was saved from the danger in which he was, and afterwards, when "appointed Agha of the Janissaries, he showed much affection for us, at least outwardly, "and we were neither insulted nor treated with hostility by him any further: and this "happened on Saturday, the 19th December 1676. . . ."

The condition of the church of the Residence by now required attention. Returning to his province in April 1678 Fr. Angelus of S. Joseph (who made a second stay at Basra from 16.7.1676 to 13.4.1678), according to a letter of the Visitor General¹ was to proceed via Baghdad to Constantinople

"in order to see whether with the aid of the ambassador of France he would be able to "extract from the Porte a permit for the reconstruction of our church at Basra, which "threatens every day to collapse: and no repairs nor reconstruction may be undertaken "without a permit. . . ."

It is worth note that, though still in 1678 the Portuguese took an 'official' interest in the Residence at Basra and (see Fr. Agathangelus' letter, 1.11.1680²) had promised to the Fathers a yearly allowance,—

¹ Fr. John Baptist of S. Joseph, 21.3.1678, O.C.D. 242 a.

² O.C.D. 241 c.

“ . . . Le Prince de Portugal nous honora d’une lettre souscrite de sa propre main au “mois de février 1678, par laquelle il nous disoit avoir donné ordres à ses factoures des “Indes” (i.e. the Factors of the Viceroy in Goa, already mentioned in this narrative) “d’assigner une pension annuelle à cette Résidence, à cause des grandes despences qui se “font icy pour les passagers de sa nation . . .”——,

for the first time, in 1678, the Carmelites at Basra (who, it will have been remarked, hitherto had relied in turn on Portuguese support and on the goodwill of the Dutch and English trading companies) turned to the French for official protection, and to the French embassy at Constantinople in particular. This feature, which often recurs as regards Basra, is hardly noticeable in the difficulties of the Persian mission stations, where the intervention and recommendation of the king of Poland, the Emperor, the Doge of Venice together with that of the Pope, were solicited in times of stress: and the reason may be not that the Vicar, Fr. Agathangelus, was himself a Frenchman, but the change from Arab administration to direct Turkish governing of the province and town of Basra by alien force, so that any appeal for redress could only lie with, and be obtained from the superiors in Constantinople of the Turkish officials concerned. There it was the French, alone almost, who maintained a diplomatic representative at this period, when warfare prevailed between the Sultans and eastern and southern Europe, and when the influence of Louis Quatorze and his able ministers was rising to its zenith.

“This Power,” wrote¹ Fr. Angelus—a Frenchman, too, however, 16.9.1679, after he had been four and a half months in Constantinople and seen for himself the state of affairs, “this Power is the most feared and revered in the Turkish dominions, and on the other hand “by virtue of a capitulation with the Porte has been appointed protector of *all* Christians, “and of all missionaries in the Levant. . . .”

So, as *Chron. Basra* relates,² Fr. Angelus was given

“letters signed by the Fr. Visitor General and other Fathers at the Residence to the Marquis “Charles François de Nointel, ambassador at Constantinople for the Most Christian King “of France, so that the ambassador might obtain permission from the Sultan for us to repair “our church . . . the Muhammadans can only be persuaded with very great difficulty “to allow Christian churches to be restored.³ . . . But we saw from the letters of Fr. Angelus “that there was little hope of obtaining such a permit . . . indeed Fr. Angelus found “another difficulty, viz. that we could not obtain a permit for restoring the church *without* “*first having obtained one for founding it.*”

Fr. Angelus of S. Joseph wrote to the Fathers at Basra from Constantinople on 13.1.1679:⁴

“I still hope to obtain an express mandate for our establishment at Basra without which

¹ O.C.D. 241 d.

² Folio 32 of original MSS.

³ *Vide* Fr. Angelus’ report of 16.9.1679, O.C.D. 241 d., citing various instances of these great difficulties:

“ . . . to repair the church of S. George of the Capuchin Fathers at Galata an express order from his Most Christian Majesty to ask for that item, and to have it inserted in the Capitulations with France has been required: the Maronites “of Aleppo, though they had the backing of the ambassador of France and 60,000 piastres ready in hand, still have never “been able to obtain a licence to open a communicating door between a small room and their church: the Franciscans, “though their church had been burnt like that of S. George at Galata, till now have not been able to get permission to “rebuild it, nor to perform any Christian function, notwithstanding the intercession of all the ambassadors and the many “thousands of scudi spent already; the Capuchins and Christians in Mausil, after spending about 4,000 piastres, have “been unable to make any progress: while the Fathers in the Holy Land despair more than ever regarding their ‘*jus*’ “(prescriptive rights) “in the Holy Places, though the Fr. Guardian from Jerusalem has been in Constantinople about 3 “years, and many potentates of Christendom have spoken in his favour. The Capuchin Fathers who had lost their church “in Baghdad, and had their mission in Mausil looted, are in prison in Diarbakr: at Aleppo they do not dare ever to cele- “brate Mass in the daytime, nor keep up any place at all where there is any sign of a church or altar; while their Superior “at Baghdad, Fr. Stephen of Bourges, for the past 1½ years has been acting as doctor to the general of the army (Kaplan “Pasha) and following him in his campaigns and sieges in order by that service to obtain something from the Porte. . . .”

⁴ Folio 90 of MSS.

"there can be no talk of restoring, nor of rebuilding the church from the foundations: "the ambassador has already sent a dragoman to the Porte for that. . . ."

"Accordingly," resumed¹ Fr. Agathangelus in his account in *Chron. Basra*, "instead of "an authentic permit to restore the church, he sent us . . . a special mandate from the "Sultan for the foundation of this church of ours at Basra, or for the protection of the church "already founded, thinking it impossible, as is clear from his letter, to obtain a permit for "the restoration of the church."

In *Chron. Basra*² the 'Mandate' from Sultan Muhammad IV is given not only by Fr. Agathangelus in a Latin version, but in Turkish in an Arabic script under the seal of the Qazi of Galata: and it included the words:

". . . the Marquis de Nointel ambassador of the king of France . . . has presented . . . "a memorial, notifying Us that certain European Religious, called Carmelites wearing a "white dress, *dependants of France*, have dwelt for a long time at Basra in their church and "other properties, and that their occupation is the reading of the Gospel or its interpretation "to those who journey to or from Basra or reside there for business, without trouble having "ever been caused by them to others. He therefore has asked Us to give him a decree "that they be guarded and protected, so that neither Janissaries nor others should harass "or molest them in any way, nor demand anything from them: and, having examined "the Capitulations and found an article written and sealed in which it is stated that the "*churches of the French living at Smyrna, Alexandretta, Sidon and elsewhere* should not "be disturbed, nor should they be prevented from reading the Gospel among themselves "in their hospices, I order that this My mandate . . . be executed according to the "Capitulations, and that the Religious of the above Order dwelling in their church and "other possessions in the town of Basra, and reading the Gospel to merchants at Basra "journeying to and fro or residing there, be protected and guarded, and that no one, "whether Janissary or anyone else be permitted to harass or molest them, or to demand "anything from them unjustly . . . (My mandate) when it has been read, let it be left "in their hands. . . . Written in the beginning of the month of Safar,³ in the year 1090, "Adrianople. . . ."

At the same time a copy of another rescript⁴ of Sultan Muhammad IV, dated Rabi' I, 1684, i.e. six years previously, was sent: by virtue of it

"both the above Orders of Capuchins and Carmelites, in accordance with their ancient "customs, whether travelling through . . . or sojourning in the cities . . . of Our most "vast empire where they have consuls and churches, are to be permitted freely to practise "their customs and the vain ceremonies of their religion, and have liberty to teach Christian "doctrine in their schools. . . ."

Fr. Angelus had done more: he had sent to the Vicar of Basra letters patent⁵ as consul of France, issued by the ambassador,

'Charles François Olier, Marquis de Nointel, councillor of State and Parliament to the 'king, senator and ambassador of the same sacred Majesty to the Ottoman Porte . . .',

wherein, after a long preamble regarding the hard fight he had had 'to secure a renewal of 'the Capitulations between France and the Porte, completed 5.6.1673', his Excellency proceeded:

¹ Folio 45 of MSS.

² Folio 46 of original MSS.

³ i.e. shortly after March 12, 1679.

⁴ Folio 56 of original MSS., *Chron. Basra*.

⁵ *Idem*, folio 59.

"... Since up to the present time we have had no consul to assist us at the celebrated emporium of the above-mentioned town of Basra, we have thought it . . . necessary to confer that dignity upon some person there . . . that further, with greater authority and facility they may receive and possess *in perpetuity* all these prerogatives and privileges under the favour of his aforesaid sacred Majesty,¹ and to the benefit of his subjects either carrying on business there or living there. . . . We appoint the very reverend Father Superior of the aforesaid . . . Discalced Carmelites of *whatever nation* he may be or in his absence anyone whom it may please them to put in his place, by the contents of these presents to be *Consul for the French nation* within the aforesaid town of Basra, and in its dependencies and possessions. . . . We further order . . . all and singular the subjects of his most Christian Majesty, merchants, travellers and others whatsoever, that they recognize the aforesaid Father Superior of the Carmelites as their Consul, have recourse to his protection in their affairs. . . . Given at Constantinople and in our palace at Pera on the 27.2.1679. Olier de Nointel."

Fr. Agathangelus, the Vicar, commented on the above:²

"this appointment we did not accept, but wrote to our Superiors about the matter, and we await their decision about accepting it . . .";

though, judging by later use of the style and office of consul, it would seem that permission for acceptance was given. The reflection is bound to suggest itself to the reader that such a development was far from the ideals mapped out by the founders of the Mission at Isfahan for themselves, their dislike of anything which detracted from purely missionary status.

Chron. Basra proceeded to remark,³ in respect of the difficulty apprehended by Fr. Angelus of S. Joseph regarding the lack of a licence for founding the church in the first instance:

"it is to be noted that among the Muhammadans a prescriptive right of long possession is an inviolable law, and it is their custom that in the provinces acquired by them they receive a specific record of all possessions, dwellings, etc., one copy of which remains in the particular place, and another is sent to Constantinople: thus, when Basra was occupied by the Ottomans,⁴ a record of our church was made in the book of the description of the town: and it was noted under the name of the church. Also in the document of the purchase of the house adjacent to our Hospice on the western side, which Khwajeh Abdullah Rayati bought in the year A.D. 1666 (= 1077 A.H.), in the description of the boundaries of that house it is written 'on the east, the Kenisat,'⁵ . . . and these instruments, since they are written by the hand of the public legal officer, sufficiently prove that our church has really been a church for a definite period and requires no licence for its foundation, but only for its restoration. Seeing therefore that there was no hope of obtaining that licence from the Court in Constantinople, and aware that the then Pasha of Basra was very well disposed towards us, we considered that such an opportunity should not be allowed to pass (especially as we had the requisite sanction for it from our Rev. Fr. John Baptist of S. Joseph, the Visitor General,⁶ and so, on 27.3.1679, we presented a petition in writing to Hasan, the Pasha or governor, asking that he would allow us to repair the church from its foundations, and, because there was no convenient place for the women to hear Mass (for it is not the custom here for women to appear in the presence of their husbands), and they were coming by way of the refectory into a certain tiny chapel near the high altar on the Gospel side, which is now the chapel where the Most Holy Sacrament is reserved, which place was too cramped for them, and for us

¹ i.e. the renewed Capitulations for French subjects.

² Folio 57 of original MSS.

³ *Idem*, folio 65.

⁵ Arabic for 'church'.

⁴ Fr. Agathangelus presumably sets that date at 1669.

⁶ Dated Shiraz, 11.9.1678, "if we obtain permission from Constantinople to restore the church, it should be re-erected to its original height and made with a roof of burnt brick and plaster".

"very greatly inconvenient by reason of its proximity to the kitchen and refectory—on that account in the memorial we begged that there would be allowed us a gallery above the door of the church. . . ."

(The version in the Turkish tongue is appended):

"This petition we presented, 27.3.1679, through the twin brother of this Pasha and his lieutenant, who promised me that he would be our advocate with his brother and that he hoped to obtain the licence for repairing the church within its former limits, even though it might be against their laws to grant such licences, which can only be granted by the Sultan. But, as to the novelty, that is to allowing a gallery, he was in no wise able to do that. To this we replied that, if we had found favour with our first petition, we should also find it for our second. And, in fact, by means of his intercession the Pasha granted us permission for both. . . ."

A copy of the order of the Pasha, addressed to the Qazi in Turkish, is given in Turkish script by *Chron. Basra*,¹ and its purport:

"You must send a commissary to examine the ancient boundaries or limits of the church, and then you will issue a document as a licence for its being rebuilt in its former form. . . . Let this be done quickly."

It was granted, 3.5.1679, and presented the same day to the Qazi for him to write the licence in conformity with the law, as he had been instructed by the Pasha. A representative was at once sent, and enquiry made as to the measurements of the old church: this man told the missionaries that he would bring them the new document. Thereupon the Carmelites got workmen ready to pull down the old fabric: they waited till 7.5.1679 without receiving the permit. The Qazi, however, procrastinated, and finally, when the Vicar offered him some 30 scudi, refused to issue a licence. Fr. Agathangelus appealed to the Pasha, and still the Qazi persisted that not for the Pasha, nor for the whole world would he write such a licence contrary to his conscience and the laws of his faith, adding a fresh objection, viz. that the church was too near the mosque.

However, on 6.6.1679 a new Qazi arrived in Basra, and on the occasion of his first visit to the Pasha the latter spoke abusively of the former Qazi: the new judge decided that it was better not to oppose the Pasha, and to accept the money offered. So, when the Vicar had supplied the measurements of the church and proposed gallery over the door, this Qazi issued a licence, witnessed by the past and functioning Shahbandars and other well-known inhabitants;²

"The reason for this legal (Shara') document is. . . . There was a church built very long ago, in the building of which there were two cells, one to the right, the other to the left, and a tribune (gallery—*gharafet* in Arabic) above the door of the church, the measurements of which are, its length 27 cubits, and its breadth 10 cubits, and its height 21 cubits:³ the site of the fabric is in the interior of the town of Basra . . . near the Qurban bridge, and in this church there worship the Carmelite Fathers its owners, and European Religious who come and go and the Franks and the other sects of the Christians. The building had existed in former times, and its walls had fallen, and there was need of it being rebuilt as it was formerly. . . ."

This document went on to say that in the Shara' 'Majlis' (i.e. assembly or court) there had appeared the Padre then in charge of the church, who asked the judge of the Shara' law

¹ Folio 70 of original MSS.

² *Idem*, folio 76.

³ The Arabic measure is *zar'a*, which is somewhat longer than the English yard, and the metre.

for permission to rebuild it, presenting the mandate of Hasan Pasha the governor, so that the Qazi had dispatched as his representative 'Ali Chalibi to verify the measurements in the presence of other honourable Muslims, who found that the ruined walls were in need of being rebuilt. In consequence the judge ordered the rebuilding of the church in its pristine form, without any addition or any diminution, and he delivered this instrument in the beginning of the month of Jamadi I, 1090 A.H. This licence to rebuild was issued 13.6.1679, and on 18.6.1679 the first stone of the new building was laid, and building continued till 10.9.1679, when the church was blessed and the first Mass celebrated on Michaelmas Day (S. Michael having been taken as patron of the building): the Blessed Sacrament was placed in a tabernacle in a small chapel (unknown to Muslims who were in the habit of prying curiously about the church) with the lighted lamp.

This serious difficulty in the history of the church of the mission had hardly been surmounted when another threatened the Vicar, for¹

"On 6.6.1680 we were summoned by the Qazi with reference to a little house, which 'we have on the other side of the street in front of our gate.'² It happened that the brother of him who had sold it to our Fathers of old, knowing that at the time of the warfare 'the original document of purchase of this house had been lost because of the flight of the 'Religious, went to the Qazi on the 5th June, demanding that he should be put in possession 'of his brother's house, saying that the 'Frank' or European Fathers had wrongful possession 'of it: and, in order that his demand should take the greater effect, he presented him with 'a flower after the manner of his country.

"The judge answered him: 'We shall summon the Father tomorrow, and enquire into 'the matter betimes.' The blessed God willed that a certain friend of ours should be 'sitting at that time with the judge, by chance, and he took the flower and brought it 'to us, warning us of what was proceeding. So we had the respite to make enquiry as to 'who had been the witnesses of the purchase and they were found to have been two, one 'an old man and the other an old woman, whom we apprised of the business, and adjured 'that, should they be summoned by the judge, they should bear witness, as if they were 'giving it in the presence of God.

"So it fell out that, when summoned on the 6th June and questioned about the title-deed 'of purchase, I replied that it must be sought in the records of the Qazi. But the Qazi 'replied that the old records had been lost in the flight of the Arabs when the Turks seized 'the town. And I said that the same was the case with our documents, but that there 'were witnesses, who when summoned testified that the Fathers of old bought this 'house and paid for it properly. So the other party's claim was rejected and, lest a further 'similar claim should arise, the judge gave me a new original document, which we append 'here so that, if the document should perish, the copy will be found here.' (The original Arabic is reproduced in Sir H. Gollancz's *Settlement of the Carmelites*, but with no translation in Latin in the text, nor English version. Briefly, however, the claimant was named Ahmad bin Haji Rajab, defendant "Agathangelo the 'Rahib' = the monk." The site of the church was given as near the Khan-ud-Dahan, and the premises adjoining the property in dispute were specified, but not so as to aid identification in this twentieth century: and judgment was given against Ahmad.)

Two instances occurred about this time, which show that the Armenian families in Basra who, few in number and without church or priest, had conformed to the Catholic Faith and rite from the time of Fr. Basil's arrival in 1623, from now onwards began to be incited against the Carmelites; and spasmodically, if not permanently, a schismatic section is found in opposition to the others.

In July 1680³ there was recorded the arrival of an Armenian schismatic priest, Ter Arakiel who,

¹ Folio 98 of original MSS.

² Doubtless that bought by Fr. Basil in July 1624.

³ Folio 102 of original MSS., *Chron. Basra*, as published by Sir H. Gollancz.

"seeing that the Armenian Christians were well affected towards us and constant attendants
"at church—many of them at the previous Easter had made their confession and received
"the Sacraments—tried to lead them astray from the orthodox path they had embraced.
"In fact many, who had not yet been sufficiently established, abandoned the Faith and
"the church at his instigation and followed him. He took them to a Muhammadan house
"where he celebrated Masses. Nor would he ever acknowledge the truth of the Catholic
"Faith and, when he could not answer arguments, he ended by saying that he was unwilling
"to desert the opinions held by his forefathers, and that, if on account of such opinions
"his forefathers went to hell, he also wanted to go to hell with them. So our Christians
"were greatly perturbed and divided: for many persevered steadfast in the Faith, but others
"fell away at the persuasion of the schismatic priest, and this division lasted till January
"of the following year, 1681, when . . . he himself was arrested and sent to prison by the
"Muhammadans, who wanted to know how he was turning a Muhammadan house into
"a church. He was afterwards set free by his followers on payment of a sum of money.
"The heretics with their priest remained without a church and without Mass until the
"monsoon time, when the same priest under the protection of the traders again led them
"to the house of the Muhammadan and then, puffed up with pride he attempted to frighten
"our Catholics by threatening that, should they persevere in coming to us, they would be
"excommunicated by their bishops . . . before he furnished the house, however, a sentence
"of excommunication against this priest arrived from his own bishop (Vartapet Agazar at
"that time in Baghdad) . . . still he did not come to his senses, but to the very great
"scandal of all Christians and even of his own followers continued to celebrate Masses and
"to exercise other priestly functions . . ."

When the second case¹ occurred,

"In the same year 1683 the Armenians asked us to allow them to perform their own
"ceremonies in a house adjoining ours, which we had let to them the year before and, in
"order the more easily to procure permission from us, they had recourse to the governor
"of the town and in the presence of the said governor we gave them permission for five
"months, on this condition that in no wise should they make or sell wine in the house,
"and also that they should not perform there the 'Jewish' ceremony of sacrificing a ram.
"To these pacts they neither adhered, nor did they observe them. On the contrary their
"priest became so proud that he did not blush to say that it was sufficient that he had got
"inside" (i.e. the house), "and that he would only leave it when he might desire: and in
"addition he gave out that he was going to take possession of our church. Nor he did fail
"in making the attempt, for by craft he got two false witnesses to testify that the church
"had been rebuilt at the cost of the Armenians, whom they (the witnesses) affirmed had
"given us 4,500 'abbasi for the repair of the church. Previously informed of this the
"governor summoned us and demanded why we turned out of the house the Armenians
"to whom the church, re-erected at their expense, belonged. We answered him that we
"had only ejected them on the expiry of the period which we had fixed with them in his
"presence: further, since they had not observed the pact made between us in his presence,
"they showed themselves undeserving of any favour, nor would we allow them to remain
"there any longer. It was not difficult to convict them and the witnesses they had brought
"of falsehood, since it is clear from the book of accounts that the Armenians had only
"contributed to the fabric of the church 400 scudi or about that sum, which had been got
"together from the alms of individuals. Thus their priest and his abettors to his great
"confusion was compelled to abandon his unjust claim. With that priest there was also
"a 'bishop' called Hovannes,² who, although outwardly he did not mix himself up in it
"so impudently, did not cease to incite the others: and Christ will have pardoned him,
"because he . . . professed the Catholic Faith before he died. . . ."

¹ Folio 129 of MSS., *Chron. Basra*.

² He had formerly been the Armenian 'patriarch' at Constantinople.

Next, one may record a curious claim which the Portuguese navy continued, and for years ahead, to make on oversea navigation to Basra, a claim in which the Carmelites were solicited by both parties to act diplomatically as intermediaries:¹

"In June 1682 some ships from Surat coming to Basra for the purpose of trade were 'detained in Kung by the Portuguese army' (i.e. fleet): 'and, because there was a risk 'that the Persians might take by force the duties on the goods destined for Basra and that 'might develop into a bad practice to the detriment of Basra, the Pasha of Basra, Hasan 'Pasha by name, to obviate it summoned us and asked us to write to Senhor Rodrigues de 'Costa, the 'General' of the Portuguese fleet, that for the sake of friendship and good 'relations he should free the goods and the traders of Basra from vexations by the Persians. 'As I perceived it to be a difficult business I replied that a simple letter would not suffice, 'but it was necessary that some Religious should proceed to Kung and I offered to go 'there myself, if the Pasha so ordered. The Pasha answered me, 'I fear you will be upset 'by the heat and discomfort of the voyage' (I was at that time recovering from a serious 'illness) 'and it will be sufficient if you send one of your companions with a letter.' When 'I proposed this commission to the rev. Fr. John Francis of S. Hermengild, he kindly 'undertook the task, and we handed him a letter for Senhor Rodrigues de Costa and 'another the Pasha himself entrusted to him: and they engaged for him a special small 'vessel, and he left for Kung, 28.7.1682, and in a few days safely arrived at the port of 'Kung, where he was received with kindness and respect by the 'General', who of his 'innate generosity immediately promised that for the sake of the Religious he would do 'whatever he could in favour of Basra.

"So, on the third day after the arrival of the Father he sent him back, and with him 'Antonio Machado de Brito to deal with the business and draw up certain terms with the 'Pasha of Basra, both honourable to the Christians and beneficial to this town of Basra: 'and they reached here, 30.8.1682. On the second day after their arrival, i.e. 1st Sep- 'tember, we went to the Pasha and presented to him the letter from Senhor Rodrigues de 'Costa in reply to his own, and in it the latter had promised to set at liberty the ships at 'once when he had settled the business. To all appearances the Pasha received with great 'regard this messenger, Antonio Machado de Brito, and he put on him a red robe of 'honour (*khal'at*) and promised that he would do whatever was just, but would wait till 'the arrival of the ships which had sailed that monsoon: till then he would neither see nor 'listen to the envoy. After the ships arrived he did not want to hear anything about 'terms, nor would he treat with the envoy about them, but only gave him a letter in reply 'to that from the 'General' . . . and he sent the envoy back 8.11.1682. . . ."

Another interesting historical note in *Chron. Basra* (para. 108 of the original MSS.) is that:

"on 6.2.1682 after several days of violent south winds,² the waves rose to such an extent 'that the waters overflowed and broke in upon the town of Basra on the side towards the 'desert: all the gardens and public places were flooded: the waters of the river remained 'brackish for several days. On the 14th of the same month two suns appeared in the 'morning so alike that the true could only be distinguished from the false one by the 'place where it appeared: this sight lasted for about two hours."

A Carmelite, formerly at Isfahan and then for long years in India, the Belgian Fr. Cornelius of S. Cyprian, elected Procurator and on his way to Rome, died at Basra, 24.9.1675 and, first buried in the cemetery, 'Isa bin Mariam', his bones were afterwards translated and deposited in the chapel of the Most Holy Sacrament near the altar on the Gospel side, 6.5.1680. On 17.8.1679 Fr. Aegidius (Gilles) of S. Teresa, who had arrived out fresh from Europe on the 20th January of that year, also died and was buried in the cemetery.³ After his death,

¹ Folio 112 of MSS., *Chron. Basra*.

² The 'Qaus' wind of the Persian Gulf.

³ Folio 87 of MSS., *Chron. Basra*.

Fr. Agathangelus remained alone for two years: appointed Substitute to the Vicar Provincial he went on business of that office to Persia, 19.2.1685, returned to Basra, 17.12.1685 and left 2.2.1686 for Bandar 'Abbas, where he died.

Other Fathers at the mission in Basra during this period were:

Fr. Felician of S. Roch, Prior of Goa, for some months prior to August 1680, on a visitation by commission.

Fr. Charles Hyacinth of S. Teresa, 5.9.1681 to 19.4.1691, when he died there of plague.

Fr. Philip of S. Francis Xavier, from 13.9.1681 for a period unstated.

Fr. John Francis of S. Hermengild, 22.12.1681 till latter half of 1682.

Fr. Louis of S. Teresa, end of 1682 to some time before July 1683.

Fr. Hermengild of S. Marcellus, 20.8.1689 to August 1691, or March 1694.

Fr. Agnellus of the Immaculate Conception, from June to July 1684, as Visitor General.

Fr. Tussanus of Jesus, June 1691 to October 1693.

Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, 4.3.1694 to 13.4.1697.

Fr. Antony Mary of the Ascension, 14.12.1694 to November 1698, save for March to July 1697.

Fr. Peter of Alcantara of S. Teresa, 14.6.1699 to 14.2.1700.

Fr. John Athanasius of S. Antony, 14.6.1699 to about 1.3.1707.

With the departure of Fr. Agathangelus in February 1685 the keeping of the *Chronicle* was neglected, so that (as Fr. John Athanasius noted in it years afterwards):¹

"From the above year" (1684) "down to this day, 9.2.1701, none of our Fathers recorded 'anything. . . . I have attempted to piece together fragments . . .', of information:

the more the pity, because those years were full of stirring times and changes in the possession *de facto* of the town. All praise to Fr. John Athanasius that among those 'fragments' are some of important historical notice:

(a)² "In 1690 . . . while Khalil Pasha was governor of the town, and certain" (Basra) "vessels were coming from the Indics, Senhor Antonio Machado (de Brito), the Portuguese "General", detained all those vessels at Charak,³ nor did he release them until after "capitulations had been made with the merchants of Basra, who bound themselves to pay "each year 5,500 scudi for the Portuguese fleet and one horse,⁴ and daily 2 Venetian "sequins), one, that is, for the Factor and the other for the Portuguese Father then resident" (i.e. in Kung) "and these capitulations Khalil Pasha ratified with his own seal, and he "sent them to the said Antonio Machado in Charak, together with the sum mentioned "and one horse: and these capitulations are kept by the Portuguese to be produced at a "fitting opportunity."

"That brief note will help to understand" (the incident of June 1682 already recorded, and) "other matters which I shall describe lower down."

(b)⁵ In 1692 the governorship of Khalil Pasha having come to an end: "in his place "was sent Ahmad Pasha, son of 'Uthman Pasha, whom later, towards the end of this "year, Mān'a the Arab killed in a siege of Basra, which, however, remained under the "control of the Turks: and so this year this town remained without a Pasha. However, "there was a leading and sensible man" (of the town) "a certain Hasan Aqa Jamal, who, "seeing the town without any head, of himself assumed the governorship with the unanimous

¹ Folio 132 of MSS., *Chron. Basra*.

² *Idem*, folio 136.

³ A small Persian port near Kung and Lingeh.

⁴ This claim by the Portuguese fleet to dues on vessels on their voyage to Basra may have been on the ground of the services rendered in protecting such vessels against piracy—a recognition of the former unchallenged claim of the 'Captain-General of the Straits of Hurmuz' to maritime control: it was not for 'port dues' for calls at Kung, of which the Portuguese still held the 'farman' from the Persian Government, and till 1722.

⁵ Folio 137 of original MSS., *Chron. Basra*.

"consent of the citizens: meanwhile they wrote to the governor of Baghdad, who at the "beginning of the following year, 1693, sent letters patent to Hasan Pasha, 'Kiaia' (deputy) "of the deceased or slain governor: and he began to govern the town.

(c)¹ "In this year, 1693, the Portuguese came and made the request of Hasan Pasha "that they might raise the royal standard over the roof of a house, and it was granted "them.² They therefore took as a dwelling the house of a certain — and there with "great rejoicing they erected the royal standard; but, because of its" (scil. the flagstaff's) "great height, it was seen too far away, and Hasan Pasha ordered that they should reduce "the height of it" (? the flagstaff). "This was done, but on that account the Resident "here for the Portuguese nation departed hence about the month of May, and carried "away with him to Kung all his effects. . . .

(d)³ "Some time between March and September of 1694, the Arab chief Mān'a,⁴ a "veteran soldier, with a strong force, seeing the weakness of the Turks, who at that time were "being harassed by the Germans,⁵ besieged this town, when Kapiji Khalil Pasha was "governor. The latter, foreseeing the plundering of the town to be imminent, forced his "soldiers to sally out of the town against the enemy: and, when the Arab Mān'a had slain "them all, he entered the town victoriously: and Khalil Pasha himself departed after a "few days.

"Therefore in this year 1694 this town after great bloodshed, but without any loss to the "citizens, fell out of the hands of the Turks."

"1695-6. In these two years the Arab Mān'a reigned in peaceful possession and "governed so prudently that both citizens and strangers were contented, for during his "time there was an abundance of everything in the town.

"1697" (after March) "when Mān'a the Arab was in possession of this town, there arose "a certain Arab, but of Persian nationality, named Mulla Farajullah, more powerful than "Mān'a, and he came with a huge force and besieged this town, and got possession of it "and turned out Mān'a the Arab. But, as this town was full of mixed Arabs and Persians, "on Mulla Farajullah entering it they laid it waste and plundered it so cruelly that, lest "everything should be endangered, Fr. Joseph Mary of his own accord made a present "to them of 100 'abbasi together with some other very fine gifts, and so it escaped unharmed "from being set on fire, as seemed imminent. . . . Towards the end of this year the king of "the Persians sent from Isfahan Ali Mardan Khan to govern this town, and Mulla Farajullah "returned to Hawaizeh. . . .

"1698. In this year, with the aforesaid 'Ali Mardan Khan governing this town, every- "thing prospered, for he was a just judge, and had with him a picked artillery force. . . .

"1699. At the beginning of this year, 1699, 'Ali Mardan Khan, governor of this town, "was summoned by the king to Isfahan, and there was sent in his place Ibrahim Khan, "who ruled with the utmost prudence, for he was a bluff soldier, and so fought against the "enemy and nobly defended the town against him, as we shall see below. . . .

"1700. . . . About the end of the month of January of this year Shaikh Mān'a the "Arab, the old-time enemy of this town, came with a fine force and surrounded the town

¹ Folio 138 of MSS., *Chron. Basra*. ² An instance of the flying of 'consular' flags at Basra! ³ Folio 39 of MSS.

⁴ Fr. John Athanasius spelt the name 'Mahane'. In the *Tuhfat-an-Nabhanīyeh fi Tarikh al-Jazirat al-'Arabīyeh*, vol. 19, article Muntafiq, by Shaikh Muhammad an-Nabhani of Basra, pp. 46-55, it is stated with regard to the Sa'dun family and their lineage that they were descendants of the Imam 'Ali Zain-ul-Abidin through Sharif Shabib who came to 'Iraq after the downfall of the 'Abbasid dynasty, i.e. in the thirteenth century, gained influence and assumed sole control over the Muntafiq tribesmen and later over Basra. His grandson Shaikh Mughamis bin Mān'a, who from his headquarters at Basra lorded it over the desert tribes, in the year 1537 (945 A.H.) sent of his own free will by the hands of his son the keys of their strong places to Sultan Sulaiman of Turkey, who ordered that the wilayat of Basra should be added to that of Baghdad under a (Turkish) governor-general, but confirmed Shaikh Mughamis and his son as governors of Basra, on condition that the currency circulating there were Ottoman and the Friday sermons in the name of the Sultan of Turkey and obedience given to orders issued by the governor-general of Baghdad. In 1545 (953 A.H.) on a refusal by Shaikh Mān'a son of Shaikh Mughamis to surrender Arab criminals who had taken refuge with him a Turkish expedition under Ayas Pasha marched on Basra (which was deserted by inhabitants) and occupied it. In 1573 (982 A.H.) there were again hostilities, the Turkish forces suffering defeat. In 1690 (1102 A.H.) the Muntafiq and Jazireh tribes rebelled and moved on Basra: they were opposed at ad-Dair by the Wali of Basra, Ahmad Pasha bin 'Uthman, who was killed in the fight.

⁵ The campaign in Europe.

"and demanded 500 Tumans from the governor, Ibrahim Khan. At that time the governor "had an insufficient military force to fight the Arabs and so he gave them 300 Tumans "and, when they got the money, the Arabs departed. Meanwhile Ibrahim Khan summoned from the province of —¹ 6,000 men to garrison this town. They arrived speedily "and prevented the Arabs from plundering the town, which, however, they" (the Arabs) "crippled by preventing the entry of corn, and so for some months there was a great famine. "In the middle of the night of Palm Sunday in the month of March the Arabs entered "by the gate called Misrak, and slew the guards and set fire to many houses. When the "Persians heard of this, they hurried up and all were killed, among them the Kiaia, and "the Arabs fled. . . . At the end of this month" (May) "the Arabs once more came and "besieged this city so that all traders and I were compelled to hide all furniture on account "of the imminent risk" (of looting). "At length at noon on the 14th day of June they "scaled the walls of the town and 60 of their braver men entered and killed as many guards "as they found without making any noise. But when a certain 'Abdi Aqa heard of this, "he at once mounted his horse and with 60 of his men so swiftly did he bear down on the "Arabs that he took them all prisoners, and led them to Ibrahim Khan, who that very "hour beheaded them in the presence of a vast number of people, and ordered that their "bodies should be taken through the town and afterwards thrown to the dogs, and their "heads to be taken to the camp of the enemy. At the sight the Arabs departed hence, "and for the time the town, which had been for a long time sorely tried by famine, was "no little relieved.

"In September of this year Ibrahim Khan was summoned by the king to Isfahan, and "in his place there came Daud Khan, or, as I might better say, truly a 'dog':² he previously "had been governor of Qurna. So the Arabs, seeing the change of governor, and otherwise "aware of the innate timidity of the new governor, besieged the town afresh and surrounded "it, so that entry or exit was allowed to no one. At this time the town was burdened by "many calamities, i.e. hunger and war: rich and poor cried out for bread which was "lacking: and so Daud Khan, fearing a rising, wrote forthwith to the governor of Gāmburun "to send wheat and barley for the succour of the town. So, as soon as possible, the governor "at Bandar 'Abbas sent a very large ship, called the *Vulcan*, which belonged to a certain "Muslim Chalabi of Surat, and which Armenian merchants had chartered to carry merchandise from Surat to Bandar 'Abbas: and, because they knew that this town was "besieged by the Arabs, to make the ship safe they put on board as captain a Dutchman "named John Velkins [*? sic*], and with him eight Europeans as officers. In order completely "to understand the tragedy which followed, it should be first explained that for several "years back the Arabs of Masqat (whose king is called the 'Imam') have had a quarrel "with the Armenian race. . . ."

(Then at much length Fr. John Athanasius described how, on the arrival of this ship in the Shatt-ul-Arab, three vessels with Arabs from Masqat on board, who had gathered that the ship belonged to Armenians, lay in wait for it in the river: how rushing on board they killed the master, a French merchant from Surat, and several of the Europeans, wounded others who escaped, and carried off the ship, and the Residence of the Carmelites became a hospital):

"In this month"³—February 1701—"the Persian soldiery at Basra numbered 6,000, and "their soldiers' ration-money was not being paid to them: from elsewhere they knew that "the Turks were coming from Baghdad with a large force against Basra. For that reason "they utterly destroyed as many as 1,000 houses" (i.e. in Basra town),⁴ "sparing no one,

¹ Fr. John Athanasius spelt 'Caghicolensi(s)', which is hard to recognize as a Persian territorial or tribal name: it might be Kuhgilu or Pusht-i-Kuh, though these are far to bring "speedy" aid.

² He spelt Khan 'Can': and the Latin *canis* for 'dog' is a punning allusion of his.

³ Folio 160 of original MSS., *Chron. Basra*.

⁴ i.e. on the principle of laying waste inhabitable country in advance of arrival of the enemy.

"not even myself. For *we had a small house*, which till now was in tolerably good condition, "and they entered it one night, destroyed the roof and carried away the beams. When "I warned the governor about it, and obtained no redress from him, sending for masons "I myself pulled it down altogether, lest so many beams needed for other purposes should "be lost. Similarly one day they destroyed a large house adjoining *our caravansarai*,¹ and "the walls of it collapsed on our terraces, causing great damage, which it behoved us to "rebuild immediately at a great and inconvenient expense."²

"By the favour of God on the 9th March there arrived from Baghdad the Mutasallim "of the Turks, demanding the keys of the town from Daud Khan. In fear and trembling "he handed them over to him, and the same day all the Persians soldiers hurriedly went "aboard the ships, which they had got ready for this purpose, and fled, and Daud Khan "went and stayed at Muqam."

Thus from the *Chronicle* it appears that—

- (a) From 1623 till 1669 Basra and its district were ruled almost autonomously except for the sending of an annual tribute to Constantinople by one Arab family (who were the leaders in fact of the confederation of the Muntafiq tribes from the Gharraf river-Hammar Lake region, Sharifs now known as Bani Sa'dūn, hailing by ancestry from Makkah);
- (b) from 1669 to 1692 Turkish Pashas appointed from Constantinople or Baghdad, together with other Turkish officials and a garrison of Turkish soldiers administered the district, but that in an Arab rising in the latter year the Turkish governor was killed; and
- (c) from 1694, when the Turkish troops had been slaughtered and Khalil Pasha withdrew, the Arab (Muntafiq) chief, Shaikh Mān'a, possessed himself of control, till after March 1697, when he was ousted by the Shaikh of Hawaizeh, Aqa or Shaikh Fara-jullah, with a force drawn from the Persian province of Khuzistan: and that the latter towards the end of 1697 retired on the arrival of an official Persian governor, appointed by Shah Sultan Husain.³
- (d) That from 1697 Basra district was occupied and governed by Persia as an appanage of that country till March 1701, when a Turkish force arrived from Baghdad and the Persian garrison evacuated the district and retreated to their own country—after 7 years' loss of the district to the Ottoman Empire.

At this juncture the Turks were making a great show of force in Mesopotamia in order to exert their authority:

"On the 10th of the same month and year" (i.e. March 1701) "there made a solemn "entry into this town 'Ali Pasha, who to this day is governing it successfully and wisely, and "whom God preserve on account of his kindly attitude towards Christians: with him there "also made solemn entry Mustafa, commonly called Daldaban, Pasha of Baghdad and "also commander-in-chief of the Turkish army; Kara Kulagh, Pasha of Sivas, and also

¹ This seems to be the first mention of the Carmelites possessing a 'caravansarai' (perhaps in the sense of 'guest-house', and built on the land bought for 1,000 piastres by Fr. Basil).

² In an undated narrative in MSS. in the Carmelite archives in Rome, evidently written after 1702, i.e. after his return from the Philippines and India, Lay Brother Francis Mary of S. Sirus wrote:

"The church at Basra threatens to collapse, as it stood open in some places: I do not know how they will have repaired "it. When the kings of Spain were lords of Portugal, they provided a subsistence fund for 12 Religious in Persia and "with that money they kept up teachers at the Convent in Isfahan, who taught the languages needed for these mission "posts, and the Convent was sufficiently staffed with Religious already trained. . . . But after the Portuguese acclaimed "a king of their own" (i.e. 1640) "that grant in aid was lost." (See in this connection Fr. Basil's letter of 26.9.1628 regarding promises by the king and grandees of Spain.)

³ That of all the Safawi kings, some of whom were soldiers and used to campaigning and all of whom would have given much to add Basra and Mesopotamia to their realms, the effeminate Sultan Husain should gain possession of Basra is one irony of history.

"Yusuf Topal, Pasha of Kirkuk: and with these four Pashas there entered 30,000 soldiers, who all passed along the street above the door of our House, were respectfully saluted by me and returned my greeting civilly. Immediately Daud Khan heard the noise of the soldiers he went on board a boat to take to flight, but seized by excessive and unnecessary fright he died the same hour: they brought his corpse afterwards to Muqam and buried it there. This suffices to explain his unworthiness and incapacity as a governor. Those four Pashas with their soldiers remained here for ten days till their festival of Ramazan and, when that was finished, they all departed, and 'Alī Pasha remained here alone with sufficient troops as a garrison for this town. The rest went off to Hillah, where there were another 60,000 soldiers in order to repress the Arabs; but they accomplished little or nothing, though they made many attempts and spent much money. . . ."

Almost at once the matter of the dues claimed by the Portuguese from the merchants of Basra became again a live issue.¹

"On the 2nd August" (1701) "the Pasha summoned me. I hastened to him and he gave me a letter addressed to him by the captain of a Portuguese warship, which was coming from Kung to Basra. After I had read the letter, he (the Pasha) asked me what he (the Portuguese captain) had written. I replied that . . . they were coming to re-establish the ancient rules between them and make a treaty of perpetual friendship with them. When he heard that, the Pasha said to me: 'Tomorrow very early you shall go to meet them' (for they were about two hours' distance from the town); and he took counsel with me whether he ought to fire off a salute with cannon. I answered that, as this was a Royal ship, he should do so. When his counsellors heard of it, they said he ought not to do so, because Muhammadans ought not to salute dogs without any creed, as are all Franks. When I heard these words I was greatly angered, and said to them: 'We are not without a creed, and it is just for the creed that we are always at war with you: if we are dogs, you ought to beware of us.' The Pasha himself got angry and said to them: 'You dogs without a creed, at what are you barking? Men without honour, over what are you disputing? Are you still ignorant of the first principle, i.e. that honour is to him who pays the honour. Silence! and tomorrow let as many guns as there be at Muqam, and as many galleys as there be go there, and fire off a salute to the Portuguese.' Afterwards he turned to me and said: 'Padre Doctor, I beg you not to be angry, because all these people eat dirt'—for that is the expression in use among Muhammadans, just as it is with us the custom to say, 'They are wandering in their minds, or suffering delusions.'

"Accordingly on the following day, very early, I went on board a small boat with an interpreter and went to meet them. When we reached them, Senhor Pedro de Souza Ataide, captain, commonly called — ² received me very politely, and when we got to the port, the Turks first fired off cannon as a salute, and more than 200 'spingards', at which the captain greatly rejoiced. He himself afterwards fired off 80 guns: and when the Pasha heard it he too was very pleased. . . . This Portuguese ship had, therefore, come to recover from the merchants of this town 15,000 silver scudi and 3 horses because, as I have noted above, Khalil Pasha had contracted with them" (i.e. with the Portuguese) "to pay every year 5,500 silver scudi and one horse on the condition that they" (i.e. the Portuguese) "escorted to this port the ships sailing with the monsoon from India every year: and, as for the space of three years past they had received nothing, they came to claim this sum. All this the captain named related to me, and he put this business of his in my hands. When I returned from the ship I went to the Pasha and made known to him everything. He said: 'Let them come and see me, and we shall examine the covenants, and I shall settle everything.' So the next day there landed from the ship the Second Captain—for, as is the custom with the Portuguese, the (senior) Captain,

¹ Folio 167 of MSS., *Chron. Basra*.

² "Mare equerra" in Sir H. Gollancz' edition of the MSS., *Chron. Basra*.

“Senhor Pedro de Souza Ataide, never went ashore—and with him the ensign of the “soldiers together with a large and imposing escort: and they came to our House, making “much noise, and brought with them gifts to be offered to the governor. So they sent to “the governor gifts to the value of about 150 scudi by the hand of the interpreter, and “after an hour we also went to visit the Pasha, who received us very civilly and conferred “on us five very fine robes of honour, commonly called *khal’at*:¹ and, when I explained “to the governor the cause of their coming, he answered: ‘Tomorrow I shall examine “‘thoroughly the ancient covenants and, if they be made in accordance with the law, I “‘shall act according to them’: and thus he courteously bade us farewell. Therefore on “the following day the Pasha gathered together all the merchants of Basra and also the “judges, i.e. the Qazi and the Mufti and, when he had taken counsel with them, he summoned us. On our arrival there it happened that they had prepared a very large bench “for us to sit after the style of the Franks; but they had placed it in a position betokening “inferiority. When we entered at once we kissed the hands of the Pasha, as is the custom, “and, when his chamberlain pointed to us the place where to sit, I said to the governor: “‘That, sir, is not the place for us: neither shall I sit there, nor these gentlemen.’ When “he saw me put out, he at once ordered the merchants to give us the place which they “had indiscreetly occupied: and, immediately rising, though with murmurs, they “went lower down the room, while we took our seats near the governor, as was “right. After a long discussion the governor said: ‘Let them show me the capitulations “‘which Khalil Pasha granted them.’ To whom they” (i.e. the Portuguese) “made answer “that those are preserved in the archives at Goa and they had brought only a copy with “them. When he had read it, the Pasha said: ‘Whatever Khalil Pasha did, it is not “‘permissible for us to observe, for he was a rebel against our Emperor. Therefore,’ said “he, ‘it behoves you to produce to us capitulations approved by our Emperor or at any “‘rate signed by Kara Mustafa Pasha, who had the Imperial authority.’ The Portuguese “answered: ‘Why then have these merchants for so many years given us such large sums “‘of money?’ To whom the merchants rejoined: ‘We did indeed give the money, but “‘compelled to do so by force.’ The Portuguese said: ‘Were you not giving 2 sequins a “‘day for our agent and for our church?’ They” (i.e. the merchants) “replied in the “negative: ‘We have not seen your church nor any of you residing in Basra.’ This they “rashly denied, because for so many years the Portuguese did reside in Basra and as a “matter of fact 2 sequins were being paid to them daily. Accordingly, when I heard this “great falsehood from the merchants, I addressed the governor and said: ‘If, sir, these “‘merchants deny this, they are openly denying a truth clearer than the sun: if they “‘persist in asserting this, they would repudiate their own prophet.’ At these words all, “protesting, made the profession of their false creed, and the Pasha said to me in Turkish: “‘Father, it is true that on other occasions they paid such and such a sum, and they will “‘pay it afresh, if they’ (i.e. the Portuguese) ‘bring the monsoon’ (convoy) ‘here from the “‘Indies, as they did formerly, but how many years is it since they appeared here? Why, “‘therefore, should the merchants pay this sum?’ The Portuguese said: ‘Do as you wish. “‘We shall report your decisions to our Master, who sent us, and, if he agrees to them, so “‘shall we.’ When they had said this, all departed and we remained alone with the “Pasha, who kissed me and said: ‘Padre Doctor, as a matter of fact the merchants denied “‘with too much temerity a truth known to everybody; but you also spoke too strongly “‘to them’: and afterwards, turning to the Portuguese, he spoke to them kindly, and made “them obliged, and when sweetmeats and coffee had been served us, we separated on “very good terms. The Portuguese themselves knew that their claim was an idle one, “without any foundation: so they said nothing when they heard the reply given, for they “had thought of the Turks as blockheads. So after a few days they sailed away; but the “Pasha sent a very fine *khal’at* for the senior Captain Pedro de Souza, and another for the “General residing at Kung.”

¹ The Persian word for the honorific cloaks, in later times made of finely woven Kashmir shawls.

This interesting interlude has been quoted at length from the MSS. reproduced in Sir H. Gollancz's work mentioned, because it seems to indicate that for a number of years under the earlier Turkish Pashas the trade of Basra had paid dues to the Portuguese fleet for safely conveying ships during the summer monsoon from the Indian ports up to Basra, and because this date, 1701, probably was the latest when the Portuguese, still with a naval base at Kung, sent a warship up the Shatt-ul-Arab to assert the rights or claims of their flag.

It is now necessary to turn back from important and kaleidoscopic changes in political conditions affecting the Mission at Basra in this period to matters of internal economy at the Residence, and to follow the skein of sore troubles which beset it.

Plague raged at Basra in 1691: the Vicar, Fr. Charles Hyacinth of S. Teresa, died of it, 19.4.1691. His successor, Fr. Hermengild of S. Marcellus, broke down in health with the anxiety, and left for Persia in that August. Fr. Tussanus of Jesus, who had returned in June 1691 to Basra, also had to suffer much in the Arab rising and plundering described above, and finally evacuated the mission in October 1693, departing to Kung—a Syrian Christian, the deacon Abdul Karim, took care that the premises should not be robbed, sealing up all the cells, etc. Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus arrived as Vicar, 4.3.1694, joined in December by a companion, Fr. Antony Mary of the Ascension. But, in need of funds, hardly had the former in March 1697 dispatched the latter to Kung, than he himself died of fever on April 13th, without anyone to tend him: and he was buried within the church, outside the chancel on the Gospel side, by the deacon in question and other native Christians. The house remained in the hands of servants, who stole many objects, including a small silver-gilt ciborium, which they sold in the town, where it was bought back for 6 'aslanis' by Abdul Karim. Fr. Antony Mary meanwhile had obtained from the Residence in Shiraz 20 Tumans, i.e. 1,000 'abbasi; but on his voyage back from Bandar Rig the sailing-boat went ashore and was broken up: and, though all on board saved themselves by swimming, the Carmelite lost the money and all his clothing, being given out of pity by some Arabs an 'abba to cover himself, and in that plight reached Basra, only to hear of the death in his absence of the Vicar. Sent from Isfahan as his companion in July 1697 Fr. Raymond of S. Michael only stayed for six months, when from ill health he went off to Shiraz: and, though the Persian governor, 'Ali Mardan Khan (who had been on friendly terms with Bishop Elias in Isfahan) provided the new Vicar, Fr. Antony Mary, with a considerable quantity of butter, corn, rice and meat and counselled him not to be disturbed over the non-receipt of funds from Isfahan, promising to keep him supplied with necessaries, in November Fr. Antony Mary in his turn went off to Kung.

Once again, from November 1698 to June 1699, the Residence remained without Religious, and in the hands of servants. Then Frs. Peter of Alcantara and John Athanasius arrived to find that, though the retiring Vicar had hidden various articles and sealed up all the cells and left Abdul Karim and an old servant in charge, the latter had opened several cells, and sold a number of utensils and some beautifully carved wooden doors, although ample provision in food had been left for him. When they went to call on the Persian governor, Ibrahim Khan, they presented to him a licence from the Shah: and afterwards, on several occasions, he sent them fruit he had received from Durakh (in Khuzistan) "rarely seen in this town". The Apostolic Visitor, the Archbishop of Ancyra, having asked that one of the Fathers should go to confer with him at Bandar 'Abbas, in February 1700 Fr. Peter of Alcantara left Basra for that port and did not return, being shortly afterwards elected Prior of Isfahan. Fr. John Athanasius received letters of appointment as Vicar, and remained alone. It was while he was acting as conciliator in the Portuguese claim against the merchants of Basra, already described, that in August 1701 the Qazi of Basra sent for the interpreter and asked to see the original licence for the foundation of the Carmelite church: busy with the Portuguese, Fr. John Athanasius sent back a message that 'Ali Pasha, governor of Basra, had seen the permit and approved it: and that the Vicar recognized the right of no one else to ask to inspect it. The Qazi was annoyed, but bided his time.

In September 1701 several impoverished young Christians, who had arrived from Baghdad,

were put in prison for refusing to pay the *kharaj*—i.e. poll-tax; and *Chron. Basra* remarks on this:¹

“It is well known that *Christians and Jews* pay a *yearly tribute* to the Turks to the amount “of 5 *silver scudi*: but here in Basra a long time ago a certain Pasha had fixed the amount at “3 scudi only. . . .”

The Vicar, however, by going to the Pasha, making a present of five beautiful white wax candles from Goa and kissing his hand, succeeded in getting the Pasha to order that in future no more than 1½ scudi should be taken from poor Christians, 3 scudi from those in better circumstances—and this in the face of opposition from a Mulla present. Another incident occurred that December, which is evidence of ‘consular’ mediation—not only in French interests but in those of all Christian Europeans—which the Turkish authorities and people of Basra recognized and allowed as a prerogative of the Carmelites. The Shahbandar having claimed goods of a Greek merchant, deceased while passing through Basra, Fr. John Athanasius made a protest to the Pasha on behalf of the heirs in Europe. On the Pasha enquiring the views of the merchants, he received the reply:

“ ‘Sir, why do the Fathers reside here? In the first place for the sake of the church, “and secondly for such cases as these that may occur” ’,

whereat the Pasha at once desisted from his claim. Another companion, Fr. Hyacinth of S. Augustine, sent from Persia, also fell ill and had to return there early in March 1702 after five months’ stay only in Basra and on the 20th of that month Mulla Farajullah of Hawaizeh with an Arab following fell upon and plundered ten vessels carrying merchandise to Baghdad. In April Fr. John Athanasius had another incident with the Qazi of Basra already mentioned, when, having gone to visit the Pasha, the Carmelite took his seat above the Qazi, who turned his back on the missionary and said to the governor: “Sir, do you see this dog sitting near me?” Fr. John Athanasius retorted: “If you call me a dog, beware of my bite: I do not insult you “by sitting above you, for I am the Qazi of the French, as you are of the Muslims”—an allusion to the position of ‘consul’, accorded by the French ambassador, as already related, consuls under the capitulations in those times having full judicial powers over the subjects of the state they represented. After referring to the refusal of the Vicar to show him the original permit for the founding of the Carmelite church, the Qazi told the Pasha that he had written to Constantinople to obtain authority to have the church at Basra plundered, just as had been done to that of the *French* Capuchins at Baghdad in September 1701, adding: “Why, sir, is it allowed “by our Sovereign that these dogs of Franks dwell among us?” Later the governor spoke of the Qazi as a fool, but nevertheless recommended the Vicar of the Carmelites to write to the French ambassador at Constantinople, and to warn him of the Qazi’s ill will. Fr. John Athanasius did so, 22.4.1702: and the letter reached its destination, for Lay Brother Francis Mary of S. Sirus mentioned in his narrative, already quoted:

“when I was in Constantinople in the year 1702 the Marquis de Feriol, ambassador of France, said to me that Fr. John Athanasius of this Residence had written to him that “the Qazi threatened to pull down the church, and that he was working with the officials “of the Porte to prevent such threats being put into effect”.

On 9.11.1702 Muhammad Pasha, captain of a Turkish river flotilla of some forty vessels, arrived from Baghdad: with his force were some 200 Christians, nearly all Greeks, but some

¹ Folio 173 of original MSS. of *Chron. Basra*.

Italians and Maltese, twelve of whom began to attend Mass regularly with the permission of this Pasha.¹

The sword of Damocles—of which the threats of the Qazi had been a symptom—now fell. On 3.3.1703 the Vicar wrote in the *Chronicle* (folio 191 of original MSS.):

“While I was altogether occupied in composing sermons in the Turkish language for ‘the Sundays in Lent, unexpectedly a letter-courier arrived from Baghdad. The Capuchin ‘Fathers had sent him expressly to notify me how they had been expelled from the city² ‘by orders of Daldaban, the Grand Vizir,³ and how there was on his way a special messenger with similar instructions for our church at Basra to be razed to its foundations, ‘and ourselves thrown out. When I heard this I rose and, blessing the name of the Lord, ‘went to our ‘Ali Pasha . . . who, as he was very friendly with us, was much upset. ‘However, he said to me that, should the mandate be directed against the Fathers and ‘the church, he could still save me because of my having the title of ‘consul of France’ . . . ‘Nevertheless, this news disturbed me, and so I gathered together all the better objects ‘and utensils of the church and house, and by night caused them to be taken to the house ‘of Khwajeh Safar, a Christian, lest there should happen to me at great cost what ‘afterwards occurred to a less degree through the fickleness and faithlessness of the Turks, ‘whose characteristic it is to deceive. So, on the 14th of that month, a courier arrived here, ‘a Tatar from Baghdad, with the Imperial decree for our destruction. When ‘Ali Pasha ‘read it, he summoned me at a very late hour and very sadly said to me: ‘Reverend Father, ‘the Imperial mandate is pressing. . . . So I warn you (and this of my kindness) to ‘evacuate your house and the church this very night, and to leave our borders at the first ‘opportunity.’ When I pressed him to say whether the decree was against the ‘consul ‘of France’, or against the Father, he replied: ‘It is true that the decree is against the ‘“Frank” Fathers and their church, i.e. against yourself, because, although it is *known to* ‘me that you are both Father and consul, still the common people recognize you as the Father, ‘and do not know of you as “consul”: for that reason, if I do not order the mandate to be ‘executed, I am not safe! But,’ he said, ‘do not be in a hurry: carry away all you have ‘and as quickly as possible empty your house of everything and deposit all the property ‘with some Christian friend and, when you have disposed of everything, you will leave ‘at your convenience.’”

The sequel to this untoward event is narrated by Fr. John Athanasius with such dramatic power of description that any compiler of an account of the fortunes of the Residence at Basra,

¹ It is not without interest to note that in September 1702 an English vessel arrived from Surat, with letters to the Carmelite Vicar from the ‘director general’ of the East India Company at Surat, in which the Company requested that ‘in future the English should pay on their merchandise only 3 per cent instead of 5-6 per cent as hitherto, and that the ‘Vicar would intervene to this end with the governor. When I heard of this business it appeared to me extremely difficult, because the Turks are by nature inclined to increase taxes, not to diminish them: however, I went to see the governor ‘Ali Pasha at a late hour. . . .”

The English gave gifts to the value of 1,500 scudi to the Pasha, other sums to his minions: so that the Pasha himself drew up and sealed a document “in the form of perpetual capitulations” to that effect. (Folios 184-5 MSS.)

² Compare *S.N.R.*, II, p. 402, letter from Baghdad in Latin, dated 10.12.1701, signed by the Capuchin Père Jean Baptiste d’Orleans, who assigned the cause to the schismatics:

“Already 5 years ago we informed you that persecution had been stirred up by the Nestorian, Jacobite and Armenian ‘priests, and that to preserve the Catholics and release those in captivity it was necessary to give 700 scudi to the governor. ‘Now this year a similar persecution has been fomented by the ‘bishops’ of the Armenians and Jacobites, who complained to the Turks that ‘all the Christians have embraced the Catholic Faith’. For this reason the governor, having ‘received a mandate by a Kapiji sent express from the Porte for this object, at noon on the 12th September 1701 while ‘we knew nothing about it, came with the Agha of the Janissaries, the Mufti, Qazi, 6 officers with 2,000 men on horse ‘and foot, with staves, swords and other iron implements, to pull down our hospice altogether. No sooner had the ‘governor entered our house and, without giving any reason, struck the wall with an axe, than all followed suit in aiming ‘blows, so that in a short time both hospice and church were turned into a ruin, and plundered. The books were condemned by the governor to be burnt, by the judge to be thrown into the river.” This was the end of the Capuchin foundation at Baghdad, which had lasted since 1629.

³ This Grand Vizir was presumably the same man as “Mustafa commonly known as Daldaban, Pasha of Baghdad”, mentioned as entering Basra with the 3 other Pashas on 10.3.1701.

any student of the times, would be tempted to quote his original words; but such is the detail that they take up some forty pages in the edition and translation by the late Sir H. Gollancz, covering the next 18 months only. Even a précis sufficient to make clear the course of events must needs be lengthy.

Summoning the deacon, 'Abdul Karim and other Christian natives, after recitation of the Litanies of the Blessed Virgin "nearly drowned in our tears", the Vicar and they took down the 'image'—a painting presumably, though it may have been a statuette—of the patroness of the church, Our Lady of Ransom, from (above) the altar, and other 'images'. It is of interest to note what the first church at Basra possessed—those of the prophet Elijah; of S. Teresa of Jesus and S. John of the Cross; of S. Gregory the Illuminator, proto-saint of the Armenian church; of S. Louis IX, king of France.¹

On the 15th March 1703, Thursday in the third week of Lent, all the Christians attended the last Mass: even the doors of the cells were removed to the house of Khwajeh Safar. Some Turks sympathized, others were glad that the 'infidels' were to be ejected. Another point of interest—

"To the east of the church there is another house belonging to us, called in the vulgar tongue the *Caravansarai*, where the Europeans are lodged, when there are any Christian traders: at that time many Christians from *Baghdad* were lodging there, who departed elsewhere the same night. I had nothing in it except one large cell full of wood for building, worth about 50 scudi: but, as 'Ali Pasha had promised me not to touch it, I did not carry away the wood. . . ."²

The Vicar made arrangements to leave by a small vessel, due to sail for Kung after a few days: on the 16th March, however, the Shahbandar intimated to him that he must leave that very hour, and procured him a 'ballum' to take all portables to the ship. At the same time the Shahbandar asked for the keys of the Residence, saying that the

"Pasha declared your house to belong to the treasury (*fisc*): when I replied that our Fathers had bought this house 80 years previously with their own money, he answered: "If your Fathers purchased it, in that case all non-movable effects fall to the treasury": "and so I was obliged to hand him the keys. But 'Ali Pasha did this to save our church and house, because Daldaban the Grand Vizir had ordered that they should be razed to the foundations: and so, lest he should be denounced by other officials, 'Ali Pasha declared that the house and church had become property of the Turkish exchequer, a conclusion against which no one raised objection. . . ."³

Having boarded the ship in the Shatt it befell the Religious that such a strong south-east (?Qaus) wind blew that it was unable to start for ten days—by Divine providence: for on the 22nd March another messenger from the Capuchin Fr. John Baptist at Baghdad brought a letter, dated the 12th of the month, to the effect that the Capuchins themselves had been about to quit Baghdad when the Qazi sent and forbade their leaving with a caravan, as they had intended. This sudden change on the part of the Turks at Baghdad was deemed attributable either to anticipation of altercation arising between the French and the Porte over the measure, or to a rumour of the Grand Vizir's death. This hope for reprieve at Basra also was followed the same evening by the return of Muhammad Pasha with his fleet of 44 galleys, "with which he had annihilated certain Arabs of the Muntafiq tribe who had"—then, as in this 20th century—"done great harm to the town". As the Pasha passed on the river the small vessel due to sail for Kung, Fr. John Athanasius hailed him in Turkish, and the astonished Pasha called back that the Vicar was not to leave, but to go and see him at his camp at Minawi on

¹ All French consular chapels in the East had S. Louis as their patron.

² Folio 196 of original MSS. of *Chron. Basra*, as edited by Sir H. Gollancz in the *Settlement of the Carmelites in Mesopotamia*.

³ *Ibid.*, folio 198.

the following day, when this friendly officer planned and duly contrived to persuade the governor at a visit paid him by the latter on the 25th March, Passion Sunday, that the Carmelite Vicar might well remain in a hamlet at Baradaieh, outside Basra, for a few days, till the Tatar messenger, who had brought the order from the Grand Vizir, had departed on his way back to Baghdad. At Baradaieh the Arab villagers gave Fr. John Athanasius a stable, in which the goats of the hamlet were kept at night, and there the Vicar deposited all the property removed from the church and Residence, he himself sleeping on the ground. The 'few days' he had been recommended by the Pasha to wait there lasted, however, till the tenth October; because from the 14th April the Arabs on the north side of the town rose and in bands came round Basra, plundering and destroying and Fr. John Athanasius' protector, Muhammad Pasha, had to move off against them with his fleet of war-galleys. Little by little, greatly aided by the family of Khwajeh Safar, the Vicar contrived to get all the effects of the church and Residence re-transported to their house inside the town. On 11.7.1703 he was consoled by the arrival from Isfahan, in native costume, of Fr. Peter of Alcantara, who had gone straight to the Residence, and found to his stupefaction (for he did not know what had occurred) six horses tethered in the church, and the Turks making revel on the premises. But at the end of August there came a messenger with letters from the Vicar Provincial at Isfahan giving instructions to sell everything the Fathers could, and then repair to Bandar 'Abbas.

'Ali Pasha, the governor, had sent more than one message to Fr. John Athanasius that he might move back to, and stay in the town pending further instructions from the Porte; but the deacon 'Abdul Karim had out of ill will not delivered them: when finally on 5.9.1703 the Vicar ventured to proceed by boat to the town and visit the Pasha, the latter received him kindly and refused to allow him to sell off the effects of the Residence and leave for Persia in accordance with the instructions of the Vicar Provincial. On 10.9.1703 Muhammad Pasha suddenly returned to Basra with his fleet of galleys, ostensibly because the soldiers would no longer fight the Muntafiq without receipt of pay, but really because he had private news that he himself had been appointed governor of Basra: on the 22nd September two eunuchs arrived from Constantinople with great pomp, bringing from the Sultan letters of nomination of 'Ali Pasha as governor of Baghdad, and of Muhammad Pasha as governor of Basra: and the latter, when visited and congratulated by the Vicar, promised that, after 'Ali Pasha and the eunuchs had left, he would allow Fr. John Athanasius to reside in a hired house in the town under the style of 'consul of France', adding that the church and house could not be restored until fresh orders permitting this came from the Sultan. On 27.9.1703 Muhammad Pasha made his official entry into the town, while 'Ali Pasha, leaving by another gate, went to Muqam and on the following day crossed the Euphrates with some 6,000 horse on his way to Baghdad. It nearly came to fighting between the two Pashas, for this was the time when Sultan Mustafa was deposed in Constantinople, and his brother Ahmad became Sultan instead: an official had come from the Porte with instructions that all provincial governors should remain at their posts until fresh letters of appointment reached them; though all ended tranquilly in the end because 'Ali Pasha found his governorship of Baghdad confirmed. Meanwhile, acting on a suggestion from his well-wisher, Muhammad Pasha, Fr. John Athanasius had submitted a petition praying the new governor to allow the "*French* Fathers to be allowed to reside in Basra "under the style of 'consul of France' in accordance with their commissions as such": and on 9.10.1703 Muhammad Pasha wrote on the petition: "I have given permission to the present "consul of the French to reside in Basra." For a month the Fathers were given hospitality by the master of an English ship in a house he had hired, until his vessel sailed for Bandar 'Abbas and in it too Fr. Peter of Alcantara, with all the portable possessions of the Residence in obedience to the instructions of the Vicar Provincial mentioned above. Then Fr. John Athanasius hired for himself a small dwelling, in which he stowed the doors, benches and heavy lumber from the Residence; but, the owners being incommoded by the claim of a Turkish creditor to part of their premises, the Vicar was emboldened to go to the governor and seek permission to reside in the 'caravansarai' adjoining the Residence. This caravansarai

had been till then tenanted by a Turkish official. Good-humouredly protesting at the impatience of the Vicar, the governor verbally gave the permission desired,

“but on condition that you close all paths and gates leading to the church, so that no one ‘be heard inside the church’”:

and, when presented with a memorial in writing so that this sanction be put on paper, Muhammad Pasha wrote, 25.11.1703:

“‘I have ordered that the consul of the French may reside in *his* caravansarai, and that ‘no one should dare to disturb him.’

“So on the 26th November I entered our House, and for 15 days together with many ‘workmen I endeavoured to cleanse it of all the dirt, and repair it where it was threatening ‘to collapse, so that I might dwell in it temporarily. After that, with confidence and no ‘fear I began to celebrate once more and, although at the beginning our Christians were ‘afraid, they nevertheless began to come every Sunday before dawn, so as to depart before ‘sunrise, lest we should give any ground for murmurs.”¹

Muhammad Pasha was rather tyrannical, and his death on 14.3.1704 was hailed with relief by the people of Basra. His nephew, Muhammad Bey, commander of the galleys, was chosen by the citizens to act *ad interim*. When on 18.3.1704 Fr. John Athanasius endeavoured to get sanction from this ‘locum tenens’ to conform with the instructions of the Vicar Provincial in Isfahan about selling everything and departing, it was refused on the ground that no change should be made till the arrival of the next governor; but in compensation he authorized the Vicar to celebrate, and to deliver sermons to his flock, so that at that Easter on account of the concourse the latter had to celebrate twice, for at that time there were many Greeks serving in the Turkish army.

In July ‘Ali Pasha, then at Baghdad, was re-appointed governor of Basra, but he did not reach the town before 11.9.1704: on hearing of the appointment some of the Christian community, presumably schismatics, had nothing but malice for the Carmelite Vicar:

“(Some of our Christians, who were badly disposed towards us . . . rejoiced, and clapped ‘their hands, singing, ‘Ali Pasha is coming, the friend of our Father’”,

ironically, because under that governor the Vicar had been turned out of the Residence and church). A ship of the Dutch East India Company had, however, arrived at the end of July: the Dutch officials on board hired a house with the intention of establishing a Resident Agent in Basra (it would appear that “for many years” previously they had had representatives in Basra at intervals); but they awaited the arrival of the new governor in order to settle terms on which trade might be conducted, one of their requests being that their imports might be free of tax: the Dutch representatives sought the assistance of the Carmelite vicar as interpreter and, although the latter hesitated to go uninvited into the presence of ‘Ali Pasha (who during his previous term of office had ordered his departure from the town), on the persuasion of some merchants he repaired to Shuaiba, where despite an initial display of annoyance the Pasha received courteously the Carmelite Father and promised verbally to restore the church temporarily, in advance of a new permit being furnished from Constantinople.

Encouraged by favourable reception on two subsequent calls, Fr. John Athanasius submitted, 14.9.1704, a fresh memorial in Turkish, representing that Muhammad Pasha had been pleased to allow him to dwell in the ‘caravansarai’ but, in order to obtain funds for his own subsistence, he desired to let this building: and so he pleaded to be allowed to repair one cell in the closed church, in order to live in it, until permission should come from the Sultan. When ‘Ali Pasha had read this memorial, he made careful enquiries whether the church was

¹ Folio 235 of original MSS. of *Chron. Basra*.

being used as a dwelling or not, sending the Shahbandar to see for himself, and his own secretary. They returned and testified that they had found the doors of the church, both on the side towards the public street and on that of the 'caravansarai', walled up, and the Carmelite Father staying in his 'caravansarai'. Satisfied that there had been no breach of his previous injunctions 'Ali Pasha bade his emissaries go back and, sending for masons, have the door of the house and church opened.

So, 16.9.1704, the house and church (though use of the latter was still suspended) were handed back to the Carmelites: for three days both Turks and Christians, rich and common-folk, came to congratulate the Vicar. The present which Fr. John Athanasius afterwards took to 'Ali Pasha, in sign of gratitude, was "six white wax candles, for which the Pasha had "been searching in vain from apothecaries of the town"; pleased, the governor verbally granted permission for Christians to say their prayers along with the Vicar, while resolutely refusing to give any such authority in writing (though he would do so, were he about to quit the town). Fr. John Athanasius judged it prudent to call on the Mufti, the ecclesiastical judge so to speak, to whom such questions appertained, and to explain the position in regard to the permission accorded by the Pasha: the Mufti took the matter in good part and promised to bear witness before any subsequent governor.

"This business" (wrote the vicar¹) "was of no small moment, because up till then no "one had ever heard of the Turks giving back churches and houses, once they had been "appropriated by the treasury."

At the beginning of October 1704 the vicinity of the town was under water, following a flood from the Euphrates: the air became pestilential, and an epidemic made its appearance, apparently plague. The Vicar had ten Christians ill in the 'caravansarai' of the Residence, to whom he had to minister food and drink: and at length on 22.10.1704 he himself went down with the infection,

'nigh to death for three days, abandoned by all except that twice weekly, with great charity, 'the Dutch Agents visited him, and daily sent him barley meal'.

For 64 days he lay with a painful bubo under the left armpit, without any medical attention: not till Easter did he become convalescent. Turks, Christians, Jews and Gentiles were all dying, to the number of 400 and more daily, the mortality lasting to the end of November, when it was reckoned that 8,000 persons had perished. At that time there were about 60 oriental Christians permanently resident, while during the monsoon an additional 150-200 arrived, and besides in the Turkish garrison there were some 10 European captives, and more than 30 Greeks: for all these the Carmelite Residence exercised a paternal care, schismatics and European heretics included.

Mughamis, son of the Arab Shaikh Mān'a, with his Arabs appeared threatening the town, 8.6.1705; but the vigilance and tact of 'Ali Pasha warded off the danger: while four days later came news that 'Ali Pasha had been appointed governor of Konieh, and in his stead was to come Khalil Pasha, till then governor of Monastir and previously 'defterdar', treasurer, at Constantinople. Pressed in a farewell visit by the Father to give in writing under his seal authority to reside, as he had previously promised, 'Ali Pasha refused three times, but finally yielded to a present of a small jar of sandalwood oil and handed over the document. As the Father returned from Muqam, the firing of guns in salute indicated the arrival in advance of a Mutasallim on behalf of the new governor, Khalil Pasha.

This official, one Sulaiman Agha, on the 26th June sent for Fr. John Athanasius and bade him notify the heads of the French and English East India Companies at Bandar 'Abbas and invite them to send their vessels to trade at Basra, inasmuch as Khalil Pasha wished to repair the damage caused by past governors, and he promised them preferential protection and

¹ Folio 261 of original MSS. of *Chron. Basra*.

security. These letters were written and, when explained in Turkish by the Vicar to the acting governor, dispatched. It was the custom of the Turks for one governor not to leave his post before his successor arrived: accordingly 'Ali Pasha with his soldiers waited impatiently on the bank of the river at Muqam till 8.10.1704, when a Kapiji came in from the Grand Vizir, bidding 'Ali Pasha to hasten back to Constantinople without delay. In order that the town might not be left without a garrison, 'Ali Pasha asked the new governor's deputy for 60,000 silver scudi, two months' revenue from the town, in order to levy soldiery as guards and pay them in advance. This being refused by Sulaiman Agha, 'Ali Pasha summoned the Mufti, Qazi and chief notables and handed over the town to them together with a letter of resignation, leaving 25.10.1705. The Mutasallim paid no attention to the defences of Basra, but only to filling his purse: and knowing this Shaikh Mughamis with some 2,000 mounted Arabs made a three days' march, and after midnight on the 4th November suddenly appeared at the Rabat gate of the town, near the Residence of the Carmelites, destroyed the gate by fire and entered. Fortunately, before the town could be plundered, the notables met and handed it over to the Arab Shaikh: only one Arab had been killed and ten Turks, with some other casualties.

Apprehending the continuance in power of the Arab tribesmen the Agent of the Dutch company sought a charter from Shaikh Mughamis, and the Vicar of the Carmelites took the opportunity to present a memorial asking protection for the Residence: there is reproduced in the original Arabic in Sir H. Gollancz' work a declaration,¹ dated 12.11.1705=21 Rajab 1117 A.H., by which Shaikh Mughamis confirmed all privileges the Mission might have from the Turks, and exempted them from any taxes. Khalil Pasha, the new governor, had now reached Qurna, and the Arab Shaikh tried to inveigle the Dutch captain into joining with his ship in fighting the Turkish galleys or at any rate lending a Dutch gunner, a dilemma which might have had serious consequence, had Fr. John Athanasius not rescued him from it.

On 18th November the Arab chieftain demanded 60,000 scudi from the merchants, 500 from the Christians, Jews and Sabaeans: and under compulsion the money was furnished the same night. In the attack which followed 500 Turkish soldiers succeeded in landing, and seized the Misrak gate and pursued the plundering Arabs into the town. 256 dead Arabs were found after this affair of 20.11.1705. A day or two later Shaikh Sirhan of the Shahab tribe, an enemy of Mân'a and the Muntafiq, arrived with 2,000 tribesmen to assist the Turks: on the 25th Khalil Pasha, who had been ill with fever at Qurna, reached the town and made a solemn entry with two of his sons and at once set about putting Basra in a state of defence. The winds from the desert had heaped up sand to the top of the walls in many places: and this Pasha's solution was to compel all citizens, rich and poor, to take part personally in removing this sand and earth: by adding to them all peasants of the neighbourhood, within a fortnight he had restored the walls to their pristine condition.

To smooth the path for a fresh memorial to this new governor Fr. John Athanasius sent a present of a *pound of tea*, together with 20 cups of chinaware, which the captain of the Dutch ship before his departure had bestowed on the Vicar: this rarity of those days, together with jars of sandalwood and gillyflower oil, gave such pleasure to the sick Pasha that he granted a gracious hearing to the petition the Carmelite made for the right to restore and reopen their church. This petition was presented in writing 1.12.1705:² it opened by claiming that the

"*French Fathers . . . had resided from time immemorial in this fortified city of Basra, "by the mandate of our king, and with the consent of your most august Sultan, holding "the position of consul over the French nation . . .*",

—which was hardly consonant with past history, seeing that the consular position had first been assigned the Carmelites in 1679, and very few of the Religious had been of French nationality.

Khalil Pasha made close enquiries into the documents cited in evidence, into the cause for the orders of the former Grand Vizir that the Religious should be expelled, and into the

¹ See folio 303 of the original MSS. of *Chron. Basra*.

² *Idem*, folio 316.

antiquity of the church; but on 8th Shawwal 1117 A.H. (23.1.1706) he sent written directions to the Qazi of Basra to ascertain whether the church was in a ruined condition, or need of repair, a danger to adjoining houses of Muslims, etc. A new Qazi, recently arrived from Constantinople, who had had pleasant intercourse with the Franks at Smyrna, proved amenable: on 24.1.1706, accompanied by numerous citizens and merchants he came and opened the church: seating himself in the gallery he enquired into the conduct of the present and preceding Fathers, ascertained the dimensions and, satisfied with the answers, in a speech to those present spoke well of the prudent behaviour and other qualities of the Religious, and decided to report to Khalil Pasha that it was right to grant permission for the rebuilding of the church. Then all present left the church, and in one of the cells 'drank coffee in oriental fashion'. His report is worth quoting for the measurements given, and other descriptive matter:¹

"... the humble petition of Fr. John, rector of the Franks, who together with Husain "Agha, your commissioner, brought me Your Excellency's instructions for their church, "which had been suspended by legal process, to be inspected. We have in fact inspected "it and, having summoned men fit to give such testimony and diligently made enquiry of "them, we have found as follows: i.e. that their said house of worship has on one side the "caravansarai of Haji Qasim Simiri, and on two sides the public street, and on the other "a certain ruined and derelict house: and we ascertained its limits, and found its length to "be 27 cubits (zar'a) and its breadth 10 zar'a, and on each side are two cells, the length "and breadth of which are $2\frac{1}{2}$ zar'a, and above the door there is a gallery exclusively for "women: and that the said church is not in ruins, but its walls need replacing, i.e. with new "gach" (mortar) "to the height of about 3 zar'a: and that the said church was registered "in ancient times: and that its rectors or Religious have the office of reading the Gospel and "reciting their prayers, by which no loss or annoyance is caused to the neighbouring houses "of Muslims, nor any inconvenience to passers-by . . ."

Finally, on 3rd April, the vigil of Easter, 1706, Khalil Pasha signed and sealed with his own hand a copy of the deed of licence, drawn up by the Qazi, which permitted the reopening or restoration of the church of the Carmelites at Basra. This is reproduced in Turkish² in Sir H. Gollancz' *Settlement of the Carmelites in Mesopotamia*: and it contains the statement that:

"as in regard to other churches of the Franks an Imperial decree had been issued for their "destruction, the same had happened in regard to the church at Basra. . . ."

Permission was given to the Father

"to open his church and read prayers and the Gospel, and expound it to all Christians in "accordance with the ancient privileges granted him in the rescript of our Sultan, on "condition, however, that they do not presume or attempt to convert any Muhammadan or "Hebrew, or member of any other sect, young or adult. . . ."

This reproduction and translation in Latin of the official permit for the remaking and opening of the church was the last entry in the *Chronicle* by the sorely tried Fr. John Athanasius, for, in the words of a later handwriting:

"about the 1st March 1707 he took to his bed, and was taken up to heaven lest he should "witness a worse tragedy. . . ."

Not even the day or month of his death was ever known to his successors: he had struggled valiantly to prevent first the demolition of the church and Residence, and then to obtain that

¹ Folio 328 of original MSS., *Chron. Basra*. 1 zar'a is rather more than 1 metre.

² *Idem*, folio 336.

it should refunction, with no help from outside and only his own wits and address with the Turks. God had used him to win through and preserve the premises of the mission and its prescriptive right, then at once gave him an eternal reward. His autobiography in the *Chronicle* is full of poignant scenes and pages: and he was one of the greatest heroes, humanly speaking, of the Persian mission.

The next writer of the *Chronicle* must have been Fr. Paul Augustine of S. Stephen—see folio 338 of the original MSS.

Sometime after the death of Fr. John Athanasius, presumably in 1708 or 1711, there arrived in Basra Fr. Maurice of S. Teresa, on his way to or from the Carmelite mission in the dominions of the Mogul, of which he had just been nominated Vicar Apostolic: finding the Residence deserted he earnestly solicited from the Pasha permission to occupy it, doubtless in an endeavour to maintain continuity of tenure. The reply was a negative¹ reinforced by the threat that, should he not have departed within three days,

“his head would depart from his body, and on account of that reply he” (Mgr Maurice of S. Teresa) “sold up everything . . . and all the movables, which according to the statements of some were worth more than 600 scudi, were bought for 100 only by ‘Abdul Karim, the interpreter, who after the purchase took to his bed to die as it happened, and ‘his brother, who was his heir to those goods, became insane . . . other articles of light weight belonging to the church were removed to Shiraz, together with the spoons and similar household goods, which others still of great weight such as the candlesticks, lamps, tabernacle, and sacred pictures were left at Bandar Kung, where they were burnt by the Masqatis because of the warfare they had with the Portuguese. . . .”

“From 1707 to 1714 our house was let to captains of English or Turkish vessels, and, except during one or two years, in which the money was received from the *king* (i.e. governor), the Pasha always swallowed it: for which reason its recovery was very difficult. . . .”²

True, in December 1710 Frs. Joseph Mary of Jesus and Paul Augustine left Isfahan in an attempt to reach Basra and reopen the Residence; but they turned back from Bandar Rig. However, sometime in 1713³ the Carmelites at Isfahan received through the French ambassador at Constantinople a copy of the general farman, and another farman expressly relating to the Residence at Basra, which the Sublime Porte had issued: and Fr. Paul Augustine, who had been at Hamadan, armed with that authority was dispatched to Basra, where he arrived, 3.2.1714: see in this connection the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, 26.12.1713, from Isfahan:⁴

“. . . I have sent to Basra one of our Fathers, viz. Fr. Paul Augustine, with various *raqams* which the French envoy obtained for me from the Ottoman Porte in favour of that mission, together with letters patent as consul for the king of France . . .” (i.e. for Fr. Paul Augustine).

On arrival the Carmelite Religious went to the captain of the galleys, who received him kindly and assured him that the governor would either grant permission to take possession of the Residence or not; and, if not, then he, the captain of the galleys, would give it—for he hoped to be the future governor himself, and being an enemy of ‘Uthman Pasha, the governor in 1714, he was at the time unable to arrange matters as he would have liked.

¹ On the same principle as the inheritance by the State from persons dying without visible heirs, the Turkish government appears to have maintained the position that, when Residences such as those of the Carmelites at Basra became unoccupied through the death of the Religious in occupation, the premises lapsed to the Treasury, were sequestered.

² Folio 338 of original MSS. of *Basra Chron.*

³ *Idem*, folio 341.

⁴ *S.N.R.*, III, p. 374.

"Therefore after about a week the said Fr. Paul Augustine presented himself to 'Uthman Pasha, who after giving him sweetmeats gave him coffee¹ to drink and enquired from the Father why he had come. The latter replied that it was to present to him a letter (this was a letter of recommendation, and notifying how I was the consul for the French nation, from H.E. the French envoy Monsieur d'Andresel by name, who did much for this Residence of ours and to whom this house owes much). When he had read it, once again the Pasha said: 'Why have you come?': and I showed him a Khat-i-Sharif, i.e. the Capitulations made between the French king and the Turks. When he had read them—they were exceedingly lengthy—he said: 'They are out of date.' (They were in fact from the uncle of the young king.) I showed him the new ones in original, saying: 'By these new capitulations I ask for observance of the old ones', i.e. that he would hand back our house together with the church and caravansarai. But, as 'oil was lacking in our lamp', favourable answers were wanting too, for he said: 'I shall not give it.' . . . Still the Father persisted, saying: 'If you will not give the church, . . . at least you will grant me the house and caravansarai'. The Pasha answered: 'No.' Once more the Father persisted (saying): 'At any rate the house': and for the third time the reply was in the negative. When he heard this the Father was almost beside himself with sorrow and said: 'Very well, I shall return these letters in original to him who gave them me so that he may hand them back to their author.' To this reply not a word was said: and so, in a louder tone, he repeated the words: and the Pasha just said: 'Go away.' The Father departed and apprised the Captain Pasha of all that had passed: and, since the latter at that time had a servant, specially beloved, who was lying sick, this was a reason for his keeping his promises. So he invited the Father to come to his house, in which he was well received. When, by the favour of God and the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary the servant in question had been restored to health in a couple of days the Father addressed himself to putting in order a clock, which formerly had belonged to the Carmelites² (with this difference that it was now always either stopped or, if it was going, was erratic). So, the Captain Pasha (of the galleys) seeing from this that this Father was practised both in medicine and in putting together clocks, assigned to him a supply of provisions, i.e. of bread, butter, rice and coffee, and a candle for the evenings and all these things, because he did not eat meat. As regards the chamber" (allotted him) "it is true that it was extra fine. Once, when the Mufti saw it, he said to the Captain Pasha: 'This is too much, to put a Father in the chamber in which 'Uthman Pasha had stayed.' Thereat the Captain Pasha answered: 'I am doing this just to insult 'Uthman Pasha.' It was on the eve of (? Wednesday) in the fourth week" (*sic*—there is only one 'quartae' in the printed Latin) "in Lent, when the above-named Father was taken into the house of the Captain Pasha, and he was hoping that in the new year (with the Turks, just as with the Persians, the new year falls on the equinox of the 21st March) there would be a change in the governor: for so the Captain Pasha had held out promises to him, for which reason he" (i.e. Fr. Paul Augustine) "was thinking that he would not be staying in that house longer than 40 days, in fact less. Yet thrice forty days went by before a Kapiji arrived, and then only brought confirmation of the term of the existing governor for another year: so that the Father did not know where to turn—to remain there for a year was going to be hard, to return would be ignominious. . . . I listened to the advice to remain, because of a hope that there would be a speedy change on account of the accusations which had been made against 'Uthman Pasha under the seals of the leading men of the town, and sent by the Captain Pasha to Constantinople. At length at the beginning of the month of December there arrived as Mutasallim Hasan Pasha, and, when he was passing the evening in the house of the Captain Pasha at Minawi, the Father presented himself to the Captain Pasha, saying: 'Now is the acceptable time: now is the day desired: either now or never.' The Pasha kindly answered: 'If God wills, tomorrow I shall do your business.' But he

¹ Spelt in the original Latin of Sir H. Gollancz' edition of *Chron. Basra* "cauvé".

² See the mention of the clock borrowed from the Fathers and not sent back—Fr. Barnabas' letter of 16.12.1656.

“forgot it the following day: and the Father said to himself: ‘If not now, it will never be done: and the reason is that the Mutasallim Daftardar and other chief men of the town are all of one mind—when ever again will they be unanimous?’ The Captain Pasha replied to him: ‘Have no doubts about it: tomorrow too they will all be here, and I shall arrange it.’ On the following day, the Captain Pasha himself, and through others, by telling some, making promises to others, warning some and begging yet others, had prepared a favourable ground in the minds of all concerned individually. So in the evening (when all were reclining and chatting, not, however, about our business) the Father was warned by Haji Muhammad ‘Attar, his friend and adviser (and in truth he was that for he had good judgment) that all were sitting down, free from any business and forewarned: that there was only needed someone to begin. So the Father did as he advised, i.e. he went before those Scribes and Pharisees saying only to the Captain Pasha: ‘Sir, it is now nearly a year since I am eating your bread in your house (for which God repay you a thousand times) solely in the hope of receiving back from another governor our house: either let whom it may concern take a decision in the matter, or let him give me leave to depart: I cannot wait for anything more.’ One of those lawyers answered: ‘Do not go, but sit down and wait’: and the Captain Pasha summed up the arguments in favour of my request, pointing out the need there was of the Fathers being in Basra so that traders would come, pretending that there had been publicly said to him what Captain Baker (an English captain of a ship) had said to me, viz.: ‘How can I come here, when there are no Fathers to take my corpse to the grave after my death?’ (Here it should be noted that, should there occur the death of any infidel, i.e. a European heretic, the Fathers have to accompany him to the grave, not with prayers, as these would not profit him, but in order to obviate any scandal and so that the Turks may comprehend that on this account there is need of us here.) When he had said this, that devil the Daftardar, of a truth one of those false scribes of old, answered: ‘Have you a farman?’ The reply was in the affirmative. That rascal said: ‘Show it’: and, after he had read it, said: ‘You shall have the church with the house, but you cannot have the caravansarai, because things have to be done after due enquiries have been made, and testimony given.’ The Captain Pasha answered: ‘Here is Haji Muhammad ‘Attar who is well acquainted with everything’ and, when the Haji himself had been questioned . . . matters remained thus: and the Father replied: ‘Either Caesar or nothing, either the whole of the buildings, or nothing’: and so he departed having obtained nothing. But many came to his room telling him to take this” (i.e. the church and house alone) “for the present, and little by little he would get the caravansarai. So too said the Captain Pasha; and so he determined to take what had been said; but he” (Fr. Paul Augustine) “could never obtain from the Daftardar a writing confirming his words: and, though the Captain Pasha several times sent his servants for it, he” (the Daftardar) “was always making polite excuses. The Father had given one magnate 33½ scudi for the latter to give, as they told him, 20 of the sum to the Mutasallim and 10 to the Daftardar, the rest for the servants: and afterwards he learnt that many of those scudi had been put by that magnate into his own purse: and that was the reason why he could not get a writing from the Daftardar. So the Captain Pasha took one from the Mutasallim, and *with that writing* (or permit) in his possession Fr. Paul Augustine got into the House, where there was dwelling an Indian captain: he remained in one room in the caravansarai until that captain left after some thirty days. Then, erecting a wall of reeds to shut off the house from the caravansarai, he cleansed the House; but first of all he cleaned the church, which on the 23rd January, feast of the espousals of the Blessed Virgin Mary, he espoused to her by blessing it and celebrating the first sacrifice” (i.e. offering the first Mass).¹

Thus possession was regained of the church and Residence *after some 8 years*, during which they had remained *sequestered* by the Turks. In his letter of 12.4.1715 Fr. Paul Augustine

¹ Folios 341–5 of original MSS. of *Chron. Basra*, as in Sir H. Gollancz’ edition, *Settlement of the Carmelites*.

wrote that the chalice had been stolen, and he was unable to have Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament: his letter in September of that year mentioned that on feast-days as many as 60 persons came to the church¹—"there is no other church". His letters appealed to the Sac. Congregation for more missionaries: for, as he pointed out, should he die without a companion, once again the Turkish officials might sequester the premises, on the same claim as they had done in 1707.

"From Hasan Pasha Fr. Paul Augustine, while alone and without any companion, "obtained through the new Daftardar, who was his friend because he" (i.e. Fr. Paul Augustine) "had cured him several times, a *document in original*, by which *both house and caravan-sarai* were granted to us; but, because this Pasha was deposed and the Kapiji, who brought "the order of deposition of the Pasha, was on very friendly terms with the Father, the "latter was unwilling to lose the opportunity, and obtained a new charter from the new "Pasha, who was named Rajab Pasha—but always by oiling their palms. . . ."²

Repairs which took place after Easter 1716 cost 400 scudi, out of which 120 were received from the Vicar Provincial; when the new Fr. Vicar Provincial, Fr. Faustin, arrived from Europe in December 1716 at Basra he made a further gift of 50 scudi, for

"the sacristy was in danger, two walls of it, one in front and the other to the left of the "entrance, being in a tumble-down condition and, had they collapsed, it is certain that "the church also would have collapsed too, or received much damage. . . ."³

It is to be noted that for several years, from 11.12.1717 to 1724, the dates in *Chron. Basra* are according to the old calendar, i.e. as used among the Eastern Churches; but the innovation, made by the Vicar with the object of conciliating and winning the goodwill of schismatics, was condemned from Rome, and abandoned in the latter year:⁴

"While in 1716 the governor of Basra was Muhammad⁵ Pasha, son of Hasan Pasha, "governor of Baghdad . . . against whom neither from citizens nor foreigners were there "ever any complaints,"

his locum tenens, Muhammad Kiaia, was particularly rapacious, and

"the Fr. Vicar having been summoned by him 22.2.1716, he" (the Kiaia) "asked him for "the amount of the rent or hire of our House and our caravansarai adjoining it and tried "to exact it, just as if we dwelt in our House not as owners, but as guests; we should not "only pay for the current year, he said, but he even wanted to be given the money for the "space of many years past: unless his demand had been rejected, it would have meant a "very great expense to us . . . but, by showing him the texts of the decrees from the "Sultan and orders of former governors of Basra, the Fr. Vicar was able to get the demand "withdrawn. . . ."⁶

"Among the gifts, with which William Keble, commander, and James Nevill, 'merchant' "of the English ship the *Joseph* from Bengal enriched our House and church were three "sundials:⁷

another English ship, the *Catherine*, on 26.8.1719 brought Chinese vases as part of its cargo:

¹ There were 6 Catholic households only in 1719, but many traders, etc. (see Fr. Faustin, O.C.D. 242 b.).

² Folio 347 of original MSS. of *Chron. Basra* in Sir H. Gollancz' edition. ³ *Idem*, folio 348. ⁴ *Idem*, folio 413.

⁵ Though *Chron. Basra* spells the name 'Mahamed' it was really the famous Ahmad, Pasha of Baghdad, himself from 1725 till his death in 1747.

⁶ Folio 358 of original MSS. of *Chron. Basra* in Sir H. Gollancz' edition.

⁷ *Idem*, folio 360.

"On 1.4.1719 the building of that part of our caravansarai, which faces the west, was begun . . . much to the advantage of our House: formerly it had been very small and despicable. . . . So the large chamber, which for many years past had collapsed, was built up anew and the rooms adjoining it renovated, a new portico in front of the chambers erected, the gateway raised, for, too low formerly . . . at the time of the rains it exposed the whole caravansarai to the water pouring in from three streets. At huge expense and no small trouble the building was re-erected in that form which is now seen. On the same occasion there was also built a very necessary and high wall, which extended from the eastern side of our caravansarai as far as the house known as Aslan's. . . .¹

"About the end of June" (1720) "Hamid Pasha" (i.e. the afterwards famous Ahmad Pasha) "after 3½ years' government of the town was removed, and there was appointed as its governor Mustafa Pasha, of whom there is nothing special to mention, save that he had come here very poor and left here extremely wealthy. For since in this year about 11 ships had come from India, he was so enriched out of receipt of the customary gifts and the levying of government taxes. . . . This aforesaid Mustafa Pasha had governed the citadel of Belgrade at that time when the invincible and ever august Emperor Charles VI . . . stormed and recovered it . . . and had taken away a number of Christian prisoners. Among them was a young Polish Catholic who used to visit our House and church . . . on 6th November he went on board one of the two English ships . . . which immediately set sail and bore him to Indian shores. . . . This is an excellent occupation . . . to watch over the escape of Christian prisoners among the Turks. . . ."²

About February 1721³

"Mustafa Pasha, governor of the town, was replaced by Sirkuh (? Sarkash) 'Uthman Pasha, whose most wicked rapacity and sordid avarice was made manifest in many occurrences: . . . just as I could not put them into writing without horror, so they would not be read by others without abhorrence. For he had come loaded with huge debts, hoping to settle them, and since he was unable to do so with his own money he tried to do this with the money of others . . . and he so harassed this town and its borders at the beginning of his governorship in particular that he appeared not to have come to govern, but to despoil, ravage and plunder it."

Three men were overcome by gas, and perished in a well behind the Carmelite church, when it was being cleaned out in 1722: and Fr. Paul Augustine, accused by malicious parties of having administered poison to them, and in the toils of greedy Turkish officials, had to pay under threats 420 scudi as blood money. There is an interesting document in Turkish (reproduced in folio 407 of the original MSS. of *Chron. Basra*) drawn up by the judge on the 26th Z'ul Hijjah 1134, and countersigned by the governor, Ahmad Pasha, on the 16th Muharram of the next year: after recounting the claims by the relatives, who alleged that the Father had given the men something, telling them to drink when they would suffer no discomfort in the work, and that each of the dead had received a cup at his hands and drunk of it,

"I, the judge, questioned the Father, who admitted that he had made an agreement with each for one mahmudi = 2 shahi to clean out the well, but denied that he had given them anything to drink."

Fr. Paul Augustine was by his own account heroic in that alone of the crowd that assembled, he volunteered to descend the foetid well, and brought up the dead men.⁴

At this period there was much trade with Basra, largely by English and French ships: and in 1723, on the occasion of the visit of a French vessel,

¹ Folio 364 of original MSS. of *Chron. Basra*, as edited by Sir H. Gollancz in his *Settlement of the Carmelites in Mesopotamia*.

² *Idem*, folio 367.

³ *Idem*, folio 391.

⁴ *Idem*, folios 402-8.

"Fr. Paul Augustine obtained from Hamid Pasha that the French should pay, as is the custom at Constantinople, Smyrna, etc. . . . where all Europeans pay 5 per cent for textile goods (commonly called *Qumash*¹), and on goods by weight, e.g. wood, lead, etc., 6 per cent. . . . It should be known that there are many questions which have arisen in regard to the Capitulations, and . . . therefore on the following day the Kiaia, i.e. the chief official of the Pasha, said to me. 'On textile goods you will pay 3 per cent, on other merchandise 5 per cent.' . . . I said: 'As to the second category, let it be neither 3 nor 5, but 4.' The Kiaia answered: 'To oblige you, so be it'":

and the French 'merchant' or supercargo concerned, at the request of the Carmelite Religious, admitted in writing the obligation due to the latter for negotiating this concession:

"Je certifie que le révérend Père Paul Augustin de St. Etienne a procuré à la nation française de Hamed² Bacha un firman par le quel il acord à la Royale Compagnie de France de ne payer que trois pour 100 pour les marchandises, le quatre pour 100 pour les marchandises qu'on pèse pour la douanne, le quel a fait exécuter le susdit firman. Fait à Bassora le 15 février 1723" (according to the revision of the calendar).
"Baptiste Martin."³

From another French ship, the *S. François Xavier*, which arrived 14.8.1723 at Basra, on its departure, 16.1.1724, by which date all its wares had been sold, 3,000 piastres were left as a donation to the Carmelites, and

"a box of white wax candles, which might be worth 3 Tumans. Let the reader know this, that in future our church will benefit from my industry, just as the merchants benefit. . . ."⁴

After more than ten years' residence and vicariate, 8.10.1724, Fr. Paul Augustine retired to his province in Europe. Here the names of other Religious serving in the mission at Basra may be cited:

Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, 11.2.1714 to 8.9.1715, and a second time when, after being created Vicar Apostolic for the diocese of Baghdad, he returned to Mesopotamia, 2.9.1722 to 8.10.1724.⁵
Fr. Urban of S. Elisaeus, 2.6.1716 to March 1717: and 2.5.1718 to 1722, and from March 1725 to 12.1.1728: 1.5.1731 to 28.8.1732.
Fr. Faustin of S. Charles, as Vicar Provincial, 5.2.1717 to 26.2.1717.
Fr. Antony Francis of S. Joseph, 17.5.1717 to 26.12.1717.

The next Vicar was Fr. Placid of S. Nicolas, who had arrived in the mission, 7.2.1721. At first he was alone:

"At that time, by order of 'Abdur Rahman Pasha, the canal in the town was being cleaned out, and the work was finished 8.11.1724: the cost was 12,000 piastres, all contributing to such a sum, and, when they called on me for money, I replied that it is not the custom for Europeans to pay anything on such occasions, especially the French: and so I gave nothing."⁶

Under Fr. Placid a thorough restoration of the premises at Basra took place—it is to be noted that the Turkish officials no longer imposed those restrictions on rebuilding and restoration that prevailed in 1680–1705:

¹ This is the Persian and Arabic word for 'piece-goods'.

² Folios 410–1 of original MSS. of *Chron. Basra*, edit. by Sir H. Gollancz.

³ 'Hamed' here = Ahmad Pasha.

⁴ *Idem*, folio 412.

⁵ Only a few days before his departure, 28.9.1724, he wrote to the Sacr. Cong. (*S.N.R.*, III, p. 584) "of the Arabs having besieged this town".

⁶ Folio 414 of original MSS., *Chron. Basra*, edit. Sir H. Gollancz.

" . . . Two years before we were thinking of building a new house of stone . . . since there were nearly 1,000 piastres in the chest I decided to spend that money on building. . . . Therefore, on 22.1.1725 I made a beginning of pulling down the old house, and, when it had been razed to the ground, I designed the plan for the new house after the style of this region rather than otherwise. So I got busy on making strong foundations and, when these were carefully completed, on 17.2.1725 I determined to lay the first stone. So, having said Mass very early for that intention, in the Name of God, I laid the first stone, and the master masons then began to carry forward the work to the great pleasure of all present: and the fabric was raised by stones called locally 'Ballut', inside and outside, during the space of two days to the height of 5 palms:¹ afterwards bricks were laid inside and outside, and the fabric was raised to the height of 10 palms, and when these were laid I stopped work to let the new building settle. At that time such was the number of thieves in this town that the Pasha himself used to perambulate the streets at night time: and I placed four men on guard in the house, and used to remain with them until nearly midnight.

" . . . Till the 21st April I continued to work on the house, but on that day had to cease, because out of fear of the Arabs and robbers the Pasha ordered all men living in Basra to rise and gather early in the morning outside the town to remove from below the walls of the town the earth which had been heaped up by the winds. So this was done for nearly 15 days, the governor himself, 'Abdur Rahman Pasha, with his entourage and the inhabitants of the town were working for 3 hours outside the gate called 'Bab-ur-Rabat'—first the Pasha removed a little earth, then he sat down till work ended with the blowing of trumpets. On such an occasion no European went out on such work, although some man from the people asked me why I was not going and working. I answered him: 'When your king sends some magnate of your people to the king of France, he is not obliged to remove earth: on the contrary he receives every courtesy by custom: and you should do the same to us in your countries.'² When the removal of the earth was finished I returned to the work on the house, and on 1.6.1725 everything was completed, and at the same time the house was let to merchants who had arrived from Bengal and Surat.³

"The outlay on this building . . . from the arch over the corridor to the end I reckoned and got down to the sum of 4,300 'abbasi, besides that which was afterwards spent on whitening and plastering the rooms, etc. . . ."

(In para. 419 of the original MSS. of *Chron. Basra*, see Sir H. Gollancz's edition, Fr. Placid returned to the building of the house and appears to refer to the same reconstruction, but dated the completion of the work 1.6.1727, instead of 1.6.1725, as in para. 415, and gave the total expenses as 5,325 'abbasi, besides a later outlay of 400 'abbasi,

"and this money was not spent from that provided by Rome, but from the receipts of my 'sweat and industry, and 'the blood' of benefactors: and on 2.6.1727, a French ship arriving, the house was let to the captain and 'merchant' " (chartered).

On 8.10.1726 a Spanish gentleman, who had arrived at Basra from Surat sick with dysentery and lodged with the Carmelites, died and was buried in the Carmelite habit in the middle of the church. He gave 200 *rupees* for Masses and another 200 for being buried inside the church: and when his brother departed for Baghdad two days later, he also left nearly 100 *rupees* in effects and money.

¹ A Roman 'palm' = approx. 25 centimetres, so that 10 'palms' = approx. 7½ feet.

² According to folio 419 the treasurer—Daftardar—called on Fr. Placid to contribute 60 mahmudi (= 6 krans in modern denomination) to the expenses, but he refused.

³ Folios 419–20 of original MSS. *Chron. Basra*, edit. Sir H. Gollancz. Perhaps this was not the Residence proper, but the 'caravansarai', or guest-house, which was thus rebuilt, though the Latin is 'domus'.

“At this time” (i.e. 1727) “the waters of the river, leaving their bed, inundated the desert and flowed up to the gate of the town called Bab-ur-Rabat, and all around it was “a sea rather than the desert . . . at night time there was heavy rainfall. This lasted till “the month of September of this year 1727, when the banks of the river were repaired.”

An epidemic set in: Fr. Placid took to his bed, 17.9.1727, and received the Viaticum, 20.9.1727; but, visited by the agent of the East India Company, Mr. French, and other Englishmen, he was cupped in the neck and after excision a quantity of “green-coloured water” was evacuated and, having been bled, he recovered. Fr. Urban also fell ill: and, when expecting to die, they had made over the effects in the church and House (doubtless apprehending a repetition of Turkish sequestration unless they had heirs in residence) to Mr. French, who was a Catholic from Ireland. The epidemic lasted 2½ months, from 15.9.1727 to the end of November, during which time nearly 8,000 persons died in the town and suburbs, and only on the cold weather setting in, did the malady cease ¹

In the month of April 1728 an English ship arrived, and the charterer or ‘merchant’ hired the “large house commonly called the caravansarai, which I let to him for one year, after “making a contract, at 2,000 ‘abbasi per annum”.

In May 1729 Fr. Placid again let

“our large house, together with the ‘Aslan’ house adjoining us, for one year for 48 Tumans “to a French ‘merchant’.”

About the same time the Vicar purchased

“a tiny house containing two chambers and a roof which was adjoining the site acquired by me “at the end of our House in front of the door of the church, a house which I bought for the “price of 200 piastres or 9 Tumans”

from an Armenian priest, who was being expelled from the town and had out of necessity to sell.² The previous year (1728) a certain Christian as agent for a man in Baghdad, had tried to sell to this Armenian priest a piece of ground next to the House of the Carmelites, and also next to the door of the church. The Vicar

“had often heard that this piece of ground had been long ago presented to our church”:

and now, after having in vain applied to the Qazi for permission to retain possession, through an agent in Baghdad secured title-deeds from the man in Baghdad by expending 25 piastres.³

In November 1728 in his guise as ‘consul’ Fr. Placid put it to the merchants of the French East India Company that they need not pay more than 3 per cent duty on all classes of goods according to the Capitulations—not 3 per cent on tissues, 4 per cent on other goods, as negotiated by the previous Vicar in 1723: so with them he called on the then governor, Muhammad Pasha, presenting at the same time for inspection his commission or ‘consular ‘patents’—they were in the French language,

“the Royal Patents from our king of France, by which the Father Superior of this our “church was consul of the French, so that I might have the *entrée*, and receive respect “from the Turks in any future need of our House and church”.⁴

¹ Folios 421–2 of the original MSS. of *Chron. Basra*, as edited by Sir H. Gollancz in *Settlement of the Carmelites*.

² *Idem*, folio 428, as edited by Sir H. Gollancz.

³ *Idem*, folio 423.

⁴ *Idem*, folio 425.

But, having read the Capitulations, or 'Khat-i-Sharif, Muhammad Pasha declined to make any change in what his predecessors had taken. The matter was referred to the French ambassador at Constantinople, therefore. By 7.10.1729 the replies of the French envoy had been received and enclosed therein a 'farman' from the Grand Vizir, and a letter from him to the governor, ordering that not more than 3 per cent should be taken from the French. The governor, however, declined and wrote to the Grand Vizir representing that to do this would be contrary to Turkish interests. A short while before Mr. French, the "English 'Resident'" at Basra for the English East India Company had been 'shut out' for a similar claim.¹ In July 1731 the Vicar and others

"had worked hard to obtain from 'Abdur Rahman Pasha, who had recently arrived to govern Basra, that the French should pay 3 per cent, which was done by paying about "2,000 piastres. . . ."

However, although from Pondicherry Fr. Placid received letters of thanks for his services in this connection, other persons, unnamed in the *Chronicle*, both wrote and spoke censoriously of the Carmelite Vicar on account of this secular activity of his, so that

"I determined that I would do nothing in future, nor mix myself up in worldly business. "Let my successors beware . . . that it is the custom of laymen to stone us for good "works. . . . On 7.1.1732 there arrived from our French envoy in Constantinople a new "farman from the Grand Signor and king of the Turks, to the effect that the French should "pay according to the Capitulations 3 per cent and not otherwise, and so what had been "done with money before was confirmed and the said 'farman' is to be found registered "in the tribunal (Muhakameh). . . ."²

It is to be noted that from June 1732 for several months no less than 6 Fathers were in choir at Basra.

In the meanwhile, in February 1730 the governor, Muhammad Pasha, had become involved in difficulties with

"Ibn Mān'a, the leader of the Arabs, since Ibn Mān'a had occupied some hamlets: so the "governor, in order to capture him, sent the fleet to Qurna with the Captain Pasha of "the galleys and all the soldiers, keeping back for himself 80 men armed with muskets: "when the flotilla had left, they could have captured Ibn Mān'a, but because the captain "of the galleys was very friendly with Ibn Mān'a himself, he allowed him to escape: and "afterwards, when he (Ibn Mān'a) was safe in a place, he (the captain) began to fire off "his guns. So for the space of 1½ months as it were warfare with the Arabs reigned, and "in that period butter, meat, etc., were dear in price, as the Arabs allowed nothing to "enter the town, and there was a fear that they would penetrate into it. Wherefore, the "7th March, when some Arabs had been seen near the Mizrak gate, by night the governor" (sent—omitted in Latin text) "80 infantrymen on his own mules, and at the same time "almost 80 horsemen and very early in the morning they were near Zubair and, finding "there the Arabs, who attacked the Turks more by shouting than by force, the 80 infantry "were killed and others fled wounded, leaving behind their mules, muskets and everything "else, which the Arabs took as booty. But afterwards when the governor heard of this, "he was much upset: however, the time of Ramazan had begun, and so he recalled the "naval flotilla: and affairs remained thus in suspense, Shaikh Annis [? sic] fleeing to Baghdad, "and Ibn Mān'a beyond Zubair: so for travelling the road became safe again and victuals "began to be sold at their former prices. . . ."³

¹ Folio 432, of original MSS. of *Chron. Basra*, as edited by Sir H. Gollancz.

² *Idem*, folio 437, *Settlement of the Carmelites in Mesopotamia*.

³ *Idem*, folio 433.

All 1731

"with wars threatening in Persia, we were apprehending an invasion by the Persians from "the direction of Hawaizeh":¹

id again in June 1732:

"... at this time the town of Basra began to be alarmed about the forces of Tahmasp Quli Khan, some saying that he would come by Hawaizeh, others that, when he had "taken the city of Baghdad, it would be very easy to get hold of Basra. . . ."²

On 7.1.1733 Tahmasp Quli Khan, general of the Persian army,³ began to besiege Baghdad on the Persian side: and in the month of February, with the help of

"the Chief of the Bani Lam Arabs, crossed the river: and the Persians had a battle with "the Turks, with whom there were some Arabs and Ibn Mān'a; but the Turks fled, so that "Tahmasp Quli Khan with his army was master of that part of Baghdad: wherefore the "siege became the more effective and closer.

"After some days the Persian army advanced and took Hillah, together with a vast "store of wheat and barley. At this time we were consumed by no small alarm, some "fearing that the Arabs would come from Hillah along with the Persians, others were "saying that the Persians would come by sea to capture Basra, and so all the citizens got "to arms and, thus accoutred, awaited a disaster and the destruction of Basra.

"Meanwhile 'Ali Agha, the Mutasallim, together with the Captain Pasha (of the galleys) "had charge of the town, at the same time as Shaikh Annis [*? sic*]. At the end of February "there arrived from Surat an English ship, captain Jamieson, and the arrival of that ship "brought some relief to the Europeans: and so, during the whole month of March, there "was great apprehension and we were preparing every day to secrete the property of the "church and House.

"On the 2nd April 1733—it was Holy Thursday—in the evening we heard a tumult in "the town. People were saying that the Arabs of Amir Ta'a were near the town: the "affright and alarm was a terrible thing for all: we saw the Mutasallim come at night-time "to the Rabat gate. Early in the morning of Good Friday we hid many silver utensils, "and the vestments from the church, and after sunset up to 10 p.m. worked to hide away "the remaining effects of our House—in sooth it was a day of the Passion: from now on "we abandoned in part the church ceremonies.

"On Holy Saturday, by order of the Mutasallim all gathered with arms for the protection "of the town. Our Christians from Basra and Baghdad and the other foreigners had as "their leader Jacob Amir Jan, and the Armenians from Julfa as their leader Khwajeh "Gaspar, by order of the governor or Mutasallim: and so everyone with their arms and "ensigns assembled in front of the palace of the Mutasallim and, when they had saluted "him by firing off their arquebuses, they went off to man the ramparts of the town, and "all the Turks did the same, so that the number almost reached 8,000 men, lest the Arabs "should suddenly enter the town. Thus we celebrated the Easter festival in no small "sadness.

"Very early in the morning of 17th April we heard that the Arabs of Amir Ta'a had "arrived near the Rabat gate of the town: so all, who had come back from the night watch, "hastened there and, finding nothing, tried to go back to sleep.

"By the end of April 1733 vessels began to arrive from Bengal: the first was an English "one, the next a French ship named *L'Union*, and the third one English, a frigate, which "remained here with their merchandise, that out of fear they were unable to sell or even "put on shore.

¹ Folio 437 of original MSS. of *Chron. Basra*, as edited by Sir H. Gollancz in *Settlement of the Carmelites in Mesopotamia*.

² *Idem*, para. 439.

³ *Idem*, folio 440.

"At this time nothing but false news circulated. The Persians said that Baghdad had fallen, the Turks said that the Turkish army had arrived, and the relief of Baghdad was at hand. . . . The Captain Pasha went off to Qurna with the galleys to prevent the Arabs of Amir Ta'a from delivering Qurna into the hands of the Persians: he so managed matters that Amir Ta'a fell into the hands of Ibn Mān'a. It happened thus, that on the 2nd July Amir Ta'a came to the place where Ibn Mān'a was with the intention of cutting his throat; but Ibn Mān'a was the more prompt, and, before he returned his salutation, ordered his men to bind him (Amir Ta'a): and when the followers of Amir Ta'a heard this, they took to flight. So Ibn Mān'a sent the said Amir Ta'a bound to the galleys of the Captain Pasha, who was staying at Qurna, and the latter of the following day sent him, escorted by Ibn Mān'a and some soldiers, to Basra. On the 3rd July we heard a great uproar and saw them leading Amir Ta'a bound upon a mule to the Kiaia or Mutasallim: the latter consigned him to the dungeons and ordered him to be put in chains. During five days they several times examined and interrogated him regarding his accomplices in the rebellion, while he" (Amir Ta'a) "was thinking he could obtain release by payment of money. But Shaikh Annis (? sic) on behalf of Ibn Mān'a demanded his death. Therefore at midday on the 9th July the sentence of the Mutasallim was executed, which ordered that he should die impaled; and so he was led out of prison on the day in question in the midst of a concourse of people and soldiers to the square, young men carrying a pole in front of Amir Ta'a. When the place had been specified by the executioner, he ordered that Amir Ta'a should be put on the ground: and, when this was done, the executioner applied the pole to his fundament (orifice of the bowel) and struck on it until the people saw the pole come out below his throat: and shortly afterwards he died in great ignominy. When he was dead, they lifted up the pole and left it planted in the ground for several days. That same day the town obtained its liberty, and by orders of the Mutasallim the inhabitants ceased to guard it; because there remained no ground for fear seeing that Amir Ta'a had been removed: and so everybody began to live with a little more peace of mind and we brought out some of the articles we had hidden.¹

". . . On 16.8.1733 there came an Agha from Baghdad with a farman from Hamid,² Pasha of Baghdad, who at that time held the governorship of Basra: and the farman was read in public, to the effect that the army of Topal 'Uthman Pasha, the Turkish general, after 9 hours' sanguinary battle had defeated the Persian army under general Tahmasp Quli Khan: those surviving together with Tahmasp Quli Khan fled towards Kirmanshah, and the Turks took possession of the Persian artillery and other effects, together with many prisoners. And so the gates of Baghdad were opened, and it was delivered on 17.7.1733 from the siege by Tahmasp Quli Khan. Consequently there was great rejoicing at Basra on the receipt of such news, salutes being fired again and again by the artillery, not only that of the town, but also by all the European ships which were at anchor in the Shatt.

"And on the 18th August there arrived a new Mutasallim, sent by Hamid³ Pasha to govern Basra, bringing another farman in confirmation of the first: and again with joyous celebrations and artillery salutes they proclaimed the victory over the Persians. It would pass the limits of comprehension to describe what Baghdad suffered during the time of the siege. One mān of wheat reached 200 piastres and yet was not to be had: they ate all the mules, camels, donkeys and horses, except for two horses left for Hamid Pasha: and dogs and cats, bats and similar unclean animals . . . were also eaten because of hunger and famine: some people even said that infants had been eaten.

"Hamid Pasha⁴ had coined into money all the gold and silver in his treasury and distributed it in pay to the soldiers, lest they should by force open the gates of the city to the Persians on account of the straits and famine they were suffering. When the victory had been won, little by little corn began to be sold at a more reasonable price, also other victuals. Once the fact of the victory was certain, we and everyone else in Basra with

¹ Folio 443 of original MSS. of *Chron. Basra*, edited by Sir H. Gollancz.

², ³ and ⁴ 'Hamid' = Ahmad Pasha.

"our own hands brought out whatever we had hidden. And the merchants, Europeans "as well as orientals, began to bring their goods ashore from the ships to the houses, to "make contracts, and travel to and from Baghdad was open to traders.¹ On 23.9.1733 "there arrived from Mokha a Portuguese ship under the French flag with coffee and sugar "candy: on 2.10.1733 'Ali Agha, who had been Mutasallim during the siege, died. . . ."²

Chron. Basra, as produced by Sir H. Gollancz in his *Settlement of the Carmelites in Mesopotamia*, ends with the year 1733: and much of the following data is taken from *Cont. Basra Chron.*, edited by Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia in 1934 from another manuscript traced by him in the archives of the Order.

In 1737 there was an epidemic, from which Fr. Charles Balthazar died 4.11.1737: most of the merchants, including the Europeans, left the town and went to hamlets round, among them Mr. French, the English 'Resident', who, however, died of a fever on his return to the town: the Carmelite Father sent to attend his sick-bed and give him the consolations of the faith was, however, not admitted by the English staff of the East India Company, and so he died without the last Sacraments to the great grief of the missionaries; for, though "he had lived after the English fashion" and not practised his religion, he had been born in Ireland of Catholic parents, and had constantly shown kindness to and assisted the Carmelites.³ In 1730, when the Armenian Agapiet of Julfa had left a legacy for Masses, accepted by the efinitory General in Rome—2,000 isolatas=piastres (assessed at 1 'abbasi for each Mass), for the Carmelite missionaries in Persia, this money had been placed by the Vicar Provincial in interest in the hands of Mr. French, but the latter dying with debts, only 30 out of 90 'Basri' humans were recovered from the assets and paid to the Vicar Provincial.

On 26.6.1739 there arrived from Pondicherry Monsieur Pierre Martainville

"furnished with a royal commission to reside as the *first* consul for the French nation, "whose arrival afforded pleasure to the merchants and notables: forthwith he made a "request for the erection of the French flag from Ahmad Pasha, then administering Basra "through a Mutasallim. . . . His first step was to require to be handed over to him by "the Vicar Provincial the documents and commissions kept in our archives . . . and the "consul refused to give them back. On an appeal being made to Constantinople, Monsieur "de Villeneuve, the ambassador, replied that it was proper that correspondence concerning "the business of the Company should be kept in the consular archives, but the rest and "those that regarded the mission church and our House ought to be handed back . . . on "one pretext or another, however, we recovered nothing. . . ."

The Carmelites had much to suffer from his incursions into the domain of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and privilege:

¹ Folios 445-7 of original MSS. of *Chron. Basra*, edited by Sir H. Gollancz.

² *Idem*, folio 448.

³ He clearly had great influence with the Turks, for Fr. Emmanuel of S. Albert, pro-Vicar Apostolic, writing from Baghdad, 8.3.1736 (*S.N.R.*, IV, p. 375) refers to the

"English Consul of Basra has come to Baghdad on business: he is my particular friend, rather the friend of all the "missionaries: and his recommendations to" (i.e. influence with) "the Pasha and notables contribute greatly towards making "the Catholic Faith triumph in this fine mission, because the said consul is that one who freed Basra some months ago "from invasion by the Arabs and Persians. . . ."

In his *Viaggi*, vol. 2, Rome, 1758, p. 172, Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia thus speaks of the great influence of Mr. French:

" . . . Mr. French had been begged by Ahmad Pasha to defend that town" (Basra), "just as the latter, at the time of "the first siege of Baghdad, had begged him to allow him a ship, in which to send his" (i.e. the Pasha's) "ladies to "Bengal: and not only did the consul at once give him the ship, but in addition he offered himself personally to go with "it as escort, if that should be agreeable to His Excellency. . . . When Tahmasp Quli Khan sent a body of men to help "the Arabs his allies under the Khan of Hawaizeh to seize Basra, this Persian force was repulsed by three English ships "waiting in the Shatt-ul-Arab to return to India after the monsoon. By these two acts of courtesy he so gained the "affection and esteem of that prince" (i.e. Ahmad Pasha) "that, besides having paid him great honour, twice he" (the Pasha) "invited him to come from Basra and visit Baghdad: on the first occasion he made him" (Mr. French) "a present "of the value of 20 purses of gold, on the second a present of over 30 purses, together with the dagger that the Pasha "himself wore at his waist, all ornamented with precious stones. . . ."

" . . . To this consul we owe in great part our House at Baghdad, for it was enlarged with the 800 piastres which he "gave as a gift to Fr. Emmanuel. . . . I will further add to his eternal praise that no missionary ever arrived in Basra "on his way through, to whom he" (Mr. French) "did not give a sufficient sum in alms. . . ."

"The first dispute that arose concerned his place in the church, and at certain fixed functions his seat was placed among the priests: on Sundays after sung Mass the prayer "for the king" (i.e. of France) "is sung, and it became necessary to add one for the consul (even though this had not so far been provided by the Church), as he relied on and took advantage of an abuse which, though it had crept into parts of Syria, was unheard-of here and was not even allowed in the French colonies at Mahé and Pondicherry for their governors. . . .

"He presumed even so far as to claim that the missionaries ought not to absolve . . . apostates, who had come again to a right mind, without his permission, and to ascribe it as a crime to us because we lighted more candles in the church on the feast-day of our holy Mother Teresa than on the feast of S. Louis. For more than six decades our Fathers here under the protection of the merciful Almighty had led their lives, the objects of the particular regard of, and honoured by, orthodox, heterodox, and Muhammadans, when with a singular lack of wisdom they dispatched Fr. Angelus of S. Joseph to Constantinople to obtain the royal protection from the French envoy—we shall not deny that they were decorated with a most munificent commission, but from those premisses there came to pass all that Samuel of old had foretold would happen from a royal jurisdiction."¹

However, 8.11.1741, when he had been consul for 28 months, Monsieur Martainville died of a malignant fever, aged about 34, an exemplary Catholic death, humbly asking pardon of the Fathers, bequeathing to them 450 'abbasi for burial in their church, another 675 'abbasi for Masses for his soul, 400 rupees for distribution to the poor: he was duly interred inside the church. In November of the previous year, 1740, the news had reached Basra of the death at Bandar 'Abbas, 29.10.1740, of the first Resident there of the 'Royal French East India Company', his 'chancellor' having perished earlier in the month:

"and, when the French Company learnt of their deaths, it *suppressed* their business house recently set up in that pestiferous region . . .",

the first-named had in his lifetime had a Mass celebrated every Sunday for him by the Fathers at Basra.²

Next there is recorded a typical comedy of Turkish official duplicity and chicanery. Early in the following year, 29.1.1741,

"when the rebel Arabs rose and threatened to make an inroad into the town, the Mutasallim ordered both Turks and Christians to keep watch on the walls of the town at night (we hid the more valuable objects belonging to the church) until on 5.4.1741 Ahmad Pasha of Baghdad made his entry into this town with 15,000 horse and freed us from fear of an attack. . . . After some skirmishes with them, contrary to every expectation, however, he made peace with them. Therefore, a chief of the Arabs, named Sa'dun, brother of 'Abdullah, known as Muntafiq, accompanied by many horsemen, having pitched his tents in the vicinity of the town began, not by right of war, but on the ground of the peace made, to levy a large contribution in money from the hamlets, compelling them to supply not only himself and his men with corn, but over and above obliging the merchants, notables and the very Mutasallim under the specious guise of a gift, to provide him with whatever he required to suit his pleasure. So Basra, burdened with so many trials, protested against the onerous peace and its author; but grumbling ceased as soon as we learnt the reason for the peace concluded. For Ahmad Pasha had information from Constantinople that he had been removed from the governorship of the province, and that a certain Hasan Pasha, who some years previously had governed Basra, had

¹ *Cont. Basra Chron.*, pp. 14–6 of original MSS. in Archives Casa, Gen. O.C.D. see under years 1678–9 of this story of the mission at Basra regarding the recourse of the missionaries to French official protection, with the incubus of which *volentes volentes* they were saddled in future.

² p. 21 of original MSS. of *Cont. Basra Chron.*

"been appointed. Having heard of this, the shrewd Ahmad Pasha with the greatest address "had concluded peace with the said Sa'dun, rightly having in mind that, were the latter "to rise against the new governor, he himself would fish the more comfortably in the "muddied waters.

"The result proved this to be correct for, 8.9.1741, when the new Mutasallim had hardly "entered the town, accompanied by a few soldiers, to irritate, provoke and mock him the "more Sa'dun pitched his tents outside the ramparts, and there having set up a 'court of "justice' began like an absolute judge to try the claims of citizens and merchants at his "pleasure and, under the pretext of affording justice, to subject the town to his yoke: as "the Mutasallim was not strong enough to meet force with force in a short space of time "almost all the merchants transferred themselves and their goods to townships along the "shores of the Persian Gulf. When they saw this, the notables of the town unanimously "agreed (in accordance with the objective of Ahmad Pasha) to submit and represent to "the Sultan by written memorials that, if he wished to retain this province and town, he "should commit the government of it once more to Ahmad Pasha, whom alone they "considered capable enough to coerce the Arabs. As we learnt on 2.11.1741 the emperor" (i.e. Sultan) "granted the petition of the notables, and Ahmad Pasha was confirmed" (as governor) "on condition that he would break the peace with the Arabs and wage war on "them. Consequently Sahia [*?* *sic* Yahya] Agha, who had previously administered Basra "as Mutasallim for the said Ahmad, to the general applause returned from Minawi and "reassumed the governorship, and . . . on the same day of his entry Sahia" (*?* Yahya) "Agha ordered the gates of the town to be shut, and all to keep watch and ward day and "night on the ramparts, knowing for certain that Ahmad's army had advanced against "the Arabs on the 13th December. Our people were still in accordance with the governor's "orders guarding the walls, when on the 11th of the same month the army of Ahmad "under the leadership of Sulaiman Kiaia threw itself on the Arabs, and after a stout and "fluctuating fight obtained at last a complete victory over them. The head of Sa'dun was "cut off and sent to Constantinople. On account of this victory and tranquillity restored "to the province, for three successive days and nights the whole town resounded with "festivities: and in Constantinople Sulaiman was appointed a Pasha of two tails."¹

While the Arab rising was in progress and the town without anyone with authority in charge the Carmelites

"seized the opportunity to construct a choir behind the altar and to enlarge two rooms "at the sides, on the building of which, begun 11.9.1741 and finished before the feast-day "of S. Teresa, they spent approximately 40 Tumans, 12 of which were furnished by our "benefactor, Massand, a merchant of Aleppo, and the rest by the Christians of this oriental "church. It is worth while observing that in the Muhammadan empire no church buildings "may be erected without permission from Constantinople, which is not obtained except "on payment of a huge sum of money. . . ."²

After recording the appearance in March 1742 of a comet for several days at 3 a.m., the chronicler mentions that about the same time a 'pestilence' broke out among the Muhammadans of the town, many of whom were found dead with buboes under the armpit or in the groin—whether it was real plague or not he (Fr. Cornelius of S. Joseph) would not presume to say, merely noting that with the onset of the hot weather the disease died down and that a number of Turkish families perished, whether from disease, lack of attention or fear.³

In August 1742 Monsieur Otter, a Swiss by birth, who on account of his knowledge of oriental tongues had been interpreter to Monsieur Martainville, received the royal commission as consul for France, but after some months was transferred to Paris with the honorary title

¹ pp. 23-5 of original MSS. of *Cont. Basra Chron.* in Archives Gen. O.C.D.

² *Idem*, p. 29.

³ *Idem*, p. 32.

of prefect of the Royal Library, while Monsieur Gousset, his successor, departed to Pondicherry after a year or so, and the *chancelier* left in charge, Marcel Dumont, was also withdrawn, 26.1.1748: the French East India Company came to the conclusion that the gain to their commerce in Basra from the maintenance of these officials was not commensurate with the expense.¹

By order of Nadir Shah, who at that time with a great force was besieging Mausil, on 25.8.1743 the Persians surrounded Basra and, though the town barely boasted ramparts of earth, and lacked cannon, garrison, weapons, and ammunition,

“for three months and thirteen days, more by making a noise than by fighting, it offered
“resistance to a force of 30,000 Persians, not counting the three (?) powerful tribes of the
“Muntafiq and Bani Lam which had joined the Persians in lusting for the utter destruction
“of this town.”

It seemed to the Carmelites

“almost incredible how it did not fall at the first attack: yet it held out and the indefatigable
“exertions of the Mutasallim of that time, Rustam Agha, and of Musa Pasha in Minawi,
“frustrated all attempts by the enemy to obtain any lodgment, except in one small fort
“on the opposite bank of the river. . . . Three cannon-balls fell into the hospice of the
“Carmelites, but none on the church: one blazing one fell on their guest-house (caravan-
“sarai), but the damage was made good at the cost of a mere 20 mahmudi=40 shahis
“(2 krans in modern count). At length, 8.12.1743, to universal rejoicing, two messengers
“arrived—one a Turk the other a Persian—reporting that a covenant of peace had been
“made between Nadir Shah and Ahmad Pasha, so on both sides hostilities ceased, the gates
“of the town were opened, and after some days the Persian army took itself back to Persia.”²

The chronicler added (and Fr. Cornelius of S. Joseph was the principal source of the notes afterwards written in the form of the chronicle) that

“we did not know what the terms” (of peace) “were, but only heard afterwards that the
“principal commander of the Persian army near the town of Mascat” (? *sic* for Masciat =
Mashhad in Khurasan) “whither he had fled, in punishment for the unsatisfactory outcome
“of the war, ended his life, being beheaded by order of the king.”

During the siege the English ‘Resident’, Mr. Darell, had hoarded in his house a quantity of wheat and barley, contrary to the orders of the Mutasallim that it was to be sold openly in the market-place: he had also put his servants into Persian clothing and it was rumoured that he had received letters from the commanders of the Persian force. . . . The Janissaries regarded him as in league with the enemy and determined to kill him in his house: they were restrained by the Mutasallim, who, however, put his house under guard all the time of the siege. Meant as protection, this measure was taken so ill by Mr. Darell that in May 1744 he betook himself secretly to Baghdad and demanded of Ahmad Pasha the removal of Rustam Agha: failing to support his demand with the monetary lever required to get any such step taken by the Turks, he did not achieve his object. Except for two visits by the Carmelites, no one went near him during his detention; but he showed gratitude to them afterwards by generous gifts.³ Early in 1747 Bishop Emmanuel of S. Albert, accompanied by Fr. Constantius of S. Hyacinth, made an episcopal visitation of Basra: the French pro-consul, Monsieur Marcel Dumont, the English ‘Resident’ Mr. Greedon [? *sic*] and the Dutch ‘Resident’ Mynheer Canter, together with a number of other Europeans, and Eastern merchants went to meet the prelate

¹ p. 36. of original MSS. of *Cont. Basra Chron.* in Archives Gen. O.C.D. ² *Idem*, pp. 39–41. ³ *Idem*, pp. 42–3.

and, while the English and the Dutch ship in port fired off salutes, accompanied him ceremoniously to the Residence of the Carmelites, where at the gate the Fathers in their mantles conducted him into the church. There on Holy Thursday the Bishop consecrated the holy Oils, and on Holy Saturday gave Confirmation.

During his stay a troublesome, if diverting, incident occurred. While the Bishop was one day taking a walk accompanied by the Dutch Resident and by his secretary, Fr. Constantius, and the Bishop was every now and then getting his dog to plunge into the river, it happened that once, as the dog had come out and

"after the custom of dogs was shaking itself, there passed by with two companions a "Muhammadan, who called out that they should call off the dog, lest he should be polluted "by the water so shaken off,¹ saying that the dog was *niger*, i.e. unclean" (perhaps *nigis*—the Arabic word for unclean, was the word used, not *niger* = black): "whereat Fr. Constantius most impudently retorted, 'You are more unclean than the dog.' The Muhammadan was a Mulla and, unable to stomach such a humiliating expression, laid hands "on the Carmelite Father, who, however, was rescued by the French consular Janissary "running up. . . . The Turk flew off to the Mutasallim: forthwith the notables of the "town gathered, the doctors of the law, the Mufti, the Qazi. . . . The next day the "European official representatives, Canter and Dumont . . . agreed to give the Mutasallim "a bribe of 2,000 grosch" (i.e. piastres in today's count) "provided the controversy were "completely eliminated and erased here, so that in no wise should it reach Baghdad. The "Mutasallim gave a promise, but did not in the least abide by his promises and reported "the whole dispute to Ahmad Pasha. The consuls also, putting little trust in the good "faith of the Mutasallim, had written in advance to their representatives" (procurators) "in Baghdad that, directly they should detect any signs of a commotion, they should stifle "it by paying a sum of money. Not without great efforts and activity the 'procurators' "settled the affair by payment of 6,000 grosch, of which Monsieur Dumont contributed "3,000 and Mynheer Canter 3,000, while Ahmad Pasha wrote to the consuls that, just as "the doctors of the Christian Law are addressed with respect by Christians themselves and "by the Turks, so it was equitable that the doctors of the Muhammadan Law should be "addressed by Christians. He warned them not to let him hear of anything similar in "future, and bade Monsieur Dumont dispatch his Janissary at once to Baghdad, for they "fastened the blame on the latter in order to pacify the Mulla. . . ."

The chronicler considered it due to Divine protection that from such a spark the whole mission had not been consumed to ashes.

In that year, 1747, there was a flood from the Euphrates, which made the town of Basra into an island, surrounded with water 3 leagues wide, on which ballums passed to and fro. The new Mutasallim, 'Umar Agha (successor to Yahya Agha), fearing lest the ramparts of the town should be brought down by the waters, ordered that trenches should be dug, and the "flood waters" (the Persian word *sailab* = flood or torrent, is used—"in urbis rivulum selabi relinquerentur") drained off into the canal of the town. But worse resulted, for some of the poorer folk, unable to get down to the river for their water, were compelled to drink the brackish waters of the desert. The water fell at the end of July, and dried up in some places in the desert; but sickness followed, and

"of the third part of the Christians who remained almost all became sick to death, and in "the space of 11 months, while the sickness waxed, 33 Dutchmen, English and schismatic "Armenians died. . . ."²

"On the 9th October the very celebrated Ahmad Pasha, second to none in the whole

¹ Even as late as 1922 there was trouble in Shiraz, in Persia, because a Mulla blamed a Jew for splashing water on his lothing from the said Hebrew's donkey, when they were passing in a narrow street.

² pp. 50-1 of the original MSS. of *Cont. Basra Chron.*

"Ottoman dominions, in the course of a warlike expedition against the enemy outside Baghdad, paid the tribute of the infirmity of nature, to the universal grief."¹

Summoned by him to Baghdad, from 6.10.1746 to 22.1.1747 Fr. Prosper was absent from Basra in medical attendance on the Pasha, for this Father was practised in medicine.

"On the 19th July (1748) sent by Sulaiman Pasha from Baghdad as his Mutasallim, 'Ali Effendi entered Basra: so that in the space of 5 months this town had three Pashas one after the other, Ilchi Pasha, Hasan Pasha, Sulaiman Pasha: while, on 12.12.1748, Sulaiman Pasha himself, accompanied by 5,000 horsemen, made his entry into Basra, bringing with him the wives of the deceased Ahmad Pasha. He had scarcely succeeded to the governorship than he extracted an immense sum of money from the merchants and notables of the town under various excuses, in order to meet his excessive expenditure: and, over and above that, he demanded money from the Europeans and consuls on the pretext of borrowing it: and, since the Armenians had opened their church on a simple faculty given by the deceased Ahmad Pasha,² they closed it during the whole period of his stay in Basra, lest they should be mulcted by Sulaiman, and instead frequented our church until on the departure of Sulaiman they obtained from his Kiaia a confirmation of the former permit for the reopening of their church, after they had made him various gifts. . . . 11.3.1749, having made the necessary preparations, Sulaiman Pasha left for Hillah, on the pretext of an expedition against the Arabs. . . ."

This new governor of Mesopotamia, Sulaiman Pasha, besides tolerating

"with difficulty any others appointed near him at Baghdad, did not cease in an underhand way to stir up disaffection: and for that reason he was publicly declared in Constantinople a rebel, and a price was placed on his head being brought there.

"Hardly had the commander of the galleys at Minawi, Mustafa Pasha, got wind of this than he betook himself to Basra and, the Mutasallim of Sulaiman Pasha having been expelled, thinking that it would please the Emperor of the Turks, for a time he seized the government of the town, nor did he in the least fail to pursue Sulaiman with attacks as long as his strength enabled him. At that time" (1750) "Sulaiman made a march outside the city against the Arabs and, making a sudden attack on them, the fortune of war was propitious, so that he overthrew and defeated them. Hardly had the report of this victory reached Constantinople . . . the notables of Baghdad and Basra clamoured that there was only one, Sulaiman Pasha, to undertake the repression of the Arabs and to endow these regions with their pristine opulence. Thereupon, suddenly changing their decision and plans, Constantinople also appointed him a Pasha of three tails, placing Baghdad, Basra and Mardin under his governorship: and so Sulaiman Pasha, welcomed in Baghdad with joyful acclamations, . . . wrote to his Mutasallim that on the festival of Qurban, when the governor of Basra surrounded by his courtiers and attendants is wont to pay congratulatory visits to the notables, he should arrest and put in prison Mustafa Pasha, on the latter attending for the purpose. But, as Mustafa Pasha had perhaps a presentiment that the visit of the Mutasallim was not of peaceful intent, he had prepared to meet force with force, and so the Mutasallim, Hasan Agha, 10.11.1750, laid siege to the place called Minawi. The besieged held out undaunted until 7.12.1750, when, as the Kiaia of Sulaiman Pasha had arrived with 4,000 horse, they began to think about

¹ p. 54 of the original MSS. of *Cont. Basra Chron.* He had succeeded his father, 1725, *vide* the *Viaggi* of Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia, Rome, 1758 (2nd *Viaggio*), p. 23; when writing of the Turkish capture of Hamadan,

"The Turks . . . commanded by the famous Ahmad Pasha, son of Hasan, Pasha of Baghdad, who died at Kirman-shah on this same expedition: and his son was appointed in his stead in the year 1725 in the month of October, while then Pasha of Basra."

² This seems to date the opening—perhaps not 'building'—of the first Armenian schismatic church at Basra in some year between 1726 and 1746, and the precise year is probably nearer the earlier than the later, for writing, 29 9 1736, from Baghdad (*S.N.R.*, IV, p. 419) on the position at Basra Bishop Philip Mary of S. Augustine stated:

"The schismatic Armenians, after the revolutions in Persia have established a church there . . ."

"making peace; but, while they were discussing terms, he" (i.e. Mustafa Pasha) "attempted to escape with his men on the galleys and vessels under his command. Pursued, however, by the Dutch ship, on board of which the Mutasallim had gone, he" (Mustafa) "with a few of his men with difficulty was able to get away.

"The rest of the men were captured with the galleys, almost all plundered and many of them killed, while Minawi was laid waste by the soldiers and almost all its inhabitants led away into slavery."¹

Next to notice is a domestic loss—on 17.1.1752 the English ship, named

"the *Fatih-bashi*" [*sic*] "went ashore on the reefs of Kharg island, on it were 4 chests of books and of church ornaments, together with 2,000 Roman scudi, which were being sent to the Carmelite Fathers at Verapoly" (on the Malabar coast) "all of which could have scarcely escaped from the wreck and being lost like many goods of other people, had it not been for the efforts of Fr. Cornelius, at that time resident here, who had no small labour in recovering them. . . ."²

Long years previously, in 1715, Fr. Paul Augustine had alluded to the custom of the Carmelites attending the funerals of heretics: and in this year, 1752—apologetically as it were—*Cont. Basra Chron.* relates that, on the death of the master of the Dutch ship, together with all other Europeans the Carmelite Fathers were invited to accompany the *cortège* to the cemetery;

"as it was a matter of a simple procession, accompanied by no religious acts, they took part in it with a tranquil mind, the more so that no cause of scandal should arise and otherwise alienate the heterodox from us: for we stand particularly in need of the favour of those Europeans in these parts, lest we should be disturbed in the exercise of our functions. . . ."³

From 1733 it had been Fr. Cornelius of S. Joseph who had collected most of the data on which the notes in *Cont. Basra Chron.* were compiled: henceforth it was the composition of Fr. Angel Felix of the Holy Spirit, and he was far more diffuse and obscure in recording incidents, or mere historical events.

Here may be interpolated the names of vicars of Basra and other Carmelites who served here, in continuation of the preceding list given in these pages:

Fr. Placid of S. Nicolas, arrived Basra 1722 was 'President' at the Residence from 1724, Vicar from 1726, Vicar Provincial 1731-7 (October). In 1739 he retired to Europe.

Fr. John Thomas of the Cross arrived Basra 11.1.1728, left for Baghdad 26.9.1729, returned Basra from Aleppo 2.4.1731, left for Aleppo end of May 1746 (this appears from *Chron. Basra*, and *Cont. Basra Chron.*; but Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, in footnote to his edition of latter, makes Fr. John Thomas to have gone to Rome 1735, and in 1741 again to have been sent to the Persian missions).

Fr. Antoninus of S. Dionysius was Vicar of Basra 25.10.1733 to July 1735, when he died.

Fr. Ambrose of S. Philibert, arrived 23.11.1734, Vicar from 1735, died at Basra 21.9.1738.

Fr. Prosper of S. Cornelius from 29.5.1738, Vicar from 2.9.1739: at Basra till 26.5.1741 (but from 6.10.1746 to 22.1.1747 temporarily at Baghdad). On 10.6.1748 with permission left for Europe, but returned to Basra 22.11.1748 and resumed direction of the Residence, having learnt at Aleppo of Fr. Benedict's death. He ceased to be Vicar on or before 20.7.1752, and subsequently left for Europe, whence he arrived again as Vicar, 22.12.1756. Left for Europe 5.6.1761.

Fr. Cornelius of S. Joseph, arrived Basra 24.3.1739, in Sept. 1742 went to Persia, at Basra again from 1746 till 1749, Vicar Provincial there 1750 onwards, at Basra again

¹ pp. 62, 64 of original MSS. of *Cont. Basra Chron.* in Archives Gen. O.C.D.

² *Idem*, p. 66.

³ *Idem*, p. 68.

- 9.7.1753 to November 1754, when transferred to Syria, as bishop again at Basra 13.8.1762 to 11.2.1763, and from about 1770 for some time.
- Fr. Fidelis of S. Teresa, arrived Basra 24.3.1739, transferred to Baghdad 17.8.1739: in 1770 came from Baghdad to Basra, and remained till his death, 23.4.1773.
- Fr. Elias of S. Joachim, arrived 4.5.1752, made Vicar 20.7.1752, left for Europe through ill health 12.9.1753.
- Fr. Hyacinth of S. Teresa, 5.7.1752 to 17.5.1753, and from October 1753 till 1756 or 1757.
- Fr. Angel Felix of the Holy Spirit, 2.12.1752 till 9.3.1754, from 21.5.1754 (Vicar 10.9.1754, but at Kharg from 10.8.1756), 21.5.1761 returned to take charge as Vicar again, received appointment 13.8.1762, confirmed 21.10.1767, left for Bombay mission 4.4.1769.
- Fr. Clement of the Annunciation, 19.1.1758 till 1759.
- Fr. Ferdinand of S. Joseph, 27.1.1758 till he left February 1760.
- Fr. Bede of the Assumption, 14.12.1768, Vicar 4.4.1769, died 12.8.1769.
- Fr. Ferdinand of S. Charles, from Aleppo, 28.9.1773, Vicar till 1777.
- Fr. Justin of Heart of Jesus, from Aleppo, 7.3.1774 (Vicar Provincial).
- Fr. Fulgentius of S. Mary, 29.1.1775.
- Fr. Aloysius Mary of the Heart of Jesus, from 19.4.1774.

It may be remarked, in connection with this list of Religious, that from the time of arrival of the first civilian French consul at Basra—and even before from 1733—for many years the Carmelite Vicar at Basra was of French nationality or race; and this gave rise (during the Seven Years' War and thereabouts there were strained relations in particular) to a certain amount of friction between the French elements among the Religious—stoutly protected and pushed forward by the French official representatives, such as M. Pirault—and those of Italian origin. One protest may be quoted here: Fr. Clement of the Annunciation, writing from Basra, 19.4.1758, to Propaganda Fide (*S.N.R.*, IV, p. 382):

“Seeing that here in Basra, from the time when it was appointed by the Order that the Superior should always be a Frenchman, there can never any more be peace for Italians: indeed one may rather say, for no one else until the French Fathers have succeeded in excluding those of any other nationality—a thing which in my opinion would not suit because there is only one single Frenchman—who is Agent and trader combined, while on the other hand there are many Italian traders. . . .”

It is convenient here too to draw attention to the numerous burials which from the 1740's particularly are mentioned as having taken place in the Carmelite church, or its courtyard—not in the Catholic cemetery outside the town, in contradistinction to the practice of the Religious about the years 1670 and later: for instance, there is found mentioned in *Cont. Basra Chron.*:

‘In October 1740 a Catholic priest named Stephen, a guest on his way from Europe, died and was buried at the door of the church: 31.7.1747, Monsieur Ant. Bochart of Genoa died, and was buried in the church (by his will he left his goods, from the sale of which about 50 Tumans accrued to the Carmelites): 16.6.1748, there died and was buried in the courtyard of the church Herr Constantine Scheber of Cologne, who left to the Fathers goods worth about 1,000 “isolatas”: 3.1.1749, there died and was buried in the courtyard of the church Signor Ignazio Carmenati, who left 400 isolatas for funeral Masses and a grave in the church: 18.7.1750 Mynheer Jacob Gahed [*? sic*], interpreter of the Dutch company, died and was buried in the courtyard of the church: he bequeathed 20 Tumans to the Mission: 15.1.1757, Ibrahim a Catholic from Mausil was buried in the church—he left his goods, 4,632 mahmudi, for annual Masses; 25.9.1757, the corpse of Fr. Devignes, the last Jesuit in Julfa who died while entering the Shatt-ul-Arab from the sea, was buried in the cloister.’ Where Frs. Ambrose of S. Philibert,

Alexander of S. Joseph (died 25.9.1747), Benedict of S. Mary (died 25.6.1748), Boniface of the Child Jesus (died 18.9.1751) were buried is not recorded in *Cont. Basra Chron.*: perhaps like Fr. John Mary of S. Epiphanius (died 8.8.1755) it was in the church.

The year 1753 was notable for the imbroglio which occurred between the Turkish authorities at Basra and the Dutch East India Company over that remarkable personage, Baron Kniphausen, who though born in Prussia had arrived from Batavia to act as Dutch Resident in place of Mynheer Canter, 2.1.1750: the story, as related in *Cont. Basra Chron.* is too long, sordid and involved to be retold here in detail. It began, in part it would appear, as a plot to which his own junior in the Dutch Company and the English 'Resident', then Mr. Ellis, were parties; perhaps the Dutch Resident had been morally indiscreet, but the main lever was the covetousness of 'Ali Agha, the Mutasallim then acting in Basra for Sulaiman, Pasha of Baghdad, who went so far as not only to put Baron Kniphausen in prison (with the connivance of the plotters), but to send the executioner into it also to frighten him, until a sum of 75,000 piastres being paid out to the Mutasallim by the Dutch Company, Baron Kniphausen was released on condition that he were at once put on board a vessel and taken away from Basra. Possessed of sangfroid and intelligence even from prison the latter began to turn the tables on his enemies and especially the Turkish Mutasallim: by suggestions and hints conveyed through third parties he incited the Mutasallim to demand and extract another 55,000 piastres from other officials of the Dutch Company, so that they in their resentment came to join him in writing to Batavia united and strong complaints of Turkish official rapacity. Arrived at Bandar Rig, Baron Kniphausen was hospitably received by Mir Nasir, the local Shaikh, and, supported by evidence he had had collected at Basra, made a strong denunciation to the diplomatic representative of Holland in Constantinople of an infraction of international comity on the persons of their official agents, demanding reparation. While at Rig, too, he obtained the cession, gratis, of Kharg island, so that the Dutch company might

"offer him" (Mir Nasir) "an asylum, and that he" (Mir Nasir) "might take refuge there "when harassed at any time by the intestinal warfare in Persia".

From Bushire Baron Kniphausen wrote to his subordinates in the Dutch Company to leave Basra on one pretext or another, and join the agency which it also then had at Bushire: and he himself sailed to Batavia, where he had no difficulty in winning the support of the administrators of the Dutch East India Company to his representations regarding Turkish behaviour. They gave him three ships with which by November he had returned to the anchorage at Bandar Rig. Meanwhile the Sublime Porte, pressed by an indignant diplomatic representative, had sent peremptory orders to Sulaiman Pasha in Baghdad that all the money, to the last penny, taken from the Dutch should be handed back to them by the Mutasallim, that all their expenses and costs should be paid: the Pasha was warned that until the Dutch Resident had expressed himself in writing to Constantinople as satisfied with all the reparation tended, the wrath of the Sultan would not be appeased. Like his predecessor, however, Sulaiman Pasha was far too autocratic, and in addition had more or less shaken off the imperial yoke long before, to care whether the mandate from the Porte were executed or not.

Baron Kniphausen himself forced the Pasha's hand. For he had sailed from Bandar Rig to Kharg (granted him by Mir Nasir, as already seen), and set to work making fortifications and buildings. When in July (?1754) two Turkish ships, returning laden from Surat for Basra, put in at Kharg island, they were detained by Baron Kniphausen, and the owners of the cargo or masters informed that, if the Turks wished to have them, they had better speedily settle all Dutch claims and restore the moneys taken by the Mutasallim. Left with no alternative, the Turkish officials called on the merchants and notables of Basra to provide the money, which was counted out, on a Dutch ship lying at the Bar for the purpose, in gold to the last dinar. Even after that Sulaiman Pasha from Baghdad left no stone unturned to induce the Dutch East India Company to re-establish their Residency in Basra, even going so far as to send an officer from his court to confer an honorific decoration on the Baron—the trading relations

with the Dutch were an asset from which Mesopotamia had benefited for a century past. Baron Kniphausen politely declined, on the ground that any change must depend on sanction from Batavia, which had instructed him to hoist their flag at Kharg: he had already established a flourishing settlement on the island. European prestige, which had been low at Basra during the European Wars, rose greatly in public opinion following this repulse suffered by the Turkish officials.

In 1753, and again in 1759, with Mr. Shaw, the successor of Mr. Ellis as English Resident for the East India Company at Basra, there was grave trouble in the Carmelite mission over a matter of the former's private life: another "spark blazed up into a fire" in December 1755 over an incident on the river in which this English representative was involved with the Turks. 26.6.1755, there arrived via Bushire from Pondicherry a Monsieur Pierre Perdriau as procurator (agent) for the French East India Company: and at the end of 1759 with great pomp and show he made a journey to and from Baghdad, on which he expended 40,000 French francs—in part out of rivalry with the Resident, and in part to assert ancient French prerogatives and privileges. Leaving M. Pirault in charge of the French company's affairs, in March 1760 he returned to Pondicherry (which about that date was captured by the English), and in the confusion that reigned obtained from the Council there permission to proceed once more to Basra, and to assume the style of 'consul' while there, though not to use it in his relations with the Company. Under 1763 it is recorded, as regards the English East India Company:

"From this time, since they suppressed their trading establishment at Bandar 'Abbas, "the Resident at Basra was at the same time a Member of the Council in Bombay, and "on account of this office on holidays (feast-days) and on the arrival of a new Mutasallim "he obtained precedence over the Frenchman, notwithstanding any conventions to the "contrary made with the Sublime Porte, and the Englishman constantly was received by "the Mutasallim in front of the Frenchman; not because the Turks allowed any prerogative "to the office of 'Member of Council', but because each year the trade of the English was "flourishing, with arrivals of a number of ships, and they made handsome presents to the "Turks, while the French are not in a position to do this, not from lack of will but of the "means—their trade up to today is dead at Basra. . . ."¹

Early in the morning of 1.3.1764, Muhammad Kiaia, the Mutasallim, by

"his 'Chokidar' " (the Indian word is employed in the midst of the Latin sentence) "sealed "up both our church, and the church of the Armenians—a thing, the like of which had "scarcely been heard at Basra. . . . When first the French 'Resident' visited the Mutasallim "and enquired the reason for this new departure, as a favour to him he" (i.e. the Mutasallim) "ordered the church to be reopened, but the church of the Armenians remained closed for "several days, because no one dared to ask for its reopening, lest he should on this account "be mulcted in a sum of money; but, when the English 'Resident' made the request, it was "also opened without charge. . . ."²

¹ p. 156 of original MSS. of *Cont. Basra Chron.* in Archives Gen. O.C.D.

² The report of Fr Emmanuel of S. Albert, made in Rome to the Sac. Cong. about April 1740 (*S.N.R.* IV, pp. 577–80) stated, as regards Basra, that.

"Besides the *Christians domiciled there to the number of 10 or 12 families only*, there were always very many French, English, "and Dutch traders."

Thirteen years later, in his narrative to Pope Benedict XIV, dated in Rome 15th Kalends January 1753, and printed in 1754 (*S.N.R.*, VI, p. 123), he gave more details:

" . . . Basra. . . I went there in the year 1747. . . . When in 1730, in my capacity as Vicar Apostolic I had visited "that mission, of 12 families there" (i.e. of Christians) "I found only 8 to be Catholics residing there. . . . But now" (1753) "on account of the Armenians who had taken refuge there from Persia, *their numbers had so increased* that they numbered "about 200" (i.e. families), "of which 160 were heretics, with a bishop and priests: however, *they possess no church*, but "some years back had asked permission from the governor to perform their rites or functions in a room. The remaining "40 families are Catholics, partly of the Armenian rite, partly of the Chaldaean, but they have neither church nor priests, "save one Armenian Catholic from Isfahan, or rather Julfa, whom the Carmelite Fathers keep with them. Formerly "there were to be found at Basra and in places outside the town many persons called '*Christians of S. John Baptist*', . . . "almost all have embraced Muhammadanism now, specifically their last priest. At Basra only 3 families remain but there still "survive many in adjacent places. . . ."

The real Armenian settlement and community at Basra dates from about 1740, therefore.

Sulaiman Pasha, who since the death of Ahmad Pasha in 1747 had governed all Mesopotamia so autocratically, must have died about 1762; to him had succeeded 'Ali Pasha, who in the second year of his term, 1764, fell a victim to a criminal plot of notables and others at Baghdad: falsely accused of being a traitor—some of the pretexts were that he was a native of Persia and an addict of the Persian sect by religion and therefore an enemy of true Muslims—he had been attacked in his palace, escaped the assassins to take refuge in the andarun of a Persian's house near by and, betrayed by this Persian out of fear of the penalties threatened by public crier against anyone assisting a 'traitor', he had been brought out and done to death. A leader of the plot, 'Umar Kiaia followed as governor of Baghdad and Basra, but was regarded as so wanting in intelligence for the office that the people continued to refer to him as 'Umar Kiaia, and not as 'Umar Pasha. From 1762 till the spring of 1765, therefore, Basra had seen no less than four Mutasallims—Ahmad Agha, Isma'il Kiaia, Muhammad Kiaia, Sulaiman Agha¹

Already in 1761 *Cont. Basra Chron.* referred to raids by the notorious Sulaiman chieftain of the K'ab (Ch'ab)—an Arab tribe whose habitat is mostly in Persian Arabistan, or Khuzistan as now styled—which had so annoyed the Pasha of Baghdad that the Mutasallim of Basra marched against Sulaiman with so great show of war, and

“after pitching camps during a number of months returned without shedding blood, having “with his 36,000 soldiers victoriously prevailed over an Arab chief”.²

Now by July 1765 once more Sulaiman the K'ab had become aggressive, and took to piracy,

“seizing three ships from the English, one a small one empty of goods, on its way back from “Bushire to Basra, the second coming from Bombay, the third from Bengal: and he captured “these the more easily because heretofore no animosity on the part of Sulaiman the K'ab “to the English had been noticed: the ships with the merchandise were lost, and only with “difficulty did the Europeans obtain their liberty, after great pressure. He” (i.e. Sulaiman the K'ab) “attempted to justify his attacks by the specious pretext that the English had “given assistance in ships to the Pasha of Baghdad” (when the latter attacked him once more); “however, Shaikh Sulaiman may have been ignorant that the English afforded it “against their will, and only because of the obligation by the Capitulations with the “Sublime Porte. . . . However it may be, he involved the English in innumerable vexations for, when they were too self-reliant and attacked him with forces too small to extract “any satisfaction for the injury and damage done them, Shaikh Sulaiman like an amphibian, “just as it suited him would take up his abode now in the marshes on the Turkish side of “the frontier, now in those on the Persian side, and so rendered ineffectual all attempts “made repeatedly by the English—to the ignominy and detriment of the reputation “of Europeans, and with grievous casualties among the English soldiers, besides lavish “expenditure by the Company.

“But in ascribing the victory, it should be said that he must have become sorry more “than once for having turned his claws against European forces: for the English, both in “order to recover what they had lost and to protect from hostile adventures by Sulaiman “ships entering it, kept for several years a fleet in the river, which was never absent, lest “Sulaiman's sailing-boats should make down not on the English only, but all other vessels “whatsoever:³ and so he was obliged to go fasting of his” (former) “rich booty. It is true, “too, that the insatiable cupidity both of the Turks and of the Persians harassed Sulaiman “the more keenly: for he had to purchase the protection now of the one, now of the other,

¹ pp. 159–63 of original MSS. of *Cont. Basra Chron.*

² *Idem*, p. 153.

³ Here is very early evidence of that policing, not only of the Persian Gulf proper, but also of the Shatt-ul-'Arab, the responsibility for which British warships have voluntarily and gratis assumed and undertaken for the protection of the traffic of all nations until this day.

"as he happened to stand in need when pressed the more closely by the English, by lavishing
 "abundant sums of silver and gold on them; so that he came out of it all not by any means
 "the richer by the plentiful plunder taken from the English. . . ."¹

In 1765, also, the Carmelites once more undertook the restoration of their church:

"For, with the burden of several decades, it was cracking and shaky through age, so that
 "no one could enter it without fear, or risk of life. Two difficulties stood in the way of a
 "reconstruction, viz. lack of funds and the requisite licence from the government. The
 "first hindrance was removed through the generosity of individual Christians, as far as
 "their means permitted . . .: on the request of Monsieur Perdriau, the agent for the
 "French Company, the licence also was granted by 'Umar Pasha on the condition, however,
 "that the new" (building) "were erected on the foundations of the old one: and this was
 "what we especially apprehended, because we needed a building altogether more ex-
 "tensive. . . . Yet, in sooth, in due season we obtained this too. . . . We already possessed
 "30,000 large bricks, some wood and lime ready. The *Bujnurd* (? sic = permit) of 'Umar Pasha
 "of Baghdad having been produced to Sulaiman Agha, the Mutasallim, on 28.9.(1765)
 "according to the decision he had taken an Agha was sent by the Mutasallim, and his
 "Naib" (the Arabic word is used—i.e. deputy) "by the Qazi, together with masons to take
 "accurate measurements of the church: and they took away to the Mutasallim pieces of
 "string showing the length, height, and breadth of it, all guaranteed by seals affixed.
 "Returning on the 5th January with these pieces of string they checked the measurements
 "and found that we had not exceeded them: and in testimony the reports were entered in
 "the registers of the Qazi.

"So on the 30th September the demolition of the old church was taken in hand and by
 "the 30th November the new edifice was erected and covered with a roof. By God's favour,
 "on 24.12.1765 we saw His Excell. the Right Rev. Charles of S. Conrad, missionary in
 "Verapoly, of the Roman province, Bishop-elect of Calamina, who was here as our guest,
 "solemnly bless it by the title of 'Our Lady of Mount Carmel'.²

"Between those two months" (i.e. September to December) "on feast-days we celebrated
 "Mass, one at dawn in the hall of the house, the other in the house of the French agent,
 "and the Armenian Catholic priest said it in the chamber of an Armenian merchant.³
 "This building absorbed more than 500 Tumans: nothing was paid in Baghdad for the
 "obtaining of the permit: but to 'wipe' their eyes and make them look on our affairs with
 "a rosy tint 300 zermabub⁴ in gold were sent discreetly, wrapped up in a fine handkerchief,
 "to the Mutasallim and 200 to his Agha, who had measured the church: the Qazi also and
 "his Naib were rewarded with some handsome clothing of some value, besides other gifts
 "of this kind and smaller worth bestowed on the Mihmarbashi and the masons. Hence,
 "let our successors take note, firstly, that *there is no need of a licence from Constantinople* to
 "rebuild a church: secondly, that however arduous it may be, anything can be arranged
 "and effected—not by means of empty parchments recounting high-sounding privileges—
 "but through the channel of money, which can accomplish everything, special attention
 "being paid to the suitability of times and persons. Those who deserve reward chiefly are—
 "the Mutassalim of the town, some of his retainers, the Agha, the Qazi, the Naib, and
 "Mihmarbashi.⁵ . . . The length of the old church was 27, its breadth 10 cubits; but the

¹ pp. 165–6 of original MSS. of *Cont. Basra Chron.*

² This dedication to 'Our Lady of Mt. Carmel' is queer: for all along, since the Mission was founded in 1623, the dedication had been to 'Our Lady of Ransom'—*dos Remedios*: and still today, 1936, it is to 'Our Lady of Ransom', according to a letter of 1935 from Fr. Laurence (Lamb), O.D.C., priest at Basra. Possibly there was a slip of the pen in the MSS. of *Cont. Basra Chron.*, or, the first dedication having been forgotten, rectification was made at a later date.

³ In 1765, therefore, there still was an Armenian Uniat priest at Basra (see note by Bishop Emmanuel of Baghdad, in 1753, quoted above).

⁴ A local coin of that period, value of which was possibly the piastre.

⁵ Mihmarbashi—a Persian word for 'chief architect'.

"length of the new church is 41 cubits, its breadth 29½, height 13½: and, if there had been space enough, we might have taken more from the very zealous inspectors. What was added on to the church was taken away from our House; but, in my opinion, it could not have been lent out at better interest. . . . I do not think it harmful to mention among the greater benefactors three Catholics in particular—Khwajeh Stephen Hazamal, and Peter Maliki, Armenians from Julfa, and Shimas Anna, a Syrian from Diarbakr: and among the greatest benefactors of all His Excell. the Right Rev. Emmanuel of S. Albert our bishop, who contributed 500 piastres, and a like sum Monsieur Perdriau, the agent of the French company; but by far the greatest M. Lioni, the broker of an Armenian merchant at Venice, who assisted the construction exceedingly by money generously given and advanced and in whose favour alone the Mutasallim tempered the law and secretly allowed that it" (the church) "should be enlarged: and this was not only most useful, but altogether necessary for us. . . ."¹

Though instructed from Europe to proceed to India, handing over documents to the Vicar of the Carmelites, Monsieur Pierre Perdriau left Basra 9.1.1766 for Aleppo, in order to go to Europe. He was said during his stay in Basra to have involved the French Company in 180,000 rupees of expenditure over display and show to enhance French prestige: he was succeeded by Monsieur Claude Pirault, who arrived from Europe by way of Aleppo, 3.7.1766, as agent for the Company; while, 31.3.1767, Mr. Moore arrived from Bombay to take up the appointment of Member of Council and Resident of the English at Basra. . . .

Fortified by the Sacraments there had passed away, 27.1.1767, Teresa, a lady of the Maronite rite from Aleppo, widow of an Armenian of Hamadan; she was buried in the courtyard of the church and

"bequeathed to our church a small house adjoining the Carmelite house on the one side and, on the other, the house of Chalibi, so that from the hire of it Masses might be said for souls in purgatory. . . ."

To put it in repair, almost to reconstruct it, the Fathers had to expend that year more than 43 Tumans.²

Here it may be recorded that, while in Rome in 1767, Monsignor Emmanuel (Ballyet) of S. Albert, Bishop of Baghdad

" . . . on 10.6.1767 . . . made a gift to the Definitory General of the Order of a *small house* which he possesses at Basra, opposite our convent,³ the annual income accruing from which is 100 piastres, half of which, however, goes out in upkeep of the house in question; and this donation is made by the said Monsignor to the Definitory General with the obligation of the income from the house in question being applied for the benefit of the said mission at Baghdad. . . . Rome, in the convent of our head house, near Monserrat, 10th June, 1767.
 "(sd.) Fr. Emmanuel of S. Albert, C.S., Bishop of Baghdad,
 "(sd.) Fr. Constantius of S. Hyacinth, C.S., secretary."⁴

Before leaving this account of the rebuilding of the church in 1765 (to which a reference may be found in a letter of Fr. Angelus Felix of the Holy Spirit, Basra, 24.1.1768, to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda Fide, Rome—*S.N.R.*, VII, p. 480—"this church which was then about to collapse, and which in 1765 we erected afresh . . ."), it seems well here to anticipate, and quote from *Cont. Basra Chron.*, p. 201:

¹ pp. 167-70 of original MSS. of *Cont. Basra Chron.* The measurements in 'cubits' of the new church were perhaps also *zar'a* in the original Arabic, just as in 1706 the 'cubits' of the old church were *zar'a*.

² pp. 177-80 of original MSS. of *Cont. Basra Chron.* in Archives Gen. O.C.D.

³ There were several purchases and gifts of adjacent buildings since the original presentation of a small ruined house to Fr. Basil in 1623: so that the actual extent of the premises by 1775 is confusing to the reader.

⁴ Quoted from *Hier. Carmelitana*, part 2, p. 78, Note 19 by Fr. Ambrosius of S. Theresia, who took this from the *Acta Definitorum Generalis*, vol. XV.

"In this year" (1774) "Fr. Ferdinand" (of S. Charles), "the Vicar, had a very keen litigation with a certain Anton Pitar of Aleppo over the two houses adjoining our church. Having won the suit, the Fr. Vicar acquired legal possession for us by paying to the claimants 95 Tumans, 14 mahmudi, 41 fils—as is shown by the original documents. . . . In this year Fr. Ferdinand and the Vicar decorated our church: the bare walls he covered with gypsum and whitened, as they now are: the two side altars, which had previously been made of wood, he erected as they now are, and he did up the church with other embellishments. I have often heard from Fr. Ferdinand the Vicar that, in decorating the church, he had spent 270 Tumans. . . ."

As to local affairs it is recorded that, 10.7.1766, Muhammad Kiaia was once more put in charge of the government of the town to nobody's content but, 28.11.1766, was replaced by Sulaiman Agha, reappointed to general rejoicing.

"An English warship, not far from Bandar 'Abbas, 15.11.1767, blew up, and about 265 men perished. . . . This had been detached from the *small flotilla, for long past kept*" (in the river) "on account of the raids by the Arabs of Shaikh Sulaiman" (the K'ab) "and Mir Muhanna, at the instigation of Karim Khan the master of affairs in Persia, so that they might capture the very ancient vessel, formerly belonging to Nadir Shah, seized by the Arab-Persian rebels and at anchor near Bandar 'Abbas, which was said to be richly supplied with valuable things. The warship, manned by picked soldiers of the English, and with them the chief civil and military officials of the Company, including Mr. Boyer" [*? sic* Bowyer] "Resident at Bushire and the Second in Charge at Basra, Mr. Syster [*? sic*] "carried down by favourable winds, had cast anchor facing the Arab vessel and all had been got ready to make an attack shortly after they had breakfasted. But at that moment fire suddenly fell into the saltpetre and powder. . . . The Second in Charge at Basra, Mr. Syster, had left here leaving the books of receipts and expenses open: and he was owing money to many people, especially on account of provisions supplied to the fleet: and, on the news of his decease reaching here, . . . the English Resident here and Member of Council, Moore, . . . sent the creditors to the subordinates and dependants of the deceased Syster; the Turks being the bolder recovered what they wanted by abuse and force, but the Christians remained unpaid and one family of our Catholics, in debt to a third party, was reduced to great indigence . . ." (so that the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda Fide remitted 50 scudi to the Vicar of Basra, out of benevolence).¹

Substituted in the government of the town for Sulaiman Agha, 11.3.1768, 'Abdur Rahman Baig entered Basra from Baghdad, but to the general sorrow of the citizens he died, 25.10.1768, and in his stead came Haji Sulaiman. In May the Tigris was so swollen by melted snow that Baghdad narrowly escaped a disaster, from the highest to the lowest "sweating" day and night at strengthening the banks, and raising them: then in June the Euphrates broke the dykes or 'band' and covered the desert, so that by September the mire and foetid air had helped to spread fever and disease.

"On 25th March 1769 what Mir Muhanna had sown, he reaped at length at Basra. . . ."²

This was that second son of Mir Nasir, Shaikh of Bandar Rig, who first killed his own father (thereby frightening away from what had been a flourishing mart all traders), and, when he had enticed him back, his elder brother and finally the rest of his own kin: who then boldly ejected the Dutch with their garrison from Kharg, partly by stratagem, partly by attack, and next set at naught all attempts by the English to suppress him. From 1766 he had defied Karim Khan and the Persians, the Turks and everyone; but finally—presumably because he found his position untenable—he put to sea in a small sailing-vessel with a few of his followers,

¹ p. 188 of original MSS. of *Cont. Basra Chron.*

² *Idem*, p. 195.

and escaped to the Shatt-ul-'Arab, where, 14.2.1769, he landed not far from Basra with the intention of enlisting in the service of some Arab Shaikh. But the Mutasallim, apprised, rode out with his guard, cut off his retreat and confined him honourably in his palace until the Pasha of Baghdad gave orders for Mir Muhanna to be strangled.

The compiler from 1753 of *Cont. Basra Chron.*—the editor, too, of all data collected for it between 1733 and 1753—Fr. Angelus Felix of the Holy Spirit, left Basra for the mission at Surat, 4.4.1769: and, as the next Religious to undertake the writing-up of the Chronicle, Fr. Fulgentius of S. Mary, states:

“from the year 1769 to the present year 1792 the history of the Hospice at Basra had been “neglected”:

Notes made by him (for he arrived in Mesopotamia first in 1775) on the years 1769 to 1774 are accordingly brief and throw scant light on the Christian community, or the perils of the local history through which the mission had to steer its course.

In March 1773, moreover, there occurred the great epidemic of plague, which descended from Upper Mesopotamia. The two Carmelites at Basra, Fr. Fidelis of S. Teresa, Vicar Provincial (who had transferred himself from Baghdad in 1770 to take charge of Basra) and Fr. Ildephonsus of S. Anne, who had only arrived two years previously, tended the sick courageously; but the latter died of the disease, 23.4.1773, the former, 29.4.1773, after 34 years in this mission. (In fact all Carmelites then in Mesopotamia died of it: Bishop Emmanuel of S. Albert and Fr. Constantius of S. Hyacinth, 4.4.1773: Frs. Angelus of S. Anne and Claude of S. Joseph at Mardin 27.3.1773.)

“So this Hospice remained in the hands of lay-folk from 29.4.1773 till 28.9.1773, when “Fr. Ferdinand of S. Charles arrived and remained alone here till 7.2.1774”,

when he was joined by the Vicar of Aleppo, Fr. Justin of the Heart of Jesus. Then there was the campaign and invasion by Sadiq Khan the Zand.

“About the middle of the month of March 1775 the army of the Persians, making war on “the Turks, invested this town with a close siege . . . by July the misery and calamities “were increasing from day to day, corn and all victuals had risen in price. . . . By the “early months of 1776 necessities of life had begun to run short: wheat and rice were being “sold at 20 and even 90 piastres the mān (maund): meat not at any price, and tobacco “by its weight in gold . . . there was no money to buy anything at any price . . . famine “increased, cats, dogs, donkeys, horses, the tops of date-trees did not suffice to assuage “hunger: many perished of starvation. We had foreseen such straits, and had made “provision, as far as was permissible, having purchased at very dear prices what was needed “and, so as not to be reduced to extremities, we divided between us by weight and measure “all victuals. I omit, for brevity, more poignant details. . . . On 10.4.1776 the town, “conquered by its inner foe” (i.e. famine) “surrendered to the Persians: and thus freed “from the tyranny of hunger fell into the tyranny of the Persians, to whom the town was “handed over on certain terms. But the perfidious Persians, since they had obtained “possession of the town, did not keep to any of the conditions, paid no attention to terms “of capitulation and to promises, but all of them employed the same unimaginable tyranny “to extort money. How shall I describe this tyranny? . . . The notables of the town, “viz. the governor and his chief officials, the principal Christian, the principal Turk, the “chief of the Jews, were carried off to Shiraz in Persia: and over and above, Karim Khan, “acting as king of the Persians, exacted from this town already thoroughly exhausted “128,000 Tumans. This sum was apportioned among the various races in this town, and “on the Christians there fell the lot to pay 18,000 Tumans, and this sum down to the last “farthing was extorted with usury from the inhabitants. I shall say nothing of the gifts

"made to the General, Sadiq Khan brother of Karim Khan, and to his officials.¹ I pass over other unheard-of injustices, with which Basra was afflicted and left derelict. In these very sad circumstances no particular molestation was suffered by us, except that at every hour we had to show the Persians our church, for which meanwhile the Persians showed an especial reverence. . . .

" . . . 1777. In this year the abominations increased. The Persians who up to now had been intent on money, began to be intent on the girls, being given inordinately to lust: and so, on one day, as many boys as there were we joined in matrimony with the girls, and the rest of the girls we commended to God, who freed them all, but after severe persecution and extortion of money. When the treasury at Basra was exhausted, the perfidious Persians began to lay ambushes for the Arabs, so that the people of Basra were not freed, but for the time freed from greater persecution and vexations. . . .

(By December) " . . . The Persians were meanwhile destroying Basra, both the town and its families. All hoped for better things in the following year, but time showed us even worse. The Persians meantime had gone to war with the Arabs, but were defeated by those same Arabs and escaped by flight. The victory of the Arabs increased our miseries. For the Persians wanted to take their revenge on the people of Basra. . . ."

It is of some historical interest to draw attention to the assertiveness of French policy and agents in regard to Mesopotamia and that mission of the Carmelites in particular, to the inconveniences and embarrassment this type of Gallicanism caused the Religious. It was the period of the Anglo-French wars—

"with corsairs of the French and English at sea searching every ship strictly, correspondence in these parts is made difficult for the missions . . .";

had written Archbishop Salvini from Smyrna in December 1757:² and to judge by these records national patriotism and partisanship invaded even convents, and relations between French and Italian Religious were sometimes far from happy.

On 27.7.1758³ Fr. Prosper of S. Cornelius, a French Religious long at Basra, wrote a complaint to the Sac. Congregation against the Piedmontese and Venetian Fathers then in that Residence that "they take the side of the English against the French in the present war": while, on the other hand, an Italian Father⁴ applied for transfer because he found himself idle as

" . . . the Italians have nothing to do . . . neither to me nor to the other Italians is the least thing concerning the mission permitted, because the Superior is a Frenchman with very small liking or none for them, seeing that here in Basra since it has been appointed by our Order that the Superior shall always be a Frenchman,⁵ there can never more be any peace for the Italians, or—rather—for anyone else, until the French Fathers have succeeded in excluding all others—a thing which in my opinion would be unsuitable, as in Basra there is only one sole French agent and merchant combined, and on the other hand many Italians. . . ."

The reader has already observed the language of Bishop Emmanuel of Baghdad to the Sac. Congregation, when asked to consent to a proposal to cede Basra to the diocese of Isfahan—"it is altogether contrary to the interests of France which would never consent"; the Vicar General of Isfahan, 23.8.1757, refers to Bishop Emmanuel as "being most terribly antagonistic to Italians . . . and a partisan of France beyond all moderation".⁶ A migrant Carmelite,

¹ The word "officialibus" is used in the Latin MSS.

² *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 368.

³ *O.C.D.* 242 b.

⁴ Fr. Clement of the Annunciation, 20.3.1758, 19.4.1758, *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 382.

⁵ Up to 1743 certainly the Superiors or Vicars at Basra had usually been Italians.

⁶ *S.R.*, vol. 773, Fr. Hyacinth.

formerly in their mission in Mahé, southern India, passing by Basra in 1767, observed¹ that the Vicar

“cannot stick French Religious . . . our new consul, Monsieur Pirault . . . the French “Company has asked for Religious of that nationality. . . .”

In fact there is on record a letter from this Monsieur Pirault, dated Marseilles, 12.10.1765,² to the Sacr. Congregation to the effect that the Company of the Indies had appointed him to reside at Basra, and he asked for Fr. Prosper of S. Cornelius to be sent there.³ A letter from an Italian Religious of 24.1.1768⁴ from Basra to the Cardinal Prefect mentioned:

“the Father (Praepositus) General elected last year has *not* made a French Father Superior “of this House . . .”,

of which Monsieur Pirault, signing as ‘Resident and Agent’ of the French Company, on Christmas Day of that year made complaint to Rome:

“We have *always*⁵ had a French Vicar at Basra. For 10 years past there has not been one “seeing that no French vessel has called; but, as we have reopened this branch of our “trade,⁶ it is an additional reason. . . .”

and he pressed once more for the French Fr. Prosper to be sent back.

Monsieur Pirault (who had been ‘consul’ for three years before 1765, and claimed to be husband of a niece of Bishop Emmanuel⁷) died in 1772 or 1773. His successor, Monsieur J. Rousseau, 22.1.1774,⁸ writing to the Cardinal Prefect on the subject of the attack on Basra in May by the Persians, asserted:

“During all that time I was in complete safety and tranquillity, for the French, being “friends with Karim Khan, and that prince honouring us with all kinds of privileges, I “have sent and got from the K’ab a passport which affords protection here to the reverend “Carmelite Fathers, who depend on the French *loge*, and to the houses of all our drago- “mans” (i.e. interpreters) “and protégés. . . .”

Then, with what to notions of to-day appears some impertinence from a trading consul to a Cardinal Prefect, he continued:

“. . . In my capacity as ‘Resident of the French people’ . . . I must warn your Emin- “ence that, according to the Capitulations which we” (i.e. the French) “have, there may “be no Catholic church in all the Ottoman empire except under the protection of France, “and M. de Villeneuve in the new Capitulations has put the article in much greater detail “and confirmed it. Further, since the beginning of the reign of Louis the Great till now “there have been orders from the Court of France that there should not be at Basra, where “there is a Carmelite, any other missionaries, nor Hospices serving as a chapel for the consul “than that of the Discalced Carmelites: and in 1740, when the Capuchins wanted to go “there and the matter was discussed at Compiègne, where the Court was, by express order

¹ *S.N.R.*, VII, 14.6.1767, 28.6.1767, 14.8.1768.

² *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 317.

³ It was on this, no doubt, that the Procurator General of the Order in 1766 (*S.N.R.*, VII, p. 529) wrote to the Sacr. Congregation unfavourably of the proposal, saying that the Residence at Basra would be freed from further disorders, and Fr. Prosper (after a journey as Visitor) had been retained as Vicar of Tripoli and Mt. Libanon by the present General.

⁴ *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 480, Fr. Angelus Felix: Fr. Bede a Neapolitan had been made Vicar.

⁵ *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 528: altogether incorrect. The first Vicar was Portuguese followed by a succession of Italians: hardly a single French national until Fr. Prosper.

⁶ There had been a succession of French Companies of the Indies, the sixth in 1719: exclusive privileges were suspended in 1769, and the company abolished 1796.

⁷ 12.10.1765, *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 317.

⁸ *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 591.

"of the king Monsieur de Maurepas wrote to Monsieur de Martainville, then consul at Basra, that the will of his Majesty was that the Carmelites should enjoy their privileges "and alone hold that mission: and all ambassadors of France at Constantinople have had "orders to support the reverend Discalced Carmelite Fathers. . . .

"Your Eminence ought also to know that it is only the French name that is respected in "all Persia, and that Karim Khan, the present Regent of the country in question, grants "us all the privileges and friendship possible: and that the late Monsieur Pirault, the last "consul on behalf of this *comptoir*, two years ago obtained reparation for an insult which "the heretical bishop at Julfa had offered to Fr. de Bernardis, O.P. At present we have a "farman, and the few missionaries there are enjoy throughout Persia under the protection "of France the ancient privileges and peace and quiet, which all the animosity of the heretics "cannot dim or attack. I am writing a few words to Mgr the Cardinal de Bernis. . . ."

The same Monsieur Rousseau, "French Resident", Basra, in a letter of 4.10.1774¹ claimed that

"the 'Farmans' which we have obtained from Karim Khan under the auspices of his "most Christian Majesty, are inviolable guarantees for all missionaries who want to enter "Persia . . ."

Judged by other contemporary evidence this claim to influence in Persia and the special consideration of Karim Khan for the French at this period would appear exaggerated: and was doubtless made on the assumption that, because of coolness which had arisen between the Regent and the English, the former would favour the enemies of the latter, whereas Karim Khan was naturally opposed to all foreign influence, and even foreign trading activities.

The French Revolution upset the established order of things, even in missions 'in infidel parts', and so far afield as Baghdad: Fr. Fulgentius of S. Mary wrote from that city, 6.9.1794:²

"Some days ago I was obliged to reprimand a rascally Frenchman on account of the "impious language he had used in public against the Religious and against all that is holy "in the world. After the warning the Frenchman wrote against us as enemies of his republic, and of me as one who slandered all republicans: and he asked his ambassador for "an order that I should withdraw what I had said, and make public apology and afterwards "that I be exiled from Baghdad. He has also asked the Porte for a 'farman' (authorizing) "him to take possession of our Hospice as property of the Republic. This Frenchman is "called Christophe Outrey, who after the decease of the late Mgr Emmanuel" (i.e. in 1773) "looted our House . . .",

and, even as regards the missionaries themselves, he found ground for protest (he was a German by race):³

"And for my part I assure you that at the latest by the month of October I shall leave "and run away to Europe: I cannot longer have to do with missionaries so indoctrinated "with the French principles."

With the year 1778 *Cont. Basra Chron.* comes to a sudden end: "because", says the printed version, "the remaining part is lost" of the notes made by Fr. Fulgentius and his successors: it is not known even to what year the record of the annals was continued. Perhaps, just as fortuitously as the first volume, 1623-1733, came to light, and the first portion of the second, 1733-78, the balance may some day be unearthed in Mesopotamia or elsewhere.

¹ *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 649.

² and ³ O.C.D. 242 g, 12.6.1794.

There exists a work, composed by Fr. Polycarp of S. Joseph, director of the Latin school at Baghdad in 1890-91, entitled: *Annales de la Mission de Bassorah des Pères Carmes Dechaussés depuis sa fondation 1626 jusqu'à nos jours (1888)*, two volumes in MSS. in the archives of the Order in Rome, but this Religious had neither *Chron. Basra*, nor *Cont. Basra Chron.* in his hands, and obtained his material from the old parish registers and the book of visitations, etc.

Summarizing, therefore, from the evidence available the reader may conclude that:

- (i) The mission at Basra is the senior by far of all the Carmelite Residences that survive from the historic 'Mission of Persia and the Indies';
- (ii) from the first Mass said by Fr. Basil of S. Francis in 1623 till 1778—the end of the present narrative, to carry it no further—was 155 years (154 years since the opening of the Residence, 16.3.1624: a second span of 155 years has passed since then, of which the narrative remains to be discovered, and written);
- (iii) of those first 154 years the Residence was in the occupation of Fathers of the Order continuously, *except* for a total of some 13 (or 14 years—if the months August 1769 to end of 1770 are not to be considered as valid ministration); i.e. at least for 140 years between 1624 and 1778 church and one or more missionaries and Residence (or Hospice) were functioning:
(The intervals—arising from death, temporary abandonment, *force majeure*—when there was either no Carmelite Father in residence or, if a missionary were in or near Basra, the church was shut or under sequestration by the Turks, were:

18.11.1667 to	June 1668
6.9.1669 „	17.10.1669
December 1670 „	3.2.1671
October 1693 „	4.2.1694
13.4.1697 „	July 1697
November 1698 „	June 1699
15.3.1703 „	3.4.1706
March 1707 „	23.1.1715
12.8.1769 „	end 1770?
29.4.1773 „	28.9.1773)

- (iv) There were three buildings of the church:

The *first* dedicated to 'Our Lady of Ransom', 14.4.1625.

(It measured 25 'pieds' long by 10 'pieds' broad, *vide* letter of 1660: the walls became in a ruined condition, partly owing to damage through the wars, and the edifice was entirely rebuilt, the first stone being laid 18.6.1679).

This *second* church, whose dedication to 'Our Lady of Ransom' is mentioned on more than one occasion subsequently, was blessed 10.9.1679, S. Michael Archangel being taken as its patron.

(It measured 27 cubits long, by 10 cubits broad, height 21 cubits, and was on same foundations as the first; but a tribune, or gallery, was erected over the door, and two cells to the right and left. In 1706 once more its dimensions were checked by the Turkish authorities and found to be 27 cubits length, by 10 cubits width (height not mentioned), the two small rooms at the sides 2½ cubits long and broad, and a tribune over the door. 'Cubit' is the Latin translation, in the one case from the Arabic, in the other, from the Turkish, where "zar'a" is used. The longer zar'a in general use for measurements to-day is over 1 metre in length; viz. the distance from the tip of the nose to the tip of the fingers of one

outstretched arm. This must be the shorter zar'a, from the elbow to the tip of the finger; the Arabic indeed specifies "Al-yad al-mu'atidilat", =medium arm. The building was not in ruins, but needed repairs to the material. It was demolished to its foundations, 30.9.1765.)

The *third* church was "blessed" by the title of 'Our Lady of Mount Carmel' [*?sic*], 24.12.1765. (N.B. The existing church, 1936, has, however, the dedication of original of 1624 and its successor—'Our Lady of Ransom'.)

(It measured 41 cubits long, 29½ cubits broad, 13½ cubits high: and had two side-altars in stone.)

- (v) The first church in 1658, and the second in 1703 possessed 'images' (paintings or statues) of: Our Lady of Ransom, The Prophet Elias, S. Teresa of Jesus, S. John of the Cross, S. Gregory the Illuminator, S. Louis, king of France.

In 1708, after the sequestration by the Turks, these "sacred images", together with lamps, candelabra and other heavy goods of the church were sent to Kung for safety, and there "burnt" in the course of an attack made by the Masqatis on the Portuguese.

- (vi) The first House, 'very small, in ruins, only one single room standing', was granted as a gift by the Arab governor, 10.3.1624, and made into a church, 3 rooms and a small entrance-hall.

In July 1624 a house *next* the church was bought for 200 piastres (a law-suit on this account in 1680?): the buildings rearranged and made into 5 cells, and offices, and an upper storey.

By 11.11.1625 a piece of land had been bought for 1,000 piastres (a plan exists in Archiv. Gen., O.C.D., Rome, of the lay-out of buildings, and appears to date from Fr. Basil's time).

Considerable repairs were carried out in 1644 and 1655.

In 1660 the Carmelite Residence was described as erected on a site "50 paces by "50 paces": and situated between the Pasha's palace and the 'great mosque': not long before 1653 one mosque had been constructed near the church. Arabic documents of 1679 describe it as near the "Qurban bridge", and the "Khan "Ad-Dahan".

In 1683 mention is made of "another house adjoining ours" possessed by the Carmelites, and let out to lay-folk.

In 1703 "to the east of the church there is another house belonging to us, called "vulgarly the 'caravansarai', where Europeans are lodged, when there are Christian "traders at Basra. . . ." In 1719 the west front of the 'caravansarai' was rebuilt, and extended.

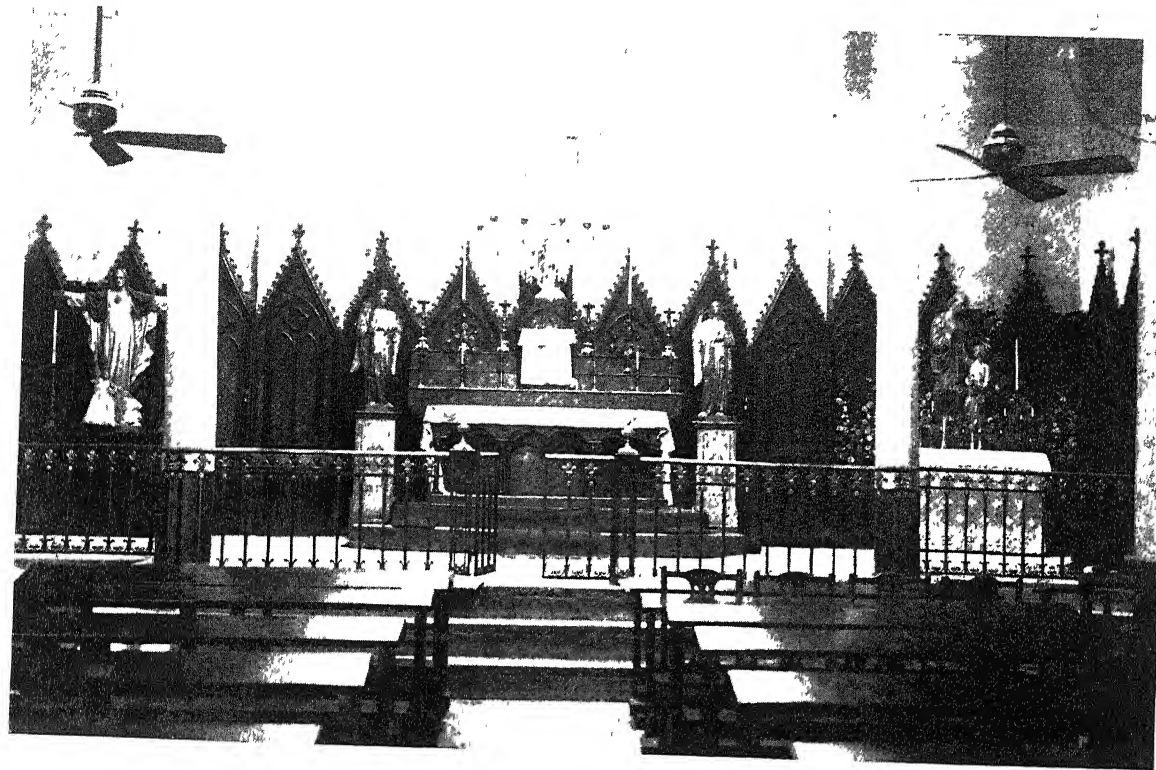
22.1.1725, the old House was pulled down, and a new one completed, 1.6.1725, and let to merchants: this is perhaps the same reconstruction as mentioned in January 1727, when they "began to build a new House in front of the door of our "old house".

In 1728 a piece of land next to the House, and to the door of the church was obtained, on payment; and in 1729 "a tiny house of 2 rooms and a roof" adjoining the above site of 1728 in front of the door of the church and at the end of our house was purchased.

27.1.1767 a small house "adjoining the Carmelite house" was bequeathed to the Carmelites, rent to be used for Masses.

10.6.1767 a small house "opposite the Convent", rented for 100 piastres p.a., owned by Bishop of Baghdad, was given to the Order, income to be used for benefit of mission at Baghdad.

- (vii) That of 1624 was the first church of a Christian rite to be made in Basra—formerly there had been only mosques and 3 synagogues. By 1753 the Armenian schismatics



BASRA
Interior of the present church of the Carmelites

had not built a church, but only at intervals between 1680 and 1753 used a room in some house for their functions: till 1730 Catholic and schismatic Armenians families did not number more than twelve: but by 1740 there had been immigration from Persia—some temporarily—of 200 families, four-fifths schismatics.

(viii) Carmelite Vicars of Basra were:

- Fr. Basil of S. Francis, 1624 to February 1636.
- Fr. Stephen of Jesus, February 1636 to end July 1640.
- Fr. Basil of S. Francis, August 1640 to end February 1641.
- Fr. Leander of the Resurrection, March 1641 to end July 1641.
- Fr. Ignatius of Jesus, August 1641 to end August 1649.
- Fr. Felix of S. Antony, September 1649 to end January 1654.
- Fr. Barnabas of S. Charles, February 1654 to end of 1660.
- Fr. Blaise of the M.H. Sacraments, from some date early in 1661 to end of 1664 or mid-1665.
- Fr. Dionysius of Jesus (Vicar Provl. acting from early 1666 to end February 1667).
- Fr. Severin of S. Maurice (probably) from March 1667 to 3.8.1670 (died).
- Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary, from 3.2.1671 to 11.1.1674.
- (Fr. Tussanus of Jesus, "President", from 23.2.1674 to 14.12.1674.)
- Fr. Agathangelus of S. Teresa, from 14.12.1674 to 1.3.1678.
- Fr. Aurelius of S. Augustine, from 2.3.1678 to 15.10.1678.
- Fr. Agathangelus of S. Teresa, from 15.10.1678 to 1.2.1685 (died).
- Fr. Charles Hyacinth of S. Teresa, from 1.2.1685 to 19.4.1691 (died).
- Fr. Hermengild of S. Marcellus, from June 1691 to August 1691.
- Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, from 4.3.1694 to 13.4.1697 (died).
- Fr. Antony Mary of the Ascension, from 23.7.1697 to November 1698.
- Fr. Peter of Alcantara of S. Teresa, from 14.6.1699 to 14.2.1700.
- Fr. John Athanasius of S. Antony, from 29.8.1700 to March 1707 (died) (sequestration).
- Fr. Paul Augustine of S. Stephen, from 3.2.1714 to 8.10.1724.
- Fr. Placid of S. Nicolas, from November 1725 to October 1733 (?).
- Fr. Antoninus of S. Dionysius, from 23.10.1733 to July 1735.
- Fr. Ambrose of S. Philibert, from July 1735 to 21.9.1738 (died).
- (Fr. Prosper of S. Cornelius, "President", from October 1738 to 11.9.1739.)
- Fr. Prosper of S. Cornelius, from 12.9.1739 to 10.6.1748 (confirmed 20.12.1743).
- (Fr. Bede of S. Mary, acting from 11.6.1748 to 14.8.1748 (died).)
- Fr. Prosper of S. Cornelius, returned from Aleppo, resumed vicarship, 28.11.1748 to 20.7.1752.
- Fr. Elias of S. Joachim, from 20.7.1752 to 12.9.1753.
- Fr. Angelus Felix of the Holy Spirit, from 10.9.1754 to (?) December 1756.
- Fr. Prosper of S. Cornelius, from 22.12.1756 to 5.6.1761.
- Fr. Angelus Felix of the Holy Spirit, from 13.8.1762 to 4.4.1769 (confirmed 21.10.1767).
- Fr. Bede of the Conception, from 4.4.1769 to 12.8.1769 (died).
- Fr. Fidelis of S. Teresa (Vicar Provl. from Baghdad), from end 1770 to 29.4.1773 (died).
- Fr. Ferdinand of S. Charles, from 28.9.1773 to October 1777.

(ix) From their arrival in 1623 until 1704, at least, the Religious at Basra often were asked to act as intermediaries, and negotiators between the trading representatives of the Portuguese, Dutch and English ships on the one hand, and the Arab governors and their Turkish pasha successors on the other. From 1679 the Vicar of the Residence had been appointed by the ambassador of the French king in Constantinople as 'consul for the French' at Basra: the Vicar continued to hold the position until the arrival of a civilian consul on behalf of the French East India Company in 1739. Between 1723-31 several instances are recorded of Vicars having negotiated with

the Pasha reductions of rates of import duties on French goods: and the English East India Company and traders requested their assistance similarly as early as 1702.

- (x) There was a Factor of the Portuguese viceroy of the Indies in residence at Basra from 1623 at intervals till the Portuguese 'Resident' quitted it on a flag dispute in 1693. The town of Basra paid tribute to the Portuguese fleet at Kung from 1690 for a number of years.

The Dutch East India Company's ships from 1653 frequented the port: they had a 'Resident' at Basra in 1705, perhaps temporarily, but permanently from some date before 1747 till they evacuated their establishment in 1753.

The first arrival of the Royal French East India Company's ships was in August 1669: as stated, the first civilian consul was appointed in 1739 from Pondicherry.

The English East India Company is first mentioned as making a trading voyage to Basra in 1636¹: they had an 'Agent' established at Basra by 1725, if not some years previously, Mr. French being named (and also termed) 'consul'. From 1763 on the suppression of their Factory at Bandar 'Abbas, the Resident at Basra became also 'Member of Council of Bombay'.

- (xi) Basra was attacked, besieged or occupied by the Persians:

- (a) in 1629, the siege being abandoned on death of Shah 'Abbas I;
- (b) from 1697 to 1701, March to March, the Persians held Basra with a garrison, governors being sent from Isfahan;
- (c) in 1743 they besieged it ineffectually for 4 months;
- (d) in March 1775 Sadiq Khan Zand invested it closely: it surrendered 10.4.1776, and was occupied by Persian forces till December 1777.

- (xii) It is possible to compile a list—incomplete, and with gaps—of the Turkish Pashas, governing Basra, and/or their Mutasallims. The local Arab governors between 1623–69 are not named (termed simply "the Pasha" in letters) except in

1666 Hasan (Pasha), who fled November 1667 after revolt.

1667 Wali Agha [*? sic*].

1669 Yahya (Pasha), who also fled after revolt.

Turkish Pashas:

October 1669 Kara Mustafa Pasha, till 1670, when he died.

1672 Chalibi Hasan Pasha, till September 1674.

September 1674 Husain Pasha, till August 1677.

August 1677 Chalibi Hasan Pasha, till 1680.

1680 Husain Pasha (again), till 1 January 1683.

February 1683 'Uthman Agha, Mutasallim for Rahman Pasha (gap in recording in *Chron. Basra*).

1690 Khalil Pasha, till 1692.

1692 Ahmad, son of 'Uthman Pasha, killed by Arabs end 1692.

1693 Kapiji Khalil Pasha evacuated on Arabs seizing town (on Turkish re-taking possession from Persians, 1701),

10.3.1701 'Ali Pasha, till 27.9.1703.

27.9.1703 Muhammad Pasha, till 14.3.1704 (died).

11.9.1704 'Ali Pasha, reappointed till 25.10.1705

25.11.1705 Khalil Pasha (from 25.10.1705 till then Sulaiman Agha acted as Mutasallim).

(Period of sequestration terminated 1715.)

1714 'Uthman Pasha, till March 1715.

1715 Hasan Pasha, as Mutasallim, 1715.

1715 Rajab Pasha, till —.

¹ If, as stated in the Factory Records of the East India Company a 'Factory' was established at Basra in 1639–40, it was only temporarily.

Sites, Vicissitudes and Duration of Each Separate Establishment. Basra 1217

At end	1716	Ahmad Pasha, son of Hasan Pasha of Baghdad, till end June 1720.
July	1720	Mustafa Pasha, till February 1721.
February	1721	Sarkish [<i>? sic</i>] 'Uthman Pasha till —.
(From 1725 till 1747 the above Ahmad Pasha governed Baghdad and Basra): among the Mutasallims acting for him at Basra were:		
	1725	'Abdur Rahman Pasha.
	1728	Muhammad Pasha, till July 1731.
July	1731	'Abdur Rahman Pasha, till —.
in February	1733	'Ali Agha, till —.
	in 1741	Yahya Pasha, till 1747.
	1747	'Umar Agha.)
(From 1747 till his death about 1762 Sulaiman Pasha governed Baghdad and Basra: among his Mutasallims at Basra were:		
19.7.	1748	'Ali Effendi.
	1750	Hasan Agha.
	in 1762	'Ali Pasha made governor of Baghdad and Basra.
	in 1764	succeeded by 'Umar Kiaia, assassinated 1764).

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THE CARMELITE MISSIONS AT TATTA, GOA, DIU IN WESTERN INDIA

SINCE THEY had a considerable bearing on the transfers of Carmelite Religious from mission posts in Persia and Basra, a constant drawing on the numbers sent from Europe, and a bearing in particular on the course steered by the Mission as a whole—a digression and divergence from the original aim and scope, which necessarily involved the dissipation of its directive force—a brief account of the posts in India, that went to give the ‘Mission of Persia and the Indies’ its name, is appended in order that such information as is available from the correspondence of the Fathers may not be wasted, and also in order to correct misapprehensions as to the life of each.

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THE RESIDENCE AT TATTA (TATA) IN SIND

GEOGRAPHICALLY the position of this place was described in an *Itinerary* of the 1605's¹ as:

“. . . a well-populated town called Tatta, where the Discalced Carmelites reside: and, “passing by the districts (lands) of Tatta and Mangora one arrives at the port called Bandar-i-Sindi . . . from Bandar-i-Sindi” (Manda Sindi is the spelling in the Italian) “one comes to the mouth of the river Indus. . . .”

It was “two days’ journey from the port of Bandar-i-Sindi where there are also many Christians” to Tatta,² where there were “at first up to 2,000 Christians”. The town was subject to the Great Mogul:³ it was a trading centre much frequented by the Portuguese by 1600,⁴ so that there was regular sailing correspondence between this town, not far from the mouth of the Indus, and Hurmuz: this explains how *after Easter 1613*

“. . . a ship left” (i.e. Hurmuz) “for the realm of Sind and the town of Tatta, which is “near the river Indus, where many Portuguese traders resort to remain there a year: and “they asked Fr. Vincent to give them Fr. Louis Francis to hear confessions, and preach to “them, and say Mass. . . . The Father” (i.e. Louis Francis of the Mother of God) “went “off, taking with him Brother John Baptist.”⁵

The Carmelite church subsequently made there was dedicated to the Mother of God⁶—to ‘Jesus and the Mother of God’, it is however stated in the Visitations of Fr. Eugenius of S. Benedict, dated 8.11.1625—which also report receipts for Masses between 2.12.1622 and 8.11.1625 as Rupees 3,697, there remaining on the latter date in the chest Rupees 340.⁷

Fr. Louis Francis did not permanently found a mission from the date of his visit in 1613 (for he had returned to Hurmuz by May 1614, and was in Isfahan the following month),⁸ but

¹ S.R., vol. 135, p. 168.

² Letter of Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, Tatta, 22.11 1669, in S.R., vol. 429, p. 129.

³ Report of Fr. Valerius, docketed Rome, 26.3.1671, S.N.R., I, p. 252.

⁴ and ⁵ Fr. Leander of the Annunciation, in narrative undated (but of 1615) in O.C.D. 239 c.

⁶ Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, letter quoted.

⁷ O.C.D. 241 i.

⁸ Undated, loose sheet (by Fr. John Thaddeus?) in O.C.D. 239 b.

from some date *after* 1614. On 4.1.1616 the Definitory General in Rome (see *Regesta*, vol. I, p. 33) decided that "the Fathers in Persia ought to attempt a mission in Sind", thus authorizing the foundation. Fr. Louis Francis had been at Tatta, alone, for some months before 25.5.1619.¹ His name appears as at Tatta in a list of the missionaries certainly compiled between April 1620–May 1621;² he died there before October 1622, and a moving account of his death is given.³ By 1625, perhaps earlier, he had been succeeded as Vicar by Fr. Balthazar of the Mother of God⁴—for Fr. John Thaddeus, 25.5.1619, stated that he was being sent. But by 1624 already there were two Carmelite Fathers at Tatta, "doing very well, with a very fine House";⁵ and in the following year not only two "Mass-Fathers", but two Lay Brothers as well: and in that year the Hermits of S. Augustine also arrived at Tatta bent on setting up a House.⁶ In 1630 there were still 4 Carmelite Religious there, "all in good health", and Fr. Balthazar of the Mother of God was still Vicar:⁷ one of the Religious in 1628 was Fr. Leonard of the Holy Spirit.⁸

By some time in 1633, however, the position had changed, and this mission suffered the first of its reverses:⁹

"In Tatta the 'Moors' " (i.e. the local Muslims) "entered our House, and carried off as much as there was in it: so that nothing remained except a few things in a chest . . . even down to the doors . . . and they made great holes in the wall of the church and the Fathers were even turned out by them and had to lodge in a neighbouring house . . . the cause is not rightly known, save that it is said that it was done by order of the Mogul king on account of the enmity he bears for the Portuguese in regard to certain events, too long to recount, which happened before he became king. But, as I say, even that is not certain. Here in Basra there is the Prior of the Augustinians, who was in our House the very same day as that happened in Tatta: and he says that, together with our Fathers, all were in peril of losing their lives. But he says that the House will come back to us with God's help, and the Fathers already were hoping for this, when the Prior mentioned left Tatta for here."

In the following year, 1634, from Isfahan the Vicar Provincial wrote:¹⁰

"the church at Sindi (i.e. Tatta) had already been 3 times ruined by the local people—so few Portuguese are there".

However, the instructions given that year by Fr. Paul Simon, Praepositus General, for the Visitor General, included:

"He will take up again the establishments at Shiraz, *Tatta in Sind*, and others, which were abandoned—and this is by order of the Sacr. Cong. and our Definitory General . . ." (O.C.D. 236 a.).

The Visitor General, Fr. James of S. Teresa, after his visitation, had left Tatta in March 1637.¹¹ In August 1643, Fr. Patrick of S. Louis, Vicar of Tatta, died there, alone without a companion.¹² Fr. Ignatius of Jesus Mary, a newly ordained priest, with Lay Brother Hilarion, were sent to Tatta before April 1645:¹³ a Fr. Joseph Mary is also mentioned as at that mission in 1645,¹⁴ and Fr. Felix of S. Antony as having spent some time there on an alms-collecting journey prior to 1647.¹⁵

¹ Fr. John Thaddeus, letter of that date, O.C.D. 237 m.

² Fr. Prosper in undated letter, O.C.D. 238 d., and *S.R.*, vol. 209, p. 2.

³ *Idem*, 17.2.1624.

⁴ *Idem*, 24.8.1630.

⁵ O.C.D. 235 n.

⁶ Fr. Basil, 22.7.1625, O.C.D. 241 g.

⁷ Fr. Basil, 11.4.1625 and 22.7.1625, O.C.D. 241 g.

⁸ *Idem*, 2.12.1633.

⁹ *Idem*, 1.1.1638.

¹⁰ and ¹¹ *Idem*, 8.5.1645.

¹² *Idem*, 27.9.1628.

¹³ Fr. Dimas, 20.5.1634, O.C.D. 237 b.

¹⁴ and ¹⁵ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 13.4.1645, O.C.D. 237 f.

By about May or June 1653 Tatta had become a field for the contest for supremacy by the European powers through their 'Companies':

"Recently, about two months ago, there met on the bar of Sind" (i.e. the mouth of the Indus) "four English ships and as many of the Dutch. They fought courageously, and "finally the Dutch made themselves masters of one English ship, and they sent another to "the bottom: and 75 English remained prisoners. . . . The Dutch were constructing a "stronghold at Tatta: the English went there in force, and knocked it down, and the people "took advantage of the opportunity to carry off the woodwork and stones. . . ."¹

In 1652 there was no Carmelite Father at Tatta,² though Fr. Matthew had been there. In January 1654 Fr. Dionysius of Jesus had been appointed to go there as companion to the Vicar, Fr. Michael of S. Simon, and was on his way from Goa,³ and the next Vicar Provincial in December 1654 had assigned him the vicarship of the mission:⁴ but he can hardly have reached there before the beginning of 1656, for he was at Kung awaiting a ship at the end of November 1655,⁵ and was perhaps accompanied by Fr. Peter of the Mother of God who had also been dispatched to Tatta by the Vicar Provincial: Fr. Dionysius had written before 1657:

"This house is poor in temporal goods, poorer in spirituals, and most poor in the exercise 'of missionary life.'⁶

Fr. Michael of S. Simon, a Portuguese, died there after July 1657.⁷ Fr. Peter of the Mother of God, although often ailing or ill, was still at Tatta in 1663 (when Fr. Cornelius of S. Cyprian was Vicar, sent as such in 1661—see Fr. Felix' letter of 10.6.1661, and Fr. Valerius of S. Joseph also resident there at the same time⁸), and he was there still, again Vicar of Tatta in 1670⁹ and 1671.¹⁰ The date of his death is uncertain, it may have been in 1672, because he had written to Fr. Dionysius to come and attend his deathbed—he had had great physical sufferings.¹¹

Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, by this time Vicar Provincial, had gone to Tatta on visitation between April and November 1669,¹² and was still there, 8.12.1670: in the lists handed to the Sacr. Cong. by the Procurator, Fr. Valerius, in Rome, 1.4.1671, and that of the same year by the Praepositus General of the Order, he is described as then 'acting as assistant to the Vicar of Tatta (while still functioning as Vicar Provincial)';¹³ but he had left before June 1672, when he had reached Kung.

The activity of the place as a field for the missionary went with the departure of the Portuguese: and Fr. Dionysius himself wrote to Rome in November 1669:¹⁴

"The missionaries celebrated with closed doors, and were troubled by the Moors" (i.e. Muslims).

The end must have come in 1672:

"through lack of Religious the House at Tatta has been abandoned, and, as I see it, there is "no hope of getting it again; because after the departure of our Fr. Vicar Provincial" (i.e. Fr. Dionysius of Jesus) "from there, I have had news that the *Muhammadans have converted it "into their mosque"* (i.e. between mid-1671 and mid-1672). "At least it should be sold if "any money would be derived from selling it. Some years ago I wrote to our Superiors

¹ Fr. Barnabas, 4.8.1653, O.C.D. 241 f.

² Fr. Dionysius of Jesus, 6.4.1654, O.C.D. 242 a.

³ Fr. Casimir, 29.11.1655, O.C.D. 241 n.

⁴ *Idem*, 24.9.1657.

⁵ Fr. Angelus, 2.9.1670, O.C.D. 236 i.

⁶ Fr. Celsus, 1.9.1675.

⁷ S.R., vol. 428, pp. 115, 224.

⁸ Fr. Ignatius, 8.8.1652, O.C.D. 241 m.

⁹ Fr. Felix, 15.12.1654, O.C.D. 237 i.

¹⁰ Fr. Dionysius of Crown of Thorns, 15.2.1657, O.C.D. 327 c.

¹¹ See list dated 1663 of missionaries, in O.C.D. 235 n.

¹² List in S.R., vol. 428, p. 224.

¹³ His letter, 22.4.1669, O.C.D. 237 d.

¹⁴ *Idem*, vol. 429, p. 129, letter of 22.11.1669.

“that the House in question was of no profit to the Mission. . . . The rev. Fr. Vicar
“Provincial has sent here some money belonging to that Residence of Tatta, to be retained
“pending the instructions of Your Reverence. . . .”¹

The same Religious, Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary, added in a letter written some months later,
20.8.1672:

“And, if there are not sufficient Religious for Persia, how can any thought be taken for
“the mission of Tatta in Sind, which in my opinion is of no use or profit for the
“Missions . . .”

and again, 31.8.1675, after making a visitation in India,

“All Fathers are of opinion that a mission at Tatta is fruitless” (O.C.D. 238 q.).

Some more reasons for the abandonment of this mission were given by Fr. Celsus of S. Mary,²
for he had been present at Kung at various conferences in November–December 1672 between
the Vicar Provincial and the Procurator of the Mission, Fr. Valerius just returned from Rome,
about the future of Tatta. The grounds brought forward by the former were:

- (a) circumstances were altogether different from those when, about 1663, Frs. Cornelius, Valerius and Dionysius of Jesus himself were residing at Tatta: the port had since lost its trade: no European any longer resided there, and that was what had given the mission credit in the eyes of the natives;
- (b) each time the Portuguese seized a galliot from Sindi (i.e. from the port on the Indus) the Fathers are involved in much trouble with the local Muslims—held responsible, so to speak;
- (c) living was very dear, and maintenance of the Residence was costing 400 scudi annually;
- (d) the Residence and the church required rebuilding, which could only be done at great expense;
- (e) there was no hope of making a fruitful supply of conversions.

On 14.4.1681 (see *Regesta*, vol. VI, p. 162) the Definitory General in Rome gave sanction to the “Vicar Provincial of the Indies” to sell the house or houses at Sind (= Tatta).

Briefly, therefore, the mission of Tatta in Sind lasted from about 1615 to 1672, some 57 years: it was very active so long as the Portuguese trading element remained there, but with the elimination of Portuguese influence outside Goa and the lack of numbers of Religious supplied from Europe about 1670 it faded out of existence.

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¹ Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary, 14.11.1672, O.C.D. 241 l.

² Fr. Celsus, Shiraz, 1.9.1675.

THE CONVENT OF GOA

NO ACCOUNT of the Carmelite settlement at Goa that would render intelligible to the student its special vicissitudes, different from those affecting other Residences in Persia and India, can refrain from considering the available data and evidence in the light of three influences, distinct in themselves and yet playing on each other constantly, viz.:

- (a) a need for obtaining funds for the maintenance of the mission posts in Persia, and for obtaining vocations, i.e. novices to equip those posts, which moved the first missionaries to Persia to deviate from the primary aim of the Mission—the conversion of Muslims in Persia—in order to work among the already Christianized Goanese, and Portuguese traders and others;
- (b) a deeply rooted objection on the part of the Portuguese civil authorities (reflected also in Portuguese Religious of other Congregations) to non-Portuguese Religious being free to establish institutions or to work in the Indies under the Portuguese Crown and in Portuguese occupation. This nationalist spirit became all the stronger from the time (1640) of the nationalist revolt against the Spanish sovereignty over Portugal, terminated by the rising that year and the adoption of the Braganza dynasty;
- (c) a movement, internal in the Convent itself in part and partly fanned from Portugal, which aimed at independence from control by the Congregation of Italy of the Order, and at the formation of a province separated from administration by the Vicars Provincial of Persia, and which regarded as fitting and logical dependence directly on a 'province of Portugal' in the Order, or, failing that, preferred administration under the Sacr. Congregation of Propaganda Fide.

This breaking away from the Congregation of Italy of the Order or movement for autonomy was not, however, exclusively nationalist: for it had the active backing and approval of a number of non-Portuguese Fathers, men of ability and culture, more than one of whom occupied thereafter positions of responsibility in the Order: and, though the movement was suppressed in the Portuguese Indies and was of infinitely less important dimensions, it recalls previous history in the original 'breakaway' of the Congregation of Italy from the predominantly Spanish complexion of the Carmelite Order of the Reform.

As to (a), it is true that the foundation at Goa followed in point of time those at Hurmuz and Tatta in Sind, but actually that at Goa had been under consideration and discussion contemporaneously—at least from 1611, if not before: and the combined effect of all three ties, thus formed, followed so quickly by the foundation at Basra and the reliance placed on Portuguese shipping and trading interests to finance and protect that Residence, was to change the focus of the Mission altogether, to deprive it of an exclusive Persian facet, and make it face two ways in an attempt to reconcile work, training, language-fluency, and acceptability to the rulers of the country in the Portuguese dominions with similar equipment of the Religious for Persia—two mutually hostile countries during a considerable part of the sixteenth century.

In the correspondence there are indications that the Definitory General in Rome viewed dubiously the new Portuguese ties and was far from sanguine at the development, or pleased at the dereliction from the purely Persian objective: everything would seem to point to certain of the missionaries being themselves responsible for the initial deviation to the Portuguese Indies in their eagerness to show rapid results for the 'Persian' Mission in conversions, building of Residences and a successful missionary organization. However it may be, the course taken

by those particular Carmelites, the deviation to the Portuguese Indies, and the entanglement in Portuguese political affairs ensuing had such a deep effect on the future of the Mission that the following brief account of the Convent of Goa, as revealed by correspondence on record, is very necessary for the light it sheds on the well-being of the missionaries in Persia proper.

The two Fathers, John Thaddeus and Vincent, left at Isfahan in January 1609 subscribed a declaration that their

“mission and its objective” (which) “is the harvest of souls in these provinces and districts “of Persia”:¹

it was their “desire of something solid” which led them away to Hurmuz, then Portuguese. Finding that particular foundation difficult to accomplish because of ecclesiastical opposition from Goa, in the attempt to overcome the difficulty the Fathers repaired to Goa itself, and allured by facile prospects and liberal offers in that rich centre of Catholicism in the Indies, they made the fateful decision and determined in the face of no small opposition to establish themselves in Goa itself.

Fr. Vincent of S. Francis had proceeded to Rome in 1610, solely in order to obtain the Pope’s support for the establishment at Hurmuz: Paul V in a Brief of July 1610 recommended him to the Archbishop of Goa and Primate of the Indies, Alexis de Menezes. Before Fr. Vincent had taken this in person to Goa, in 1611 Fr. Benignus had been there from Isfahan:

“In January 1612 . . . *in the previous year* Fr. Benignus had brought a licence from the “Archbishop and the Viceroy. . . .”²

This was the licence for an oratory at Hurmuz. The Curia of the Order in Rome would appear to have already discussed an opening at Goa itself (if that be the correct interpretation of the reference in a letter of Fr. Vincent of 3.6.1613 to the Praepositus General, Fr. John of Jesus Mary:

“On my return from India to Hurmuz I found the letter of Your Reverence of the 25th “August last” (i.e. 25.8.1612) “by which you recommend me to attend to the foundation of “this House” (i.e. Hurmuz) “and to the *other in India*. . . .”³

In the clear exposition of his letter No. 2 from Hurmuz of the same date⁴ Fr. Vincent, who was a Spaniard by birth and upbringing, set forth the position as the Crown of Spain and Portugal, and the Viceregal Council professed to see it:

“In this I shall write to Your Reverence about what concerns founding at Goa. On “arrival” (29 days after leaving Hurmuz in April 1612) “I went at once to the Archbishop- “elect⁵. . . on the various occasions that I visited him I treated about founding in Goa “and, although he, having got to know our mode of Life and Order, exhibited a desire for “this to be done and offered to assist, the difficulties in this from the beginning, he told “me, were that *no Order might make a foundation in India without an express provision* by his “Majesty for it, because he” (the king) “had issued his veto against this in many instances “both to the viceroy and to the archbishop, and to all the Council of India.

“And the reason for this is that India is a very small territory: the revenues are few, and “there are” (already) “the Dominicans, Augustinians who take a great part of them, and the “Jesuits enjoy more than 300 Ori income, and in Goa alone more than 70,000 scudi. . . . “Therefore it does not appear suitable to the king that a place be given to other and fresh

¹ 30.1.1609, O.C.D. 237 m.

² *Vide* Fr. Leander -- a sheet unsigned and undated, but by its contents written in 1615---O.C.D. 239 c.

³ No. 1, of 3.6.1613, O.C.D. 239 b.

⁴ O.C.D. 239 b.

⁵ This was Fr. Cristobal de Lisboa.

"Orders, but, on the contrary, unless those already here do reform themselves, daily it is feared that India will be ruined.

"I replied to them that our Order lived on alms, and could find the wherewithal to maintain itself in a large place like Goa. He said to me that without his Majesty's permission nothing could be done. Notwithstanding, he had the wish to help us, and to seek a way by which we might make an oratory: and for this he recommended me to buy a house near a country-residence of the archbishopric, where he resided. The advice seemed good to me: and *I purchased it cheaply. I made an oratory there:* and because the governor was the bishop, an Augustinian friar, who was administering it on behalf of the late archbishop, it was necessary to ask for his sanction to say Mass. He gave it to me: but on condition that no lay-people should enter to hear Mass, having been put on his guard by what had occurred at Hurmuz.

"It did not appear to me advisable to do anything more than what they allowed me, in order not to exasperate them, particularly because one cannot succeed in anything in opposition to the supreme power of the royal officials in these parts: and also so as not to lose" (the goodwill of) "the Archbishop-elect, who, if not now, at some time may be able to help us: and so I remained quiet that 'winter' which lasts from May till September on account of the heavy rains there are.

"I was saying Mass for those in the house, and I preached in some churches in the city. . . . The Archbishop was of opinion that I should return to Persia, and arrange to obtain the permit from his Majesty,¹ which we could the more easily seek and with less likelihood of opposition, if we were not already in Goa: because, if they had us continually in their sight, other Orders would be bound to write to Spain against us, and greater difficulty would arise. And he wrote a letter to his Majesty in our favour, giving him many reasons why it is of great utility that our Order should make a foundation in India, and another letter to His Holiness in reply to the Pope's in which he apologized for being unable to aid us in making a foundation without the permission of the king. He is to write yet another letter to Your Reverence with regard to that, telling you how he persuaded me to go in person to Rome and to Spain to negotiate for it: but I have never had any thought of doing so because I am already on in years, and desire that death will find me more or less tranquil, and to die in these parts in these missions that have been begun. . . . Let it be supposed, as I understand it, that there would be great difficulty and opposition in getting our Fathers in Spain to petition his Majesty for the licence to make a foundation in India, and that for the peace and quiet of their own Portuguese Religious it be not to their interest to make such a request, and that His Holiness will not ask the king for this licence, neither directly nor through his ambassador, because it is a matter of jurisdiction and not a thing that befits the authority of His Holiness. It appears, then that we might act as follows: ask for a letter from his Majesty to the Archbishop by name and another to the Viceroy, and in them let him recommend them generally to show favour, as far as occasion offered, to the Procurator of the Fathers in Persia, who is stationed in that city for their business: and to beg His Holiness to issue a Brief to the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral church of Goa, in which it would be mentioned that, as there was need in Goa for a Procurator of the Discalced Carmelite Fathers and his Companion to be stationed in Goa for the business of His Holiness, in order that we may be there in a fitting manner he ordered them to give the Hermitage of San Amaro (St Maur) in the same city, the appointment to which depends on their nomination and which place would serve as our Residence. Another Brief to the Ordinary, that he should collate us to it. . . . That a foundation in Goa would be a great advantage there is no need for me to expatiate to Your Reverence: because it is very obvious, seeing Goa is the capital of India, and the ships arrive there from Lisbon each year loaded with Portuguese youths, from whom all the Orders make their provision.² . . . The viceroy is there, and many gentlemen who are always giving away much in charity. . . . Thence there are sailings

¹ Philip III, of Spain and Portugal.

² i.e. obtain a supply of novices.

“and departures to all parts, north and south, to Ceylon, Japan, Malacca: in short, it is a
“port for all the world, and, once established there, the Lord will aid us too to serve the
“Church. . . .

“ . . . As to the quality of ‘subjects’¹ obtainable in these parts it should be understood
“that they are of four kinds: there are sons of a Portuguese father and Portuguese mother
“born in India and these are called Portuguese, just like those born in Lisbon. There are
“others, the children of the above who are termed *castizi*: others, sons of a Portuguese
“father and an Indian woman, or vice versa, are called *mestizi*: yet others, sons of an
“Indian father and mother, who are called Indians or blacks. The Jesuits at present take
“only Portuguese, or *castizi*: at the beginning they took *mestizi*, but do so no longer.
“ . . . The Capuchins . . . follow this same rule, but take some *mestizi*: these are the
“two Orders which are flourishing here in India. . . . Further you should know that
“among the Portuguese it is much remarked when those descended from Jews or Moors
“are accepted, and the Capuchin Fathers in these parts will in nowise take them. The
“other Orders too act with caution in this respect. I was told by a Portuguese of standing
“that at the beginning our Order in Portugal suffered in reputation because of its accepting
“any and everyone, without selection. . . . Let Your Reverences see in this respect to
“the standard to be adopted in future, for I do not know whether it is fitting to close the
“doors to all without distinction, as the Capuchins do, seeing that ‘God is no respecter of
“‘persons’. . . . As to sending us Religious, Your Reverences will please see to the need.
“ . . . Further, I shall omit to say that, if it were possible to obtain a Brief from His Holiness
“for some lettered Castilian Fathers to come to these missions, they would be to the
“purpose. . . .”

Letter No. 5 from Fr. Vincent to the Praepositus General, of the same date, includes and repeats his request for Briefs to be obtained from the Pope to the Archbishop-primate of Goa, and to the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral of Goa for the Carmelites to be nominated to the hermitage of S. Maur. The correspondence is silent as to what happened to the house bought by Fr. Vincent, but nothing had evidently resulted from his suggestion for the signment of the hermitage by 1616, when the next Carmelite visited Goa. That was Fr. Redempt of the Cross, on his way to Spain ‘attached’ to the embassy of Robert Sherley. They reached Goa bar, 24.2.1616: and Fr. Redempt lodged in the Convent of the Franciscan college outside Goa city till his ship sailed, 2.2.1617. In the narrative of his voyage² it is noted that:

“The Archbishop, Don Cristobal de Lisboa,³ showed him much kindness, because he is
“very devoted to our holy Mother Teresa of Jesus and displayed a great desire for her sons
“to come and dwell in that city of Goa and, because he could not give permission for a
“convent to be established without the express sanction of the king, he sent a very nice
“letter soliciting from the king sanction for our Fathers to establish themselves, urging this
“with good arguments and indicating the site where they could be settled, and he gave the
“said Father a written permit so that Fathers” (of his Order) “in Persia and Hurmuz
“might come and make an oratory. . . .”

These words so closely resemble those, in which was described above the action taken and permission given by the Archbishop already in 1612 to Fr. Vincent of S. Francis, that one may well be sceptical as to their proper assignment to 1617 and Fr. Redempt’s stay in Goa, and in repetition then.

On the contrary, in 1618 and 1619, Portuguese official opposition to the Carmelites coming established, even in Hurmuz, was particularly strong in the Viceroy’s council, so that it was less likely that a foundation by them in Goa itself was being favourably considered.

¹ Subjects—possible novices.

² Cristovam de Sa e Lisboa (1616-22).

³ O.C.D. 234 c.

Witness the allusions in two letters¹ of Fr. John Thaddeus from Isfahan—in the one he acknowledged to the Captain of Hurmuz receipt of an intimation from the latter that

“His Majesty” (i.e. king Philip III) “orders . . . that the” (Carmelite) “Religious
“return whence they came and go to Spain in the ships which he is sending to Goa to
“embark them . . .”:

in the other, 25.5.1619, after mentioning that he had received a reply from the Archbishop of Goa in the matter of the Carmelite foundation at Hurmuz, he used the words:

“So the Viceroy in Goa with his Council are resolved that there shall be no respite . . .
“till a fresh order come from his Majesty . . . he will not give us a licence . . . *knowing*
“the great opposition to us there is in the Council of Portugal, and no one will speak in our favour. . . .”

In the first of those two letters cited, reference was also made to information received from the Captain of Hurmuz that Fr. Leander had been obliged to go to Goa. That visit must have been at the end of 1617, or early in 1618: and by 1619 Fr. Leander was not only back in Hurmuz, but had been summoned to Isfahan. He would appear to have returned to Hurmuz before the end of 1619, because he is related to have been in India before April 1620, when permission was granted for the foundation of a Carmelite mission and church in Goa in the following circumstances (according to Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus in his *La Orden de Sta Teresa . . . y las Misiones*, Madrid, 1923, quoting from the *Voyages d'Orient* of Fr. Philip of the Most Holy Trinity, who was himself at Goa from 1636–40:

“It had been easier for Fr. Leander to gain the permission of Don Fernando de Albuquerque, Viceroy of Goa at the time. . . . It happened that by reason of certain public
“calamities the Prelate ordered devotions of intercession, and that the images of the Saints
“should be carried in procession. Fr. Leander petitioned his Excellency for permission
“to carry in the procession the image of his Mother and Foundress (despite the fact that
“she had not yet been canonized. The Archbishop (who was greatly devoted to the cult
“of the Blessed Teresa) willingly assented, and the Carmelite from Burgos commissioned
“an artist to design a statue of the Saint, which her devoted son clothed and richly adorned
“and, placing in her right hand a paper rolled up, had it taken to the Archbishop to be
“blessed, so that the latter was the first to see and admire it. The Prelate was beyond
“measure pleased with the image of the holy Mother, and the delicate attention of so good
“a son of hers and, after blessing it, wished to see what was written in the paper rolled up
“in the hand of the Saint, in the position, as it were, of being presented to his Excellency.
“Great was his astonishment on reading the petition that the Saint held out to him: it was
“that he should grant her sons permission to found a mission in Goa, with its church and
“convent. The Archbishop could no longer resist, and with tears in his eyes on the spot
“issued the licence. . . .”

At least two modern writers of printed work² assign 25.4.1620 as the date of the foundation at Goa, dedicated to ‘the Virgin of Mount Carmel’.

What had caused the Viceroy to abandon opposition does not appear: possibly the representations of the Spaniard, Fr. Redempt, after his arrival in Spain, i.e. after September 1617, or during 1618 to March 1619, may have been instrumental to some extent, for a letter of Fr. Prosper³ states:

¹ O.C.D. 237 m.

² Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus, work cited above: and Monsieur Robert Chabrié in an article on Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary in *Études Carmelitaines*, 1925, année 11, p. 190 *et seq.*

³ Undated, certainly between 1621–4, O.C.D. 238 d.

"In Goa, after much difficulty and delay, we have a Convent, fairly good. The difficulty was to obtain a licence from the Archbishop, who, although well inclined, had to hold back, because he had not the *placet* from Spain, notwithstanding that the *king of Spain* verbally had promised it to Fr. Redempt, when the latter went to Madrid, and his ministers were to have forwarded it in writing, but failed to do so. . . ."

In any case, a list¹ of Carmelite Religious, undated but which from its internal evidence must have been made between April 1620 and May 1621, gives as at Goa by that time: Fr. Alexander and Fr. Elias of the Mother of God, and Lay Brother Joseph of the Mother of God.

One of the queries by Fr. Vincent in 1613 was answered—but for the time being only—when, before his dispatch to the East as the first Visitor General, on 16.6.1620² the Definitory General in Rome

"(The Fathers) bestowed the faculty on the Visitor General of Persia that . . . he could grant authority to the Fr. Vicar Provincial of Persia for the extent to which the latter might, with the agreement of the three most senior Fathers, admit to the habit" (of the Order) "*Europeans and Portuguese legitimately born, even in India, of a European father and mother. . . .*"

Fr. Vincent also carried a Brief addressed, 16.7.1620, by Pope Paul V to the Viceroy in Goa, recommending the Visitor General (Arch. Secr. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 14, fol. 255): but the Father did not get as far as Goa.

The Order had dispatched from Rome (probably towards the end of 1622, for they had passed through Basra before 15.4.1623³) four Fathers to give the new soil on trial in India (there was Tatta as well as Goa) a sufficient number of tillers: their names are not given in letters extant, except that of a Fr. Valerian:

"Fr. Valerian with the other three . . . went by to Goa . . . there is great need of Religious in Goa. . . ."⁴

But three of them were dead before 17.2.1624:

"Your Reverence will have learnt how of the 4 Fathers who came out last year three have died, as I have just learnt from Tatta. They died in Goa; but I was not told which of them it is who has survived. . . ."⁵

This must have been the "Fr. Valerian Schiavone"—the Slovene, given early in that list by Fr. Stephen:⁶ and, as together with the name of Fr. Valerian occur the names of "Frs. Leonard of Savoy, Antony the Florentine and Charles from Genoa", it seems possible that those were the four in question: if so, it was Fr. Leonard (of the Holy Spirit) who survived, as will be read in his biographical notice and other references.

Fr. Basil continued, in the letter quoted above, that he had heard:

¹ O.C.D. 235 n.

² *Idem*, 238 g.

³ Fr. Basil, 20.8.1623.

⁴ Fr. Prosper, Isfahan, 11.4.1622 and 4.7.1623, O.C.D. 238 d. The *Regesta*, vol. I, p. 116, alluded on 12.7.1623 to four Religious having been sent to Persia".

⁵ Fr. Basil, 17.2.1624, O.C.D. 241 g.

⁶ *Brief Narrative*, O.C.D. 236 a. Fr. Valerian of S. Andrew was a German, family name Andreas Becker [*? sic*], born at Hamm in Westphalia, 1592. From childhood living with parents at Naples he sought entry to the Order there and received the habit at S. Maria di Scala, Rome, 17.4.1611; professed 23.4.1612. Sent to Goa towards end of 1623. Notice of death was 16.5.1624 (*vide Series Professionum*, No. 90). Among the names of professions at S. Silvestro in Tusculano is that of Fr. Antoninus of S. Alexis; but he was a Spaniard, family name Alexis de Castro; born, 1587, at Castro in Ponterrada in Leon. While residing at Naples he took the habit there, 22.4.1611, professed 5.4.1612. After a period in the seminary of S. Paul sent to India, where he died at Goa, 1624.

“. . . Fr. Leander . . . is well liked in Goa, but there is a want of subjects: and there is “good missionary work to be done, which will give no trouble at all to anyone, because “in those parts there is no lack of means to maintain them. . . .”¹

And the next year, 1625,² Fr. Basil again had good news of Goa to pass on to Rome:

“. . . Of the House at Goa I have just had much news regarding the fruit and progress “made.”

Although on 26.6.1623 (see *Regesta*, vol. I, p. 114) the Definitory General had voted: “Let the foundation at Goa be recognized, and a community placed” (in it), it should, however, be made clear that up to this year the settling of Fr. Leander and his companion at Goa, their negotiations for a permanent House had not been officially approved by the Congregation of Italy in Rome. For this there is the evidence of the declaration of the Definitors General signed by Fr. Paul Simon as Praepositus General and by Fr. Matthias of S. Francis, dated 4.2.1624:³

“At a Definitory held, by secret voting, we the Fathers Definitors General agree to the “foundation at Goa provided that Fr. Eugenius of S. Benedict, Visitor General of Persia, the “Fr. Vicar Provincial of the same, the Fr. Prior of the Convent at Isfahan in Persia, and “two senior Fathers of that Convent by secret votes should judge that the *said foundation* “would be profitable and useful to our institution and to the Mission, in which case they assign it “for the education of the novices, and order that the aforesaid Fr. Visitor assign and depute “a community suitable for the education of novices, and consider and order that the “members of the chapter proceed to the election of a Prior. But, should the aforesaid Fathers not “have judged it useful and profitable, in no wise do we propose to agree to it . . .”:

and, secondly, in the Instructions⁴ to the Visitor General, Fr. Eugenius of S. Benedict, from the Praepositus General, Fr. Paul Simon of Jesus Mary, himself the leader of the original mission to Persia, also dated 1624:

“In Goa you will see whether there is a licence from the Archbishop for the founding “of a mission there, and whether with the help of that House they can maintain the Religious “in Persia who will arrange to provide them with Masses. . . . In Goa you will see how “many novices there are, whether they be sons of Europeans . . . and above all that the “orders already given by the Definitory General with regard to only Europeans being “accepted and given the habit in those parts are being observed. . . . In Isfahan you “will discuss with the Fathers, in conformity with what the Definitory has ordered, *whether* “the foundation at Goa will be useful and suitable for the missions in Persia: and, should they decide “affirmatively, Your Reverence will arrange for the community there” (in Goa) “to be “such as suited for a noviciate-house, particularly for the superior and novice-master, and “give orders that when the latter arrive in Goa they should elect a prior, who will be the “novice-master: and should they judge it suitable, you can dispense with there being more “than 5 Religious in priest’s Orders.

“Your Reverence will tell the Fathers of the decision reached here, viz. that (the Order) “looks to the work in Persia bearing fruit . . . and for the present the Father Definitors “do not judge it expedient to launch out on any missions in India, and that, had it not been to aid those “in Persia financially, and with” (novice) “Religious, they would not have accepted that at Goa: “and so Your Reverence will forbid any out-missions being made.

“Should an election of a prior have been held in Goa, Your Reverence will declare it “uncanonical, and null and void, since *that foundation has not been accepted by the Definitory*

¹ O.C.D. 241 g., and see also similar letter, *S.R.*, vol. 209, pp. 3-6.

³ O.C.D. 238 c., also *Regesta*, vol. I, p. 123, on 31.1.1624.

² 11.4.1625.

⁴ O.C.D. 284 g.

"General, and they are only agreeing to it now on the condition specified, as Your Reverence will see in the decision of the Definitory which you should put into execution on your return to Isfahan together with the Fr. Vicar Provincial, appointing a suitable community. . . ."

From the copy of the Visitations of 1625, preserved in the archives of the Order in Rome, it is seen that Fr. Eugenius made his visitation of the community at Goa 23.9.1625, but his report and recommendations on the above instructions have not come to the notice of the present compiler. He certainly travelled to Isfahan, bringing with him the Vicar Provincial (Fr. Leander himself) in June 1626: and evidently the opinion of the conference of Religious at Shiraz must have been favourable to the recognition of Goa by the Order as a convent, where in particular novices were to be trained. The Instructions of 6.1.1630¹ by Fr. Ferdinand of S. Mary to the Visitor General, Fr. Epiphanius, show this by the words:

"As there are no other convents except that of Isfahan and that of Goa, all Fathers of the mission of Persia and the East are to have a passive vote in one of these two convents. . . ."

Indeed, on 18.3.1625 (see *Regesta*, vol. I, p. 132) it had been agreed by the Definitory General that Fr. Angelus of Jesus Mary, Procurator General, should be "dispatched to Madrid to settle with the Court there the foundation at Goa and . . ." But that Religious died in Rome, 16.4.1625, and so did not proceed.

Fr. Leander of the Annunciation had begun, even in 1626, remitting sums to Isfahan from Goa—350 scudi. At the end of that year or early in 1627 he must have returned to Goa from his business at Isfahan: in July 1626 Fr. Elisaeus of S. Andrew had been made Vicar of Goa²—and at Goa he was still in 1634, when he had made a further remittance of funds to Isfahan. By 1628

"a Genocse, named Guglielmo Magno, had left a legacy of 2,000 sarafini to the *Convent of Goa*, . . . and this is certain that, were it not for the House of Goa (God in the first place) one would not be able to live in these parts. . . ."³

In September 1629 Fr. Dominic of Christ was taken from Isfahan to India by the Visitor General, Fr. Epiphanius, and in 1634 he was elected 'Prior' of Goa by the conventuals.⁴ This would seem to be the first mention in the correspondence preserved of a Prior of Goa by name (Fr. Leonard perhaps excepted), for Fr. Leander had been Vicar Provincial 1625–8, and then till his death titular Prior of Isfahan. Just as he was ready to leave with the Portuguese fleet for Lisbon and Rome in 1630,⁵ having been deputed by the Viceroy to open a mission at Vizapur in the Deccan, Fr. Leander died.

There is an apparent contradiction with regard to the policy of the Viceroy in correspondence preserved of the year 1630: Fr. Dimas writing 2.8.1630⁶ that

"the Viceroy had told Fr. Leander that the *king of Spain* had ordered him to discuss and arrange with us, and to *persuade us to leave Goa*, and all go to Persia, but that, if we should not do so voluntarily, he should leave us in peace. He (Fr. Leander) declared that this persecution has been provoked by the Fathers of the Company" (i.e. Jesuits),

while Fr. Basil from Basra⁷ had heard that:

"The Count of Linieros [*? sic*], who at present has come as Viceroy to India has done us many favours, and, according to what our Fathers in Goa write to me, *they will begin to*

¹ O.C.D. 284 g.

² Fr. Dimas, 3.8.1626, O.C.D. 237 b.

³ Fr. Basil, 26.2.1628, O.C.D. 241 g.

⁴ Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sancti., O.C.D. 285–6, book 7, vol. 4, chap. 13.

⁵ Fr. Basil, 20.8.1630, O.C.D. 241 g.

⁶ O.C.D. 238 b.

⁷ 24.8.1630.

"make a new convent. The Viceroy in question has with him a brother of his, who is a Religious of our Calced Order, who also helps us a great deal. The Fr. Visitor remains at Goa for the present. . . ."

On 8.1.1630 the Definitory General agreed to

"our House of the Mother of God of Mt. Carmel at Goa being used as a convent for the noviciate";

but the next day (*Regesta*, vol. II, pp. 47-8) specified that

"the students in the town of Goa can study in some House which be not a convent. . . ."

Two writers, at least, speak of a second House or convent, acquired by the Order at Goa,

"the first house to serve as the noviciate-house, the second for the missionaries proper at La Lagona, on the outskirts of Goa, dedicated to S. Teresa, and founded also by Fr. Leander of the Annunciation."¹

This second house still existed in 1653, it would seem, although the total number of Religious by then was about eight, *vide* Fr. Felix, writing to Rome, 5.8.1653:²

"I would further remind Your Reverences that in Goa we have *two* Houses, the one is the first we had and the old Convent, the other is the house which was left us by a pious bequest, very burdensome: and it was accepted by the Fathers of Goa at the time of the past disturbances. In addition to the onus of the Masses to be said, it was made an obligation by the bequest that a college for Religious should be made in that house. . . ."

It is probable that the "new convent", mentioned in Fr. Basil's letter, refers to the first, and not to the bequest. For the Visitor General, Fr. Epiphanius of S. John Baptist, who had arrived in Goa at the end of January 1630, remained there—without making visitations—till September 1634, largely occupied with the construction of a convent, to which there are numerous critical references in the letters of the Fathers in Persia, who suffered because the expenditure on building stopped the flow of remittances from Goa for the maintenance of the establishments of the Order in Isfahan and Shiraz, e.g.

". . . Very little financial help is coming from India for this mission, on account of the great expenditure on the convent and church there which the House at Goa is undertaking,"³ and

". . . You will have learnt already of the expenditure that our Fr. Visitor is incurring in Goa, chiefly on building, which, I understand, will turn out very sumptuous and little according to our style and simplicity, each month 1,000 sarafini (= 500 piastres) being spent. . . ."⁴

That his activities afforded satisfaction to the Portuguese authorities may, however, be inferred from the letter of the viceroy, Conde de Linieros [*? sic*] to the Sacr. Congregation, Rome:⁵

" . . . Fr. Epiphanius is a person with whose proceedings, example and virtue I can declare that all India remains greatly pleased. . . ."

¹ *Vide* Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus, *La Orden de Sta Teresa . . . y las Misiones*, Madrid, 1623, p. 109; and M. Robert Chabré in his article of Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary, previously cited.

² O.C.D. 241 k.

⁴ *Idem*, as Vicar Provincial, 1.8.1634-22.9.1634.

³ Fr. Dîmas, 20.5.1634, Isfahan.

⁵ *S.R.*, vol. 135, p. 345, letter of 10.16.1635.

The community began to grow. By June 1634 Frs. Eustace and Matthew of the Cross had been summoned from Isfahan, and from Basra in September also Fr. Philip of the Most Holy Trinity, to teach in the "House of Studies", the seminary. In 1634 Fr. Melchior of the Kings was sent from Persia too; by 1641-2 Fr. Stephen of Jesus had also been transferred to Goa. Fr. Leonard of the Holy Spirit, in India since 1623, had become Prior of Goa sometime before 1634, and was succeeded as Prior by Fr. Dominic of Christ, becoming novice-master till his departure for Italy in 1636: and in June 1636 Fr. Dominic of S. Mary was taken to India by the next Visitor General, Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary—in the *Book of Elections of Superiors of the Missions* preserved in the archives in Rome his election to be Prior of Goa is recorded under date, 29.5.1638. unless he had been reappointed his term of office could hardly have begun before 1640, for he himself wrote of his "three years' term as Prior having ended "on 23.4.1643".¹

Thus much of the best talent—many of them Italian Fathers—were being taken away from Persia to give the noviciate-house and the Convent at Goa as definite as possible a formation after the mode of life of the Order in Europe and, concurrently, a large number of choir-brother and lay-brother novices had been recruited or accepted in Goa: too many in fact, as the event afterwards proved. A list of Carmelites (from its internal evidence presumably made in 1642 or early 1643) gives no less than 32 professed at Goa, most of them Portuguese by race, and largely in or after 1636.

But already in a postscript of 22.9.1634² to a letter of August the Vicar Provincial in Persia—verbally from Fr. Eustace temporarily returned, and from letters—had

"learned the condition of our Houses in India, and from the conduct of some of the Religious, "especially those who have been clothed in those parts, I judge there to be little observance "of our method of life, but too great liberty to leave the House and consort with laymen, "and very small humility in the choir-brothers, some of whom have made scenes because "not advanced to Holy Orders. In short there is *nothing to give me confidence in the recruits "made in India. . . .* But in the opinion of the Religious who have come from Italy, in "particular of Fr. Leonard the Prior, a man of much experience of affairs in India, whose "exact words in a letter he recently wrote me were:

"Finally . . . it seems to me difficult for our Congregation to be able to keep up Houses "in India, and have Religious to manage them, unless many can be sent out from Rome, "as the *other Orders do from Portugal . . .*"

"Father Philip also writes to me the following:

"things are not going their (proper) course: there is little meditation: commonly 6 or "8 Religious go out: and of 22 that we are here sometimes we are but 3 or 4 in com- "munity. If this be not remedied, God knows what will happen here shortly. It "seems to me that it would be better to get rid of Religious rather than to give the "habit to others. . . ."

(It is worth remark here, in disentangling the skein made by the insufficient data that exist, and in appraising the activities of Religious involved, that it was Fr. Eustace who 'reported verbally' to the Vicar Provincial on the unsatisfactory mode of life followed by the locally recruited Religious in Goa, and that it was Fr. Philip who denounced it and warned the Vicar Provincial by letter—i.e. two of the Fathers in later correspondence described as leading the 'secession movement'.)

There are other references in the letters extant, e.g. Fr. Basil from Basra.

" . . . As to the Convent of Goa . . . we have had squalls. . . ."³

With what purpose so many local Portuguese had been accepted as novices in the years

¹ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 9.8.1644, O.C.D. 237 f.

² O.C.D. 237 b.

³ *Idem*, 241 g., 2.12.1633.

1629-34—whether with the idea of using them in Persia, or extending the number of mission posts in the region of Goa—does not appear, nor the names of the Religious in authority who adopted or countenanced this policy, which turned out so disastrously: was it the Visitor General, Fr. Epiphanius of S. John Baptist (he had “done a great deal to enlarge the Convent “at Goa,” wrote Fr. Ignatius, 19.12.1634, but perhaps structurally was meant), or one of the priors, Fr. Dominic of Christ, for instance?

“At this time,” relates the *Brief Narrative*, by Fr. Stephen,¹ “Fr. Matthew of the Cross “put himself at the head of those clothed in Goa and India (in a movement) to have only “Portuguese Fathers in India, and get rid of Italians.”

Fr. Dimas, Vicar Provincial, himself set off to try and remedy matters, arriving 17.2.1635 in Goa (where he suffered from fever for 8 months). Between March 1637 and the beginning of 1638 Fr. James of S. Teresa was there, in the double capacity of Visitor General and Vicar Provincial: of him another Religious wrote in August 1636:

“ . . . At the time we were in the said city of Goa *Fr. Philip and Fr. Matthew, heads of the “revolt*, said publicly that our Fr. James could not be Vicar Provincial and Visitor General, “both together. . . .”²

He is quoted³ to the following effect:

“ . . . The Fr. Vicar Provincial . . . has other news from Goa, and tells me in a letter “of his, that the disorders in that House have progressed so far that *Frs. Philip and Matthew* “were thinking that it was their duty to make a reform in the Order by sending away from “that House their legitimate superiors. . . .”

The Definitory General, 9.6.1637 (*Regesta*, vol. III, p. 53) directed that

“some Religious be sent as Commissary for the Definitory General to make a visitation of “the convent at Goa and mission at Tatta, with the authority of a Vicar and Visitor “General, who may declare null professions made contrary to the Constitutions of the Order, “and expel such persons . . .”: sanction was to be sought “from the Sacr. Congregation de “Prop. Fide for the Commissary to retain office until the Definitory General revoke it. “Fr. John Stephen of S. Teresa is chosen for this post.”

It is evident, too, that Fr. John Stephen of S. Teresa had been specially deputed from Aleppo to assist Fr. James of S. Teresa, by direction of the Definitory General in Rome, because the Instructions given in Rome in 1638⁴ to the next Visitor General, Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary, include one

“to take entire cognizance of the defaults and excesses, which continue at Goa over the “Procurator and Substitute for the last Chapter General: and together with the Fr. Vicar “Provincial you will . . . arrange to make provision for this and bring them to an end in “exemplary fashion, if they have not already been brought to an end by Fr. James and “*Fr. John Stephen*: and, since they are serious, public, and known to lay-people and alien “Religious you will avail yourself of the decrees of the Definitory General regarding this, “following and relying on them, and for that reason a copy is attached, as also of the trials “held here. You will also endeavour to obtain from Isfahan, as you may judge suitable, “some other evidence about the case in question, which was taken to that place. And in

¹ O.C.D. 236 a.

³ Fr. Dimas, 2.12.1636, O.C.D. 237 b.

² Fr. Melchior, 8.8.1634, O.C.D. 238 b.

⁴ O.C.D. 284 g.

"particular you will reflect whether it be expedient to remove from Goa anyone or any of those who were the cause of those disturbances, and regarding the satisfaction that can suitably be given to any who had been scandalized by what happened in the past. . . . With every care you will arrange to show yourself neutral between Portuguese, Indians and Europeans, maintaining a balance so that in their conduct they may be without factions and dislikes . . ."

and on 10.12.1637 the Definitory General also prohibited the Prior and Vicar of Goa (or the Vicar Provincial) from making any new establishments or agreeing to any new Residence without express licence from Rome (*Regesta*, vol. II, p. 61).

Instead of an improvement, however, matters became far worse with the arrival of this Visitor General at the end of 1639, for Fr. John Stephen joined the party of Fr. Matthew of the Cross:

" . . . Affairs in our Convent of Goa are not yet put right, because Fr. *John Stephen* has joined Fr. Matthew in such a manner that he does everything he wants to expel from the Order a Father who was on the side of the Superiors, while on the other hand he confirms Fr. Matthew as Prior for another 3 years. Please cause this to be seen to quickly, Fr. General, otherwise there will be a great scandal: and also cause the leaders, who are Frs. Matthew and Philip, to be recalled . . .";¹

and, on the Visitor General reproving Fr. Matthew, a great altercation ensued, and the parties came to blows and bloodshed. The Visitor General with the majority of the Religious left the Convent, and went to stay with the Dominicans. The Viceroy supported Fr. Matthew.²

On a new Viceroy coming out from Portugal, however, the position was reversed: the Visitor General received his backing, while Fr. Matthew and his adherents had to hand over the Carmelite convent, and went and lived with the Augustinians.

Thereafter action proceeded in several directions, and in a wider theatre. Early in 1640 Fr. Philip of the Most Holy Trinity left Goa together with Fr. John Stephen: on 20.7.1640 he reached Isfahan, "announcing that he was going to France. . . ."³ The Vicar Provincial, Fr. Dominic of Christ, who reported that, in another letter of 30.1.1641⁴ added the detail:

"In the month of June there left here Fr. John Stephen and Fr. Philip, the Frenchman, who have let it be known that they were going there" (i.e. to Rome) "to defend and champion Fr. Matthew and his adherents, and all that they had done against three Visitors General. . . ."

On his side the Visitor General, Fr. Charles, also sent off to report in Rome on the position in Goa two Fathers, Michael Angelus and Peter; but they did not reach their destination, being captured by corsairs and then held as slaves in Algiers. Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary further ordered that a Congress should be held at Shiraz:⁵ and it took place, 21.5.1641:

"in this House at Shiraz we are at present 10 Religious, i.e. the Fr. Visitor General, the Fr. Vicar Provincial, the 6 Fathers elected to try the case for expulsion, and two Lay Brothers. And I, who was one of the six, confess that for my part I was greatly inclined, and desiring to turn out of our holy Order those rebellious Religious, who were the cause of the disorders and infamy . . . but others more scrupulous are of another opinion."⁶

Fr. Matthew of the Cross—who, be it remembered, was a Portuguese by race, trained in the Convent in Rome—had gone off to Portugal with a Fr. Vincent⁷ at the end of 1640 or

¹ Fr. Stephen of Jesus, 23.3.1640, O.C.D. 241 p.

² Vide the *Brief Narrative*, by Fr. Stephen, O.C.D. 236 a.

³ Fr. Dominic of Christ, 24.5.1640, O.C.D. 237 c.

⁴ O.C.D. 236 b.

⁵ and ⁷ Fr. Dominic of Christ, 11.4.1641, O.C.D. 237 c.

⁶ Fr. Ignatius, Shiraz, 21.5.1641, O.C.D. 238 r.

early in 1641, "to get the favour of the new king, John the Fourth."¹ For in that same year, 1640, a most significant development occurred—the annexation of the crown of Portugal to that of Spain, which had lasted under Philip II and Philip III from 1580 to 1640, was terminated by a nationalist rising of the Portuguese people against Spanish hegemony and control and, being successful, in the house of Braganza a dynasty of native Portuguese sovereigns was adopted.

It is significant as regards the Carmelite establishment at Goa because, as will have been noted in several allusions, even the devout Spanish Philip III and his Council were unwilling that the Congregation of Italy should get a foothold in the Portuguese Indies. This prejudice in part at any rate, was founded on certain events of the past which were explained by Fr. Vincent of S. Francis in 1613.²

"... For some years ago the Jesuit Fathers in Cochin on an island called Tuticorin, "where there is the fishery of pearls, made a fort—they say, by the industry of certain "*Italian* Fathers of theirs—and they fortified themselves therein, repudiating the jurisdiction "of the Bishop of Cochin, to whom it belonged, and repudiating, too, the temporal jurisdiction of his Majesty, saying that this belonged directly to the Pope. There was a great "outcry and by order of the Viceroy and the Council of Goa a force proceeded there and "destroyed the fort and ejected the Jesuits from that island and all the province and diocese "of Cochin. For this reason the *Council of Portugal in Spain and his Majesty do not allow "Italian Jesuits to come: and all Italians have fallen under suspicion, and are disliked by these people.*³ "And I have come to know from a reliable source that the *Italian* Jesuit Fathers who are "in India suffer much at the hands of their own Portuguese: and the Archbishop told me "that the Italians in the Company" (i.e. of Jesus) "annoyed the Portuguese. . . ."

This anti-Italian bias in the Portuguese Indies, this hostile regard for Italian Religious in particular existed therefore before the Carmelites ever went to establish themselves in Goa: and the statement above quoted furnishes the main clue to all that happened in the Carmelite convent too.

Fr. Vincent of S. Francis had written also in that same letter of 1613 to Rome:

"There were not lacking Religious . . . who told the Archbishop that *we were different "from the Fathers in Spain: that we had our own General, and were from Italy: and when, on "his questioning me, I explained at some length the true position to him, that chilled him "in his desire to assist us and much increased the difficulty. . . .*"

It was not against the Discalced Carmelite Order that Portuguese (and Spanish) official hostility was directed (for there are numerous mentions of the devotion Portuguese officials had for S. Teresa, and the welcome they were prepared to give any foundation) but against (a) individual Italian Religious administering the Convent and Residence and staffing it; (b) the Congregation of Italy and its subordinate, the Persian Mission, controlling and exploiting the establishments in the Portuguese East Indies.

Fr. Vincent himself, Fr. Redempt who made the application in Madrid, Fr. Leander, Fr. Louis Francis at Tatta, Fr. Basil at Basra had all been Spaniards or Portuguese. As long as Fr. Leander of the Annunciation was in charge at Goa—till 1630—the Portuguese authorities tolerated the position: indeed, there is perhaps some sign to be detected in the correspondence that this Religious wished to be free from the onus of administration of the Persian mission posts, and independent. With the triumph of the nationalist revolt in Portugal itself, it could but be expected that the new king and his Council would be more determined in their dislike

¹ *Brief Narrative*, by Fr. Stephen, O.C.D. 236 a

² 3.6.1613, O.C.D. 239 b.

³ See Fr. John Thaddeus' report in O.C.D. 236 a., undated but from its contents written in 1608 from Isfahan:

"We have seen not one Italian, because the king of Spain does not allow them to enter India in order to trade. . . ."

for Italian Religious. In Europe they were confronted not only with an exhausting war with Spain, which was to last 28 years, but owing to Spanish pressure recognition was not accorded to the new king John by the Sovereign Pontiff, so that when dioceses became vacant they were not filled and discipline suffered among clerics accordingly. This rift in the sentiments of Portuguese Religious and seculars, and even more of Portuguese officials in the Indies towards papal policy and in consequence a Congregation controlled from Rome by Italians cannot be too much emphasized in explanation of the resentment so constantly coming to the surface.

Generally speaking, the non-Italian Religious in the Convent at Goa supported Fr. Matthew of the Cross in his ideas as to the government and composition of that community: and it would seem significant that the six Fathers assembled at Shiraz in 1641 to judge those charged with the disorders in Goa did not follow Fr. Ignatius in voting for expulsion or disciplinary measures—three of them at least, Frs. Basil of S. Francis, Hubert and Dionysius were non-Italians. The fact that a man of such distinction as Fr. Philip of the Most Holy Trinity should be named in several letters as a leader of the movement at Goa would appear to indicate that it was not a mere outbreak of subversive disobedience, but that a serious question of principle, conscience and policy was, in their minds, involved. On the other hand not all Italians in the Convent opposed the movement of Fr. Matthew—there was Fr. Eustace, by his writing a man of culture and reverence for the Praepositus General, who “made common cause”: nor did all the Portuguese and other non-Italians follow the movement—one letter gives names of “Religious in Goa who have been faithful and suffered”, including those of Fr. Melchior of the Kings,¹ Sebastian and Leander of the Resurrection.

What happened after the arrival of Fr. Matthew of the Cross in Lisbon in 1641 is told authoritatively by the Pope’s special representative in Portugal, the Vice-Collector of Portugal (his full title is given by himself as ‘Apostolic Vice-Collector General for His Holiness, with the authority of a Nuncio in these realms and dominions of Portugal’), in a letter from Lisbon of 29.7.1644:²

“More than 3 years ago there was represented to the king by certain Discalced Carmelite Fathers from Goa the great disquiet in which that Order was living, to the considerable scandal of the populace there: and he” (i.e. the king) “ordered me to depute a Visitor in the terms usually employed on such deputations . . .”;

while Fr. Dominic of S. Mary (then Vicar Provincial of Persia and the Indies) gives the further details (see his letter of 7.3.1646):³

“the Provincial of the Carmelites in Portugal, Fr. Sebastian, on the ground of the (severance of) the union of Castile and Portugal, was induced to extend (the number of) his Portuguese subjects—this previously had not been allowed by the Definitory of the Order in Spain—by making various foundations, and so to form a separate Congregation: and he pitched upon India without having in mind the House already established there from Persia. Then Fr. John of Christ, appointed Visitor, had carried this plan to extremes. But our own Religious in India probably did not wish for union with or under the (Carmelites) of Portugal, wanting rather to depend directly on the Sac. Congregation of Propaganda Fide itself, and autonomously. . . .”

Compare Fr. Barnabas, writing from Kung, 16.10.1644:⁴

“We think that they will not want to admit in our convents in India any Italians. The Factor at Kung tells me that India has been separated from our Congregation and placed under the Congregation of Portugal. . . .”

¹ Fr. Dimas, 3.12.1636, O.C.D. 237 b.

³ *Idem*, 237 f.

² O.C.D. 236 b.

⁴ *Idem*, 238 s.

Fr. Augustine of S. Teresa, who had been Prior of Goa, on his way back to Rome, wrote from Constantinople, 17.11.1644, to the Praepositus General:¹

“A procurator of our Fathers in India is on his way to Rome . . . who will negotiate “independently of our Congregation of Italy the separation of those Religious” (i.e. those in India) “from our Congregation, and to put them under the jurisdiction of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. The procurator in question is carrying letters for Pope Urban, “for the ambassador of Portugal, but none for Your Reverence nor for our superiors, “just as if they no longer take any account of them. . . .”

The three-year term as Prior of Goa of Fr. Dominic of S. Mary ending 23.4.1643, in his stead was chosen Fr. Augustine of S. Teresa: and in the following May a messenger from Persia brought Fr. Dominic of S. Mary letters patent as Vicar Provincial.²

“But on the night of 24.5.1643—after midnight the 25th—there arrived in Goa the Very “Rev. Fr. John of Christ of the Province of Portugal of the Discalced Carmelites, and with “him there returned from Portugal Fr. Matthew of the Cross. Together with 7 other “Religious of the Order they had left Lisbon in April 1642 in the galleon *San Benito*, which “was lost at Mozambique, where four of the seven Religious died. The other three were “sent to discover places in the interior suitable for founding missions. . . .”

This Apostolic Visitor began almost at once, from September, to send out Religious to found new missions in the region of Goa—Basseim, Chaoul, Cochin, Canara,

“having been given full powers so that he could send back to Italy any friar: he had usurped “the administration of all the Residences and Religious, changing them, making superiors “and vicars of Residences, upsetting the traditions of the Order, altering ceremonies and “customs. . . .”³

In October there returned to Goa from Shiraz Fr. Eustace of the Most Holy Sacrament, who had been one of those withdrawing in 1640 along with Fr. Matthew to the Augustinian college: the definite instructions of the Visitor General, Fr. Charles, had, however, been that he should leave India. Fr. Matthew resumed his former office as Prior (dispossessing Fr. Augustine):⁴ and later was designated ‘Vicar Provincial for the Indies’, bringing with him 12 Religious,⁵ and then he reappointed Fr. Eustace sub-Prior of the Convent while Fr. Vincent of S. Francis became Prior of Goa.⁶

The letters of Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, written one or more years after the events described, overlap to some extent in sequence: in that of 5.9.1644 he reported news or hearsay received from Sind:

“ . . . I understand that he” (i.e. the Apostolic Visitor from Portugal) “has made as his “commissary the Factor of the king of Portugal at Tatta, with various commissions and “instructions aiming at the exclusion of rightful superiors . . . as, for instance, that no “foreign Religious should be allowed to be in, or proceed to, lands conquered by, or belonging to, the Portuguese . . . in particular allowing nothing to go to Persia, . . . that “letters should not be written to Fathers who had left India for Persia, not even to the Vicar “Provincial . . . that no money should be sent, or anything else, to Houses in Arabia and “Persia without his” (i.e. the Apostolic Visitor’s) “express permission . . . that no Visitor “with whatever supreme authority he may say he comes, should be accepted, unless “previously admitted in Goa. . . .”

¹ O.C.D. 270 i.

³ *Idem*, 18.6.1645, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁵ Fr. Dominic, 18.6.1645, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁶ Fr. Ignatius, 23.1.1644, O.C.D. 241 m., and Fr. Dominic, 18.6.1645, O.C.D. 237 f.

² Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 9.8.1644, O.C.D. 237 f. and 236 b.

⁴ Fr. Ignatius, 11.10.1643 and 10.1.1644, O.C.D. 241 m.

Another Religious, writing to the Sacr. Congregation in Rome,¹ asserted, as regards Fr. Matthew, that

"coming this year with the Apostolic Visitor from Lisbon to Goa, . . . they at once sent away from India our Fr. Provincial . . . and dispossessed Fr. Augustine of S. Teresa of his office of Prior, *both of them Italian Religious*, and he obtained an order from the Viceroy that *no non-Portuguese Religious be allowed to pass beyond Masqat for any place, whence he might get into India*: and they have already taken possession of the convents and Houses which our Fathers, who came from Italy, founded. . . ."²

In his letter of 9.8.1644 to Rome the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, described his own expulsion from Goa:

"On the 20th October" (i.e. 1643) "they sent me Lay Brother Stephen, telling me to depart, as the governor of Masqat was leaving for his post. . . . Directly the Father Visitor and the others learnt my reply" (viz. that he did not intend to leave at that juncture) "they came to my cell, telling me that I was obliged to leave by that opportunity . . . so . . . unless I wished to be sent away by force, I had to leave: and they gave me only 23 piastres for my journey and 6 for my companion. . . ."

The legitimate Vicar Provincial, Fr. Dominic, therefore made his way back to Isfahan by degrees, while in Portuguese India the Apostolic Visitor, Fr. John of Christ, proceeded to give the habit to a score or more of youths, some of whom did not possess the qualifications required by the Constitutions of the Order.

Meanwhile in Rome the Congregation of Italy had taken action and addressed to the Cardinal Protector of the Discalced Carmelites a memorial, of which the following is a translation:³

"28.3.1643. The Congregation of the Carmelites of Italy erected in the East Indies in the city of Goa their chief convent . . . which from its beginning about the year 1630 was set up under the obedience and control of the Sacr. Congregation of Propaganda Fide. . . . Last year from that convent there went to Portugal a Portuguese Religious⁴ who, although a member of this Congregation, has so contrived with the Religious of the Province of Portugal that together with him they have sent out a Visitor and some three or four other Religious, having previously through the intermediary of powerful personages obtained from the official whom the Holy See maintains in that kingdom orders for the visitation in question to be made, and for the government of that convent (at Goa) to be changed, as well as for other innovations of the greatest harm for the Congregation, whom the ownership of the convent exclusively concerns; apart from the fact that at the time of the creation of the Congregation of Italy, when it was separated from that of Spain, there was granted to it the power to found convents anywhere in the world save in Spain. . . ."

The Carmelite *Curia* ended by begging for instructions to be sent to the Apostolic representative in Portugal for the cancellation of the orders. A minute attached to the above is to the effect:

"To have a letter written by the Cardinal Nephew" (i.e. of Pope Urban VIII) "to the Vice-Collector of Portugal that the latter should send a duplicate of the summons for the recall of the Visitor, whom he dispatched to Goa, i.e. Fr. John of Christ, and that he should

¹ Fr. Ignatius, Basra, 28.6.1644, *S.R.*, vol. 62, p. 212.

² Actually, though they belonged to convents in Italy, the founders of Tatta, Goa and Diu were all Spaniards.

³ O.C.D. 236 b.

⁴ Evidently Fr. Matthew of the Cross.

"recall to Lisbon the Father mentioned and his companions: that the Vice-Collector should detain Fr. Simon, dispatched from Goa to Lisbon along with a companion, and not permit him and other Portuguese Fathers to go to Goa.

"The harm done by the Fr. Visitor in question is this that he has given the habit to 25 or 26 novices, several of whom have impediments by reason of which according to our Constitutions they were debarred from receiving the habit: in various matters he has changed the administration, making a prior whose profession is invalid . . . he has dispatched 6 Religious to make new settlements, whereas the Order has no intention of spreading in the East Indies."

On that memorial from Rome, 28.3.1643 (9.4.1643?), under the signature of Cardinal Antonio Barberini, the 'Cardinal Nephew', the following instructions were issued to the Vice-Collector for the Holy See in Portugal:¹

"The Discalced Carmelite Fathers of the Congregation of Italy have made representations regarding the grave damage accruing to them from a faculty" (authority) "which, it is presumed, was given by Your Lordship to some Father of the province of Portugal to make a visitation of the Convent at Goa, to change the administration of it and take other steps, such as are fully explained in the memorial, which will be attached to this, and in which it is also urged that provision (for a remedy) should be made.

"Your Lordship is, however, directed not merely to furnish information regarding this business, but to arrange that no fresh innovation shall occur in the future without instructions from Rome, and rather that those causes of complaint that have already arisen should be removed by affairs being replaced in their former position. . . ."

After receipt of the above according to the copy of the letter written in reply by the Vice-Collector of Portugal, dated Lisbon, 29.7.1644:

"when the orders of Your Eminence reached me with your letter of the 9th April of last year, and by the memorial submitted by the Congregation of Italy attached thereto I perceived the harm which was resulting in their regard I sent off at once by the fleet, which sailed hence for India last March, instructions revoking the dispatch of the Visitor in accordance with Your Eminence's directions, and entrusted Monsignor the Archbishop with the care of putting into effect the particulars of the document of recall. . . ."

This last, according to a copy² certified correct by the Archbishop Primate of the Indies, Goa, 6.12.1644 (presumably shortly after arrival of the ships from Lisbon) read:

"We, Jerome Battaglini,³ Doctor in both ecclesiastical and civil law, and Apostolic Vice-Collector General for His Holiness, with the authority of a Nuncio in these realms and dominions of Portugal,

"Cause it to be known to all those, who shall read this . . . how, as we had given a commission on 8th April 1642 to Frs. John of Christ and Diego of Jesus, Religious of the Order of Carmelites of this province of Portugal, to make a visitation of the convents and Houses which the Congregation of Italy of the said Order possess in Goa and in other parts of India and because the Most Eminent Cardinal Barberino, Protector of the said Congregation, by a letter of the 9th April of last year 1643 has ordered us to revoke the said commission and replace everything that was devised by the said commission in its former state, and that it should not be permitted that there should be any change in the government of the Religious of the said Congregation in those parts. Therefore we,

¹ O.C.D. 236 b.

² *Idem*, 284 g.

³ This is, no doubt, that other "illustrious son of the town of Brisighelia" referred to by an article in the *Osservatore Romano*, No. 23726, as "having solemnly crowned John IV, founder of the House of Braganza".

"being a son obedient to the Apostolic commands, by these presents and basing ourselves
 "on the Apostolic authority in these parts, revoke and deem to be revoked in everything
 "the said commission of ours given to the said Fathers John of Christ and Diego of Jesus,
 "the Visitors, and moreover everything that they may have done by virtue of it in changing
 "the rule of the said Order in the above-mentioned parts of India, enjoining on the said
 "Father Visitors by virtue of holy obedience and under penalty of the greater excommunica-
 "tion which would be incurred thereby *ipso facto* as also of the deprivation of any active and
 "passive vote for 3 years, that they do not make use of the said commission, and on the
 "Religious that they do not obey it.

"And, in order that this provision be executed with the greater precision we commit the
 "execution of it to the Most Illustrious Archbishop-Primate of India, and we give him the
 "necessary faculty to this end, so that he may be pleased to carry out and effect whatever
 "there may be in it, with such censures and penalties as may seem fitting to him, notwith-
 "standing anything to the contrary that he may have done in that regard, which we hold
 "to be voided for the time. And by the same authority we enjoin on any priest in Holy
 "Orders, Apostolic Notary, scrivener, notary public in the said parts of India, and in the
 "absence of any of them, on any Religious of the said Order, on presentation to him of the
 "present, to notify it immediately to the above-named Fr. John of Christ and Fr. Diego
 "of Jesus and to all those to whom it might be necessary; and they are to endorse such
 "notification on the reverse of these presents, so that it may be valid. Given in this capital
 "and city of Lisbon, under seal and signature this 8th of the month of April 1644, Giov.
 "Fran. Pico, secretary." (He had signed and sealed it by order of the Sen. Vice-Collector.)
 ". . . Agrees with the original, Goa, 6.12.1644.

"(sd.) The Archbishop-Primate."

This copy, forwarded by the Archbishop of Goa to Isfahan, reached there in the spring
 of 1645:

" . . . At Easter, however, came news from the Archbishop of Goa that the commission
 "of Fr. John of Christ had been revoked. . . ."¹

The new Viceroy of the Indies, Philip Mascarenhas, would not help Fr. John of Christ to
 remain in office: so in January 1646 the ex-Apostolic Visitor, accompanied by Fr. Matthew of
 the Cross and Fr. Alexander, sailed for Portugal: several of the other Religious who had been
 of their party were sent away to Persia by the Portuguese authorities.² The Archbishop wrote to
 Isfahan, inviting Fr. Dominic of S. Mary as Vicar Provincial to proceed to Goa and restore the
 former state of administration of the Convent: Fr. Dominic's health not permitting such a
 journey, the Archbishop dispatched to Rome to report Fr. Stephen of Jesus and Fr. John of
 the Cross, who arrived at Isfahan, 17.6.1645: he recommended, too, that in future Visitors
 General sent direct from Rome should bear a commission registered by the king of Portugal.³
 Although (see *Regesta*, vol. IV, p. 80) on 25.5.1646

"there was further granted the authority of the Definitory General to Fr. Stephen of Jesus,
 "Visitor General, and also, him failing, to Fr. Augustine of S. Teresa that out of those whom
 "Fr. John of Christ received into our habit without any faculty from Superiors, if there
 "are any whose profession was invalid by defect of authority in the person receiving them,
 "he can give dispensation to such, so that they may begin the noviciate afresh and be
 "professed when that is finished."

At the end of 1645, or beginning of 1646, first of all the novices, and then 23 of those
 professed by the ex-Apostolic Visitor, were turned away from the Convent,⁴

¹ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 18.6.1645, O.C.D. 237 f.

² *Idem*, 8.5.1645.

³ *Idem*, 21.6.1647.

⁴ *Idem*, 21.6.1647.

"Two only of the 44 clothed by Fr. John of Christ were admitted by our Father
"General. . . ."¹

And, further,

"Fr. Sebastian of the Most Holy Sacrament, then Vicar of the Convent of Goa, had
"written that, owing to the scandal caused people by the happenings . . . public penance
"had been done in church. . . ."²

Early in 1647 (he reached Surat 22.1.1647) Fr. Stephen of Jesus was back in Goa from Rome
and in his capacity as Visitor General remained in Goa,

"working for the maintenance and reform of that Convent, redeeming Portuguese slaves
"in the hands of Muslims, . . ."³

until 20.2.1650, when he too had

"been forced to leave by orders of the Viceroy, and at the prayer of the Vicar Provincial,
"who exhorted him to go out of respect for our Religious, who insisted on his departure
"*pro bono pacis*."⁴

Fr. Paul of the Infant Jesus, a Portuguese, had been made Prior of the Convent before 1647,
Fr. Joseph Mary, previously at Tatta, sub-Prior:⁵ the former was still Prior in 1656.⁶ In 1650
an election for a Procurator to represent the whole mission in Rome was held in Goa, the Vicar
Provincial, Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas, proceeded to it and remained in Goa and the other
Indian missions for 4 years—he was by race a Dutchman: Fr. Thomas of the Assumption was
elected.⁷ By 2.10.1650 Fr. Felix was writing to Rome:⁸

"Our Religious in India, who have caused such travail for the Order, are reduced to
"the number of 13, and of those some are very good, though few, others are very old. So
"we hope to obtain—what we have so long desired—the reduction of the House at Goa to
"8 or 10 good Religious, Europeans if possible . . .":

and the same Religious, by then Vicar Provincial, referred to the matter once more in 1655
(25th March):⁹

"Fr. Matthew of S. Joseph had left Goa some time ago; so the Convent at Goa remains
"without one European Father, . . ."

and again in 1656 (20th February):¹⁰

"Affairs in India are now back to the normal desired by the Fathers, i.e. only 8 at Goa,
"of whom 4 very old and infirm. . . ."

Another Religious in Persia¹¹ was even more sweeping:

"The Fathers in Goa are living very tranquilly, which will last only so long as they
"themselves remain few; and may God never permit again that they increase. . . ."

¹ Fr. Stephen, 22.6.1651, O.C.D. 238 c.

³ Fr. Stephen, 18.11.1650, O.C.D. 235 d.

⁵ *Idem*, 12.6.1647, O.C.D. 241 m

⁷ Fr. Stephen, 8.4.1650, O.C.D. 238 s.

⁹ and ¹⁰ From Isfahan, O.C.D. 237 1.

² Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 21.6.1647, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁴ Fr. Ignatius, Basra, 20.12.1650, O.C.D. 241 m.

⁶ Fr. Felix, 20.3.1656, O.C.D. 237 1.

⁸ From Kung, O.C.D. 238 s.

¹¹ Fr. Barnabas, 4 8.1653, O.C.D. 241 f.

Twenty-five years previously the Definitory General in Rome had, unwillingly as has been seen, agreed to the founding of a convent at Goa—from two interested motives—the recruiting of novices to form Religious to staff the missions in the East, and the collection of funds for remittance to Persia and Basra to maintain those Residences. Every one of the Instructions to Visitors General from 1625 to 1642 contained the injunction that the Convent of Goa was to supply from alms received what might be needed to cover the expenditure of the Houses in Persia. Now here was the abandonment of any utility the Convent of Goa might be to the posts in Persia in the former respect: as to the latter, the Visitor General, Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary, had reported in 1644¹ that

“the Convent in Persia claims to be owed by that at Goa more than 2,000 Masses said
“for it. . . .”

(The Definitory had ordered the Convent at Goa to pay annually to Persia 400 patachi, or sarafini—piastres.²)

“We have in Goa approximately 1,400 scudi,” wrote Fr. Felix, 3.9.1654.³

From shortly after 1630 indeed, it would seem, the remittances from Goa to Persia practically ceased (with the building operations 1635–9, the prohibition by the Apostolic Visitor in 1643–4); not altogether, perhaps, till after 1650:

“ . . . This year the help we used to have from that nation (i.e. the Portuguese) has
“failed altogether”

wrote Fr. Barnabas from Basra in 1653:⁴ and the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Felix, on 3.9.1654:

“There is no hope of any financial aid from India, which formerly used to help us:
“at present they have not enough for themselves”,

and again three months later:⁵

“Till now we have been helped from India, but with the wars between the Portuguese
“and Dutch the Fathers there can hardly live. . . .”

For in the decade, 1650–60, the Portuguese position in the East Indies was radically changed, and reduced to narrow limits: they had lost Masqat, all settlements on the Arab coast of the Persian Gulf, and in Sind: and now they were to lose to the Dutch their supremacy at sea as well as Ceylon and other possessions on the Malabar coast. Even Goa was threatened, while Bombay passed to England by dowry. Thus, Fr. Casimir, writing from Basra, 6.4.1655:⁶

“Depuis la perte de 5 grands galleons des Portugais, les Hollandois se voulant prevaloir
“de la victoire firent dessein d’attaquer Goa par mer. . . . Ils sont les maistres dans ces
“mers, ce qui nuit assez à la Mission. . . .”

The same Religious, 16.10.1655,⁷ continued on the subject:

“Les dicts Hollandois restent maistres absolus de toutes les Mers des Indes: et de tous les
“négoes ne restent plus ou peu de traficq en mains des Portugais, car, quant à ce qui est
“de Goa, et d’aucuns autres lieux de peu de conséquence, les Hollandois ne les veulent
“pas . . . leur suffisant d’avoir osté le comerce aux Portugais. . . .”

¹ Fr. Charles of Jesus Mary, Taranto, 21.12.1644, O.C.D. 236 b.

² Fr. Dominic of Christ, 30.6.1641, O.C.D. 236 b.

⁴ 4.8.1653, O.C.D. 241 f.

⁵ O.C.D. 236 l.

³ and ⁵ O.C.D. 237 i.

⁷ *Idem*, 241 h.

This weakening of their power outside the limits of Goa and the territory still held did not, however, make the Portuguese authorities any more willing to allow fresh foreign Religious (and Carmelites, specifically) to reside in Portuguese jurisdiction, e.g. in 1654¹ the Vicar Provincial wrote to Rome:

"I have learnt from the Augustinian Fathers the story, and they say that strict orders
"have been given by the new Viceroy, Branco de Castro, prohibiting any foreign Religious
"from being in India . . ."

and in March 1656:²

"The prohibition by the king of Portugal on the entry of foreign Religious is still in
"vigour. . . ."

Notwithstanding, the same Fr. Felix of S. Antony from Basra, 11.1.1654,³ reported with evident satisfaction:

"On the 4th of this month I received a letter from the Viceroy of the Indies, who is very
"greatly attached to us, and with it he recommended to my care a packet of letters which,
"he tells me, are of the greatest importance, to send on their way to Lisbon. . . ."

Some of the losses in numbers through death are given by name in the correspondence extant. Fr. Vincent of S. Francis died in October 1649:⁴ Fr. John Evangelist (? also called John Damascene) on 15.10.1652:⁵ and in the same year Fr. John of the Cross, a Portuguese. On 31.7.1654 died both Frs. Justin of S. Teresa (sent to Goa in 1651) and Nicolas of S. Joseph, from Poland:⁶ before 20.6.1658 Fr. Joseph Mary of S. Alexis, born in India, died at Goa.⁷

On 28.5.1653 (*Regesta*, vol. IV, p. 339) the Definitory General gave

"formal instructions for the Convent at Goa not to sell or in any way alienate real property
"concerning our Convent at Goa without express permission from the Definitory General."

This caveat was renewed, 23.5.1656. (On 18.1.1678—see *Regesta*, vol. VI, p. 39—the Convent at Goa was authorized to sell certain small houses and a palm-garden of the value of about 1,000 scudi, a legacy from Antonio Pereira Coutinho.)

On 13.7.1654

"the Fathers of the Definitory General met . . . and in the presence of a notary and
"witnesses made a power of attorney in favour of Fr. Dominic of the Most Holy Trinity . . .
"to execute an agreement . . . in Portugal regarding those things which were bequeathed
"or given to our Convent in Goa and other Residences in India. . . ."

From this period data regarding the Convent at Goa and the Religious working there are scarce in letters of the missionaries. In the 1660's the Convent was evidently in a solvent condition, according to the 'Ordinances' of the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Dionysius, 31.10.1667:⁸ it was not only a creditor of the Convent at Isfahan and Residence of Shiraz, but three years previously the Convent of Goa had granted the College at San Pancrazio, Rome, a daily stipend for 3 Masses to be said in that seminary.

A list of 1663⁹ gives the names of 4 Fathers and one Lay Brother at Goa, none of less than 14 years' service in the missions, and only one of them from Italy, a Neapolitan: the Procurator's

¹ Fr. Felix, 16.8.1654, O.C.D. 237 i.

⁴ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 21.3.1650, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁶ *Idem*, 25.3.1655, O.C.D. 237 i.

⁸ O.C.D. 237 d

² 20.3.1656, O.C.D. 241 k.

⁵ Fr. Felix, 12.5.1652, O.C.D. 237 i.

⁷ *Idem*, letter of that date, O.C.D. 237 i.

⁹ *Idem*, 235 n.

³ O.C.D. 241 k.

list of 1671, given to the Sacr. Congregation in Rome, shows an increase—8 Fathers (of whom 3 Portuguese and 4 from Italy) and 2 Portuguese choir-brothers, and there still was a novice-master.¹ From 1668–71 the veteran Fr. Stephen of Jesus was Prior of the Convent² and then was succeeded by Fr. Cornelius of S. Cyprian. After the visitation by Fr. Godfrey (Gottifredo) of S. Andrew, and with the return of Fr. Valerius of S. Joseph, the Procurator, from Rome to Goa in 1672 there appears to have been some increase in giving the habit to local Portuguese, for one Religious, fresh from Europe, Fr. John Mary of Jesus, wrote:³

“I am being sent to Goa to teach philosophy to 7 or 8 lately professed. . . .”

Three years later, the Vicar Provincial from Shiraz⁴ explained the position at Goa to the Praepositus General, Rome:

(Fr. Valerius having died, and after the departure of Fr. Cyprian as Procurator) “the Convent at Goa will remain for the time being with none of our European Religious, for there will be only Fr. Felician, the Prior, and Fr. John Mary: and from here we have no one to send to help in India. On the other hand, as there are at the time 3 Portuguese priests, 4 professed choir-brothers and 3 novices all of small learning, I am much afraid trouble will arise. . . .”

And six months later⁵ the same Vicar Provincial represented to the Definitory General that:

“in Goa the Portuguese viceroy asks that the missionaries should *not be French*: this presumably is a matter of politics between the two kings. . . .”

Fr. Felician was still Prior in 1679–80 when, after the Congress held at Bandar 'Abbas in 1679, he was sent on deputation by the Vicar Provincial to make a visitation and enquiry at Basra.⁶ From 1676 Fr. Agnellus of the Immaculate Conception was for several years at Goa before his return to Rome in 1682: and at the end of 1684 he was back in Goa as Vicar Provincial and Visitor General, but no reports or letters of his from Goa appear to be extant. Matters transacted on the 26th and 27th October 1682 by the Definitory General in Rome include reference to a sum left by one Pedro Mascarenhas for the building of “our church” and, strangely enough, sanction for “music to be played in our church at Goa on S. Joseph's Day, the Commemoration of the Blessed Virgin of Carmel, and on Palm Sunday”. On 10.6.1683 the Definitory General gave a dispensation for the habit to be worn by Tertiaries at the Convent of Goa and directed that Convent to refund to Isfahan the journey expenses of all Religious transferred from Persia to Goa.

Then in 1686 Fr. Elias of S. Albert from Isfahan wrote⁷ of his readiness to proceed to Surat⁸ for the election of a Procurator,

“if the Prior of Goa and his companion do not oblige us by coming to Persia. . . .”

Before June 1689 the xenophobe policy of the authorities in Goa had been revived acutely, for Fr. Elias, by then Vicar Provincial, referred⁹ to the ban on foreign, and particularly Italian, missionaries which had recently been re-enacted in Goa, and to

“the news, though unconfirmed, that our Fathers have been chased out of Goa for reasons of State. . . . From our Fathers for more than a year past we have received no letter

¹ S.R., vol. 428, p. 224.

² *Idem*, vol. 429, pp. 188–97.

³ 22.11.1672, O.C.D. 238 s.

⁴ Fr. Jerome of Jesus Mary, 17.2.1675, O.C.D. 238 q.

⁵ *Idem*, 31.8.1675.

⁶ *Chron. Basra*.

⁷ 19.7.1686, O.C.D. 237 h.

⁸ The Definitory General had given sanction, 8.10.1686, to the Vicar Provincial to found a new hospice in the town of Surat (see *Regesta*, vol. VI).

⁹ Letter of 18.6.1689, O.C.D. 237 h.

"at all. . . . I have sent to India in my stead Fr. Candidus . . . he left Kung in the beginning of October 1688. . . . The ships lately come from Goa bring the news that *"all the foreign Fathers have left there, and retired to Malabar, only Portuguese remaining, the president of whom is said to be Fr. Philip . . ."*

and in the following month, July,¹ the Vicar Provincial reported:

"Fr. Hermengild came back from Surat, whence, having learnt of the *expulsion* of our *Italian Fathers* from the districts of the Portuguese, he returned to bring me news, together with letters from the *Fathers expelled*. . . . *They wrote me from Malabar*. . . . Fr. Telesphorus . . . has sailed by way of Portugal to give an account of everything. . . . Our poverty will increase. It is said that the Portuguese want missionaries, who are Portuguese subjects, to be sent by our Congregation in *Spain* for Goa and Diu. This in my opinion might be agreed, but with the restitution to our Eastern missions of the cost of our churches and convents handed over: with this the mission to Malabar can be kept up. . . ."

Therefore the Vicar Provincial retained for the time being in Persia, and did not send on to Goa Frs. Gaspar Joseph and Xavier and John Mary, who had arrived out in Isfahan from Europe, until the beginning of September 1691, when Fr. Gaspar Joseph, as Prior of Isfahan and Visitor Provincial, with Fr. Conrad was dispatched to Goa to represent the Convent of Isfahan at the Congress for election of a Procurator.²

Thereafter the only reference to Goa observed in the correspondence between the Religious is contained in a letter of 1701 by Lay Brother Francis Mary of S. Sirus:³ on leaving Surat for Persia he found on board the senior ship of the Portuguese fleet

"Fr. John Francis of S. Hermengild, whom the Archbishop of Ancyra had made Visitor General [*?sic*] of (the Convent and Residence at) Goa and Diu. . . . He had made a visitation of the Convent at Goa . . . but to such great scandal. . . . He asked the Viceroy for two companies of soldiers as assistance to have imprisoned Fr. Fulgentius and Fr. Mark and, these being given him without sufficient reflection, he had the Convent surrounded by one company and had the Fathers carried off and put in prison with irons on their legs. . . ."

With that surprising incident, only too much in keeping with precedents of political intervention in its stormy history, the settlement of Discalced Carmelites at Goa drew to its end.

For—to quote the *Analecta* of the Order for April–June 1934:⁴

"Our Fathers residing in Goa, as being not of Portuguese nationality, were compelled by the Portuguese government either to take an oath of obedience to the Portuguese government, or to quit Goa. Since they were unwilling to tender that obedience, they were expelled by the government in question from the Convent at Goa and the dominions of the Portuguese, and their Convent was handed over to the Fathers of the Oratory of S. Philip Neri of Portuguese nationality . . . (1709). All the efforts and admonitions of the Supreme Pontiff, Clement XI, remained ineffectual, though he sent various Apostolic letters to the king and queen of Portugal, calling for the restitution to the Carmelite Fathers of their convents. Driven out of Goa, therefore, they transferred themselves to the town of Sunkeri or Karwar in the northern part of the kingdom of Canara. . . ."

By 1719 the Vicar Provincial (Fr. Faustin) signed himself no longer 'Vicar Provincial of Persia and the Indies', but 'of Persia and Basra'.⁵

¹ Letter of 26.7.1689, O.C.D. 237 h. ² Fr. Elias of S. Albert, 24.9.1691, O.C.D. 238 u. ³ 13.5.1701, O.C.D. 238 t.

⁴ p. 148, by Fr. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, Archivist of the Order. ⁵ *Chron. Basra*, p. 356 of original MSS.

Long before that date, however, the real missionary interests of the Order in India had moved south, to the Malabar coast—since, in fact, the first dispatch as Apostolic commissary of Fr. Joseph of S. Mary (afterwards Bishop of Bisignano) in 1656—a mission far more fruitful in the yield of proselytes and enduring to the present century.

To summarize:

- (1) Established, after much opposition, from 1620—the foundation accepted by the Definitory General only in 1625—the Discalced Carmelites worked in Goa till 1709, some 89 years: and were then compelled to leave by political force.
- (2) Apart from a small country-house outside the town acquired in 1613, there were buildings on two separate sites, the second a legacy for the creation of a College accruing in 1630, and still possessed at least as late as 1654. Presumably it was the original building of 1620 which was enlarged at so great cost and so imposingly by the Visitor General, Fr. Epiphanius, between 1629 and 1634: this building passed in 1709 into the hands of the Oratorian Congregation. Of the disposal of the other no mention appears in the correspondence examined.
- (3) The two objectives of the Order in accepting this foundation in Goa failed—within 20 years of its inception (save intermittently) as regards the obtaining and remitting charitable alms in sufficient sums to maintain adequately the Convent at Isfahan and Residences in Persia and Basra: and, as to the provision of a supply of suitable novices to train for replenishing the needs of the mission in Persia, Tatta, etc., with few exceptions the human material obtained was not of the standard required as clerics and missionaries. Further, on account of the great distances and slow travelling between Goa and Isfahan, the delegation of suitable Religious as representatives for elections, and the provision of trained Religious for the Convent in Goa were a constant drain on the impoverished resources of the Mission in Persia, and impaired the usefulness and compactness, and singleness of direction of aim of the latter.

THE RESIDENCE AT DIU

DIU is an island and small seaport on the south coast of the Kathiawar peninsula, in the province of Gujarat. The Portuguese obtained possession of the island in 1545, and have held it ever since: Diu town is situated at the east end of the island. At the battle there in 1548 the governor de Castro died in the arms of S. Francis Xavier (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 10th edition).

In a letter as early as 20.6.1623 from Basra¹ Fr. Basil of S. Francis reported:

"Two soldiers here have told me about a chief town in India, which they call *Diu*, how "in it a rich man had made a house for 'Our Lady of Carmel', and sent to Goa to see "whether the Fathers would come and live in it. . . ."

Fr. Leander of the Annunciation is given as the 'founder' in 1628 of this mission, the inauguration as dating from 12.12.1628, the dedication as being to the 'Patriarch Joseph'.² However that may be, Fr. Dimas wrote from Isfahan to Fr. Paul Simon in Rome, 18.2.1630:³

"I have reported also how our Fathers of Goa took a hospice in the town of Diu, and "thence they write to me that the Archbishop of Goa has made them shut the doors of the "church, with penalties against anyone hearing Mass in that House of ours . . .";

but by August of that same year the Vicar Provincial was able to reassure the Order on that point:

" . . . the Archbishop of Goa has given his confirmation to the institution of our House at "Diu. . . ."⁴

Evidently, therefore, in its first years the foundation had not been officially recognized or sanctioned by the Archbishop of Goa in whose diocesan jurisdiction Diu lay: for again, 24.8.1630, Fr. Basil was writing from Basra:⁵

" . . . The Archbishop of Goa has just died: the council of canons" (i.e. of the cathedral, Goa) "who have been left with the government of the diocese pay us great respect, and "they have given us a licence to open the church at Diu: and this was done with great festivity "and solemnity, and to the applause of the people: in that town the Visitor" (i.e. Fr. Epiphanius of S. John Baptist) "has set up a seminary, and Fr. Leonard is teaching eight "Religious."

These last words were confirmed in a later letter to the Praepositus General:

"The Visitor has made Fr. Leonard Vicar at Diu—the House of studies . . .",⁶

but that seminary, if it continued so long, had no longer Fr. Leonard at its head after 1633. In 1629 Fr. Dominic of Christ was taken from Isfahan and placed in charge of the mission at Diu (*vide* Fr. Dimas' letter, 18.9.1629, O.C.D. 237 b.), whence in 1634 he passed to Goa, elected Prior (*vide* Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanct., book 7, vol. 4, chap. 13, MSS., O.C.D. 285-6).

¹ and ⁵ O.C.D. 241 g.

² *La Orden de S. Teresa . . . y las Misiones . . .* by Fr. Florencio del Niño Jesus, Madrid, 1923.

³ O.C.D. 237 b.

⁴ *Idem*, 2.8.1630.

⁶ Fr. Dimas, 14.2.1631, O.C.D. 237 b.

Fr. Balthazar of the Mother of God was posted at Diu in September 1643, when out of alarm at the proceedings of the Apostolic Visitor and the Portuguese civil authorities he determined to abandon the house, retiring to Persia. With him left Fr. Stephen of Jesus and Fr. Joseph Alexis. Fr. Balthazar was however again reported at Diu in 1647,¹ and he died at Diu before 22.3.1652.² In the autumn of 1643, on the departure of Fr. Balthazar presumably, Fr. John of the Cross, a Portuguese and follower of Fr. Matthew of the Cross, was made Vicar of Diu by the Apostolic Visitor from Portugal.³ In 1647 Fr. Eustace of the Most Holy Sacrament died at Diu after 5 days' illness.⁴ Fr. Matthew of S. Joseph in 1652 came to Diu, where he was ill.⁵ Fr. Leander of the Resurrection before June 1655

"had died at Diu in the odour of sanctity, and his effects were distributed to the
"people . . ."⁶

Fr. Stephen of Jesus became Vicar in 1656⁷—he had declared in a letter from Isfahan of 4.4.1656 that it would be easy for himself to enter India as he had

"sworn fealty together with the other Superiors of Orders on the proclamation of the king
"of Portugal in Goa, being Vicar of the Convent at the time . . .":

he is mentioned as still at Diu in 1661,⁸ and indeed he remained there till 1668—"ruled the
"House at Diu for twelve years", was the statement made about him by the Procurator of
the Mission to the Sacr. Cong., Rome, in 1671.⁹

In 1653¹⁰ Fr. Barnabas at Basra had

"heard through the English gentlemen" (i.e. the English East India Company's agents)
"that the Dutch gentlemen" (i.e. the Dutch East India Company) "have designs on the
"town of Diu, belonging to the Portuguese . . .",

and the following year, 27.5.1654,¹¹ the same Religious wrote:

"The English have made a Factory in Diu, a town of the Portuguese, *formerly* a famous
"emporium the place of which has been taken by Surat, not far distant from Diu.

"Now it is thought that they" (i.e. the English) "will draw trade once more to Diu, and
"diminish that passing through Surat (which at present is the most noted port for the
"world's traffic) and that the effect will be felt too by our House at Diu, where almost the
"whole town has received the scapular of Our Lady, and celebrates the feast of (Our Lady
"of Mt.) Carmel with great solemnity in our church. . . ."

The Procurator for the Mission, Fr. Valerius, when in Rome in his report to the Sacr. Cong.
of 26.3.1671,¹² appears to allude to the mission at Diu having ceased to function, when he
writes:

"In India we *had* . . . another" (Residence) "in Diu, where the Portuguese live in an
"impregnable fortress",

and elsewhere in that same report:

"In 1669 the Arabs from Masqat entering the outskirts of Diu with a force of 10,000 had
"burnt our principal chapel, sacristy and parts of the dormitory at Diu, a musket-shot
"distant from the fortress, which was defended by 35 Portuguese soldiers only. . . ."

¹ Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 21.6.1647, O.C.D. 237 f.

² Fr. Stephen, 22.3.1652, O.C.D. 238 c

³ Fr. Ignatius, 25.1.1644, O.C.D. 241 m.

⁴ *Idem*, 12.6.1647, O.C.D. 241 m., and Fr. Dominic of S. Mary, 21.6.1647, O.C.D. 237 f.

⁵ Fr. Ignatius, 18.8.1652, O.C.D. 241 m.

⁶ Fr. Barnabas, 24.6.1655, O.C.D. 241 f.

⁷ Fr. Felix, 20.3.1656, O.C.D. 237 i.

⁸ *Idem*, 10.6.1661, O.C.D. 238 p

⁹ S.N.R., I, p. 278.

¹⁰ and ¹¹ Fr. Barnabas, 14.7.1653, O.C.D. 241 f.

¹² S.R., vol. 428, p. 224.

Further, in his other report while in Rome, dated 4.4.1671,¹ the same Procurator from the Mission mentioned that Fr. Salvator of S. Mary, a Portuguese, "at present Vicar of Diu", had never left Goa!

But if the mission of Diu was abandoned in 1669 and so remained in 1671, one may suppose that this was temporarily, and that sometime within the next 12 years it was working again,² for in a letter of 18.6.1689³ Fr. Elias, Vicar Provincial, refers to

"Fr. Antonio, a Portuguese, who had been made Vicar of Diu by my predecessor, . . . a "very prudent Religious, a good preacher. . . ."

The next month,⁴ however, that Vicar Provincial wrote that:

"It is said that the Portuguese want missionaries, who are Portuguese subjects, to be sent "by our Congregation in Spain for Goa and *Diu*. . . . This in my opinion might be agreed, "but with the restitution to our Eastern missions of the cost of our churches and convents "handed over."

No other mention of the Residence at Diu, or Religious being there, has been observed in the correspondence examined from 1671 onwards till on 13.5.1701⁵ Lay Brother Francis Mary of S. Sirius related:

"On the 24th January we left Surat, and the same day met the Portuguese fleet. I went "with the captain on board the senior ship, and found embarked Fr. John Francis of "S. Hermengild, whom Mgr the Archbishop (of Ancyra) had made Visitor General" (of the Houses at) "Goa and *Diu*. . . . He had made a visitation of the convent of Goa. ". . . From Goa he was going to make a visitation of Diu. From Diu he will return to "Persia. . . ."

In the *Analecta* of the Order for April-June 1934, p. 148, the present Archivist General, Fr. Ambrose of S. Theresia, stated:

"Our Fathers residing in Goa, as being not of Portuguese nationality, were compelled "by the Portuguese government either to take an oath of obedience to the Portuguese "government or to quit Goa. Since they were unwilling to tender this obedience they "were expelled by the government in question from the Convent at Goa and the dominions "of the Portuguese and their Convent was *handed over to the Fathers of the Oratory of S. Philip "Neri, of Portuguese nationality*, just as also (was done) *with their Residence in the town of Diu* "(1709). All the efforts and admonitions of the Supreme Pontiff, Clement XI, remained "ineffectual, though he sent various Apostolic letters to the king and queen of Portugal, "calling for the restitution to the Carmelite Fathers of those convents. . . ."

From this it may be surmised that the mission at Diu was supplied with missionaries from Goa of Portuguese race between 1684 and 1709.

The total life of the mission had, therefore, been some 81 years (apart from intervals when it was perhaps abandoned).

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¹ *S.R.*, vol 428, p. 224.

² For instance, on 29.10.1682, the Definitory General in Rome ordered that,

"when there are 3 or 4 priests at the Residence at Diu, they are required to recite the Divine Office in choir at the hour "found most convenient by the Fr. Vicar" (see *Regesta*, vol. II, p. 211).

³ O.C.D. 237 h.

⁴ *Idem*, 26.7.1689.

⁵ O.C.D. 238 t.



MASQAT
The Portuguese Fortress

AT THIS capital of the 'Ibadhli Sultans of 'Uman (and of Zanzibar formerly), situate on the Arabian coast outside the entrance to the Persian Gulf, the Discalced Carmelites would appear to have owned between 1629 and 1645 a house during the period of the Portuguese possession of the fortress, which was constructed by the Portuguese after capture of the place by Albuquerque in 1508, and of which the twin castles, Jalali to the east, Mirani to the west, still stand imposingly: for there are several references to it. But no mention of any mission post or of Carmelite Fathers being stationed there has been noticed in the original letters preserved or other documents; so that it may have been acquired and held after the fall of Hurmuz as a hostel for convenience of Carmelite Religious, detained there on voyages between India, Kung and Basra. The surmise (*in the Encyclopaedia Britannica*) that the name ul-Jiraiza, given by the Arabs to the palace of the Sultan to-day, is a corruption of 'Igrezia' (Portuguese for 'church'), and has its origin in a chapel once attached to the residence of the Portuguese governor, would indicate the church of the Augustinian Hermits, for that Order had spiritual charge of Masqat, not the Carmelites.

A document in O.C.D. 235 c., describing the circumstances of the election for a Prior of Isfahan in 1625, later annulled, mentions:

"After some months Fr. John Thaddeus came to Shiraz *to go to Masqat, in order to pay debts there.* . . . But, before Fr. John left for Masqat . . . all the Fathers urged him not "to go to Masqat. So the latter put in writing the reasons why he thought it well that he "should continue his journey to Masqat. . . . Having had money from the Khan of "Shiraz for his journey and one horse, and taken from a servant of the English 2 Tumans" (i.e. 20 gold pieces) "for his journey to Masqat. . . ."

In his letter of 21.6.1647 (O.C.D. 237 f.) the Vicar Provincial, Fr. Dominic of S. Mary), referring to an event which occurred at the end of 1645, or early 1646, stated that:

"Fr. Eustace came to *Masqat* where—I know not with what authority—he and Fr. Ignatius "sold a small house which the Order had there."

That Vicar Provincial himself (with Frs. Augustine and Barnabas) was in Masqat from 20.11.1643 till the end of February 1644, as he related in his letter of 9.8.1644: and his successor, Fr. Dominic of S. Nicolas, was there from October 1649 (writing his letter, 25.10.1649, from that port) till the storming of the fortress by the Arabs in December of that year.

Years later, in his report to the Sacr. Congregation, docketed 26.3.1671 (*S.N.R.*, I, p. 252), the Procurator, Fr. Valerius, wrote:

"In Arabia we have one Residence only—in the town of Basra—as *two other Houses,* "which we had of old, have been lost: one in the town of Hurmuz, . . . *the other in Masqat.* . . ."

and he added elsewhere in his reports of 1671:

"Ten years ago some Christians urged us to go to Masqat, having obtained permission "for this from the Imam of 'Uman but it did not take effect, as the Sultan" (i.e. Imam) "at the time when negotiations were proceeding killed in hatred of the Faith two Portuguese "captured in these waters by his ships (Alexander da Campos and another), who refused to "become renegades. . . ."

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THE RESIDENCE AT BAGHDAD: AND CARMELITES IN MESOPOTAMIA

THE CARMELITE establishment at Baghdad was begun more than a century later than those missions of 'Persia and the Indies', of which details are given in the present compilation, and it never fell within the limits of their 'province': it originated in the fact that the Vicars Apostolic appointed for the diocese of Baghdad from 1722 onwards were Carmelites, and were allowed one or two Religious of the Order as their companions. The present work is not concerned with it, therefore, and its history has been compiled in recent times:

(Annales de la Mission de Bagdad des Pères Carmes Déchaussés depuis sa fondation jusqu'à nos jours rédigées d'après d'anciens manuscrits, par le Rev. Père Pierre de la Mère de Dieu);

but the idea of founding at Baghdad was conceived by the missionaries from Persia very early, and there are references to this in the letters of those Fathers, which may usefully be brought together here with other data to show how it grew.

The first Carmelite sent to Basra, Fr. Basil of S. Francis, had only been there a few months, when he discussed in a letter in Portuguese to his own brother, Fr. Luke, of the Order in Rome (9.5.1624) a project for founding a Residence in Baghdad. The next year (12.5.1625) to the Praepositus General he wrote:¹

"It appears to me that Your Reverence has a desire that a House of ours should be founded
"at *Baghdad*: I do not consider myself . . . capable enough for such affairs but, even to
"giving my life which is the most one can give, I shall do it willingly for the sake of holy
"obedience: when matters are finally settled between the Turk and Persian sovereigns
"(which will be soon) then will be an opportune time for it. . . ."

(Five years later, 20.2.1630, perhaps referring to correspondence of 1625, Fr. Basil mentioned:

"I do not forget that Your Reverence wrote to me once some years ago, and
"displayed to me a great desire to have a House for our Mission in *Baghdad*. I too
"desire it greatly, and it seems to me that it would be very useful and easy to undertake.")

To return: 26.2.1628 Fr. Basil addressed the Praepositus General:

"From Fr. Prosper I have had letters, and he writes to me that they have already bought
"a House in Aleppo: please God it will be to His glory and the weal of souls. . . . I greatly
"rejoice that we have this House in Aleppo, because with it we should have easier com-
"munication with our Fathers in Rome. *Only Baghdad*, which is in between, is lacking:
"and I hope that we shall have one there, by God's help."

Again, 26.9.1628:

"I should value it greatly if we were to make a *Residence in Baghdad*, because with it
"transit would be much easier, and, besides the great good it would bring with it, such an
"enterprise together with that of Mt. Carmel would round off to perfection these mission
"posts of ours. . . ."

¹ O.C.D. 241 g.

The Definitory General examined the proposal, 8.1.1630, and decided in the negative (see *Regesta*, vol. II, p. 47).

The Capuchins had gone to Baghdad from Aleppo in 1629: and Fr. Basil reported, 20.2.1630, their arrival at Basra as his guests some 15 days previously, because they had judged it prudent to withdraw from Baghdad on account of the war between Persia and Turkey.

In December 1639¹ Fr. Basil was himself in Baghdad, on his return from Europe and favourably impressed by the oriental Christians, writing from the city:

"I am on very familiar terms with all the Christians and enter their houses and converse with their families, men and women, big and small, as if it were in Santarem: and, as I am passing through here and we have no House of our own, I am constantly invited by these Christians. . . . To-day, the first in Advent according to the oriental reckoning, I prayed in the Arabic language in their church: and it is something to reverence that in all this time of Advent, which is always 25 days with these people, there is no person, big nor small, that eats meat, nor fish, nor eggs, nor milk foods, nor drinks wine: so that these people are very devout and their ceremonies for the Mass excellent, though they are very ignorant about many things. . . ."

When on 17.5.1641 (see *Regesta*, vol. II, p. 132) a Carmelite Residence in Baghdad was once more considered by them, the Definitory General agreed to the suggestion.

Then in 1646 Fr. Stephen of Jesus, returning to the East as Visitor General, was so impressed with the opportunity offering that, while in Baghdad, 3.11.1646,² he determined to sell off and use the Carmelite property in Shiraz:

". . . Further, it is necessary to found (a House) at Baghdad for the good both of souls and . . . to that end I have ordered Isfahan to sell the rest of the House at Shiraz, and that the proceeds together with the fittings of that House should remain in deposit, *destined for the House to be founded at Baghdad*, for which all the Christians are clamouring for Fr. Basil to be sent. . . . I think that on my return from India . . . I shall make the establishment in question. . . ."

He did not return in that office, and no foundation was made.

While Baghdad was in Persian occupation, till 1639, a settlement by Christian Religious Orders offered no particular difficulty; it was a different matter from that year onwards: and so, when in 1722 Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus was appointed Vicar Apostolic for the diocese of Baghdad and sent to Mesopotamia by the Sac. Congregation, he pointed out in a letter of 17.1723 from Basra:

"I have already written to Your Excellency that I remained 4 months in Baghdad, and that I had been received there by the Christians with gladness and respect. . . . I ought perhaps to go . . . but I cannot without evident risk for ourselves and for the Christians, because we have no permission from the Ottoman Porte to remain there: therefore it is necessary to proceed with great caution. . . . My companion, since he had been compelled to leave Hamadan on account of the warfare in Persia, came here and on the way stopped 3 months at Baghdad. . . ."³

In March 1725 Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus had requested the French ambassador in Constantinople to obtain facilities from the Sultan: and, in the course of his reply, dated 10.11.1725,⁴ Monsieur d'Andresel had stated:

¹ O.C.D. 242 c.

³ Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, Basra, 17.1723, *S.N.R.*, III, p. 56.

² *Idem*, 238 c.

⁴ *S.N.R.*, III, p. 595.

"Quant au troisième commandement, pour permettre d'avoir une maison à Babylone" (i.e. Baghdad) "dans laquelle on puisse faire ses prières et où les Chrétiens du pays eussent la liberté d'aller, la demande en a été faite par plusieurs de mes prédécesseurs, et elle a toujours été rejetée, ainsi il ne seroit pas prudent de s'exposer à un nouveau refus. Il est vrai que les Capucins avoient autre fois une maison dans cette ville, mais elle fut démolie par ordre de la Porte pendant l'ambassade de M. de Feriol. . . ."

At this period, 1722-30, according to the Vicar Apostolic¹ the oriental Christians in Baghdad were nearly all 'uniat'-minded:

"... But this people is very devoted to the Roman Church, and there is scarcely one in this city who professes heretical doctrines."

There were in 1728 two churches in Baghdad, wrote Fr. Joseph Mary on 6.12.1728,² one being of the Nestorians, the other of the Armenians, and he added that their priests called themselves Catholics, as did almost all their people, but that the priests were appointed by the heretic patriarch. Again, 28.3.1729,³ he was writing to the Cardinal Prefect:

"Almost all heretics, Nestorians as well as Armenians, are professing to be Catholics: so recently I had petitioned the Pasha to be allowed to make in Baghdad a Residence with a church, which the latter had not refused. . . ."

(His successor, Fr. Emmanuel of S. Albert, was more precise as to numbers, and cautious in gauging the reality of communion with the Holy See, e.g. in his report to the Sac. Cong. in Rome of about April 1740⁴ he wrote of the city as

"containing about 150 families of the Syrian, Nestorian or Chaldaean, and Armenian communities, *the greater part of whom* have embraced the Catholic Faith—the other part has the greatest veneration for the Holy Roman See, and always and everywhere shows it, but is kept back by fear of the Turks and the heretic priests, serving God and Belial, though one is not without hope of its conversion before long. . . .")

Fr. Emmanuel had arrived at Baghdad first, after his appointment as pro-Vicar Apostolic, in September 1729. He found that:

"As there is no fixed hospice for our (missionaries) this mission had been able to effect little, i.e. merely to celebrate Mass on Sundays and feast-days, and administer the Sacraments to some few people. . . . For more than 8 years Fr. Joseph Mary had laboured in this vineyard in this *clandestine* manner and often had been compelled by fear of the infidels or of the heretics to desert it, and flee to Aleppo, or Hamadan or Basra.

"At that time there were about 100 families of either the Armenian or the Syrian or Nestorian rite at Baghdad, among whom were 30 professing the Catholic Faith, but the latter were plunged in such ignorance that barely five or six of the older men knew how to read and write: and most of the Catholics frequented the heretical church, and they abounded with almost innumerable superstitions. Greatly desiring to eradicate these, and to place this mission on a stable and profitable basis, on the advice of Fr. Joseph Mary I considered the sole method would be if a petition were presented to the French Viceroy in the East Indies" (asking) "that a letter should be addressed" (by the Viceroy) "to the governor of Baghdad to the effect that it would be convenient, on account of divers business facilities, that the French should become established there (in Baghdad) with all manner of liberty, and that they should build for themselves their own house. . . ."

¹ Fr. Joseph Mary of Jesus, Baghdad, 2.12.1725, *S.N.R.*, III, p. 588.

² *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 50.

³ *Idem*, p. 34.

⁴ *Idem*, pp. 577-80.

"In the month of June 1730 I set out for Basra and . . . reached Pondicherry after 3 "months' voyage. Having learnt the reason for my arrival, the Viceroy summoned the "Council, to which I myself was admitted, and (where) I made my petition: it being "approved he sent me back very courteously with letters and gifts: and I returned to "Baghdad 9(?) months after my departure thence. . . . As the Governor (of Baghdad) "received me and the gifts brought favourably, *he gave me permission for us to found a House. . . .*"¹

So back in Baghdad, after his voyage, in June 1731 Fr. Emmanuel, in the words of his report of 1753,² printed in Rome 1754:

" . . . In the year 1731" (it was April he elsewhere relates) "not far from the houses "of the Catholics we bought for 500 piastres a house in ruins, but the extent of which could "provide a place for a church and very spacious house. The construction would cost not "less than 10,000 isolotas" (i.e. piastres) "in the opinion of the architect: since we were "unable to meet such expenditure, and scarcely to pay the cost-price to the seller . . . in "the place destined for the church we built a chapel suitable for existing requirements, "dedicating it to S. Thomas, Apostle of the Indies. . . ."

"Before this I did not have a church: now I have a house, and a church, with a large "number of people attending it . . ."

wrote Fr. Joseph Mary, 20.8.1732 (*S.N.R.*, IV).

Before July 1732, however, Fr. Emmanuel had gone off again, to Constantinople this time it would appear, in connection with the new foundation: and he was not back again till shortly before 3.5.1734, though while detained at Aleppo he had had made or got together a quantity of necessities for the chapel at Baghdad and house at Hamadan—chalices, candlesticks, tabernacle, monstrance, sacred pictures, and even bought furniture. In his absence Fr. Joseph Mary had remained in Baghdad, and, in a letter of 26.4.1735,³ spoke of the premises as if acquired on his own initiative,

"I bought a spacious, but ruined house: I have built it up, and in these last few days "completed it altogether. The church is open to all. . . . But our church is a constant "miracle, because it is prohibited among the Ottomans, and unheard of, that a new and "public one be built. . . ."

To whichever of the two Carmelites the purchase was actually due, it would seem that it was not till after the departure of Fr. Joseph Mary from Mesopotamia that Fr. Emmanuel obtained a document from the Turkish authorities permitting the acquisition of a house for the dwelling of the missionaries, and performance of their religious rites therein:

" . . . As to this mission at Baghdad, it is . . . in excellent condition, and the missionaries can abide here in all safety; because *one month ago* the Pasha here, called Isma'il, "whom I was serving as doctor and who for that reason was very kindly disposed, was made "Grand Vizir, the highest dignity in the Empire, and *before leaving for* Constantinople he "granted me a decree sealed with his seal, so that no one should molest us in our House "and that we may perform our functions in all freedom—a very particular mark of favour, "seeing that, despite their powers, our ambassadors have great difficulty in obtaining such, "even if they spend a large sum of money. . . ."⁴

And the Bishop of Isfahan, Mgr Philip Mary, on his way through Baghdad, wrote to Rome, 29.9.1736:⁵

¹ and ² *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 123, report of January 1753 to Pope Benedict XIV, printed Rome, 1754.

³ *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 385.

⁴ Fr. Emmanuel, Baghdad, 9.9.1735, *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 390.

⁵ *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 419

“ . . . our Very Revd. Fr. Emmanuel of S. Albert, pro-Vicar Apostolic of this diocese . . .
 “has obtained from Constantinople a decree, which indeed I have seen, by virtue of which he has
 “constructed the church, and at present, to the glory of the Lord, it is being attended by the
 “people. . . .”

In his report to the Pope of 1753, already quoted, Bishop Emmanuel related:

“Two missionaries were sent to labour with me, in accordance with my request, and I
 “always lived with them in great poverty, so that by parsimony I might be in a position
 “to build the church, and adorn it fittingly . . . having purchased the house, as I said
 “above, in the month of April 1731, each year as far as my means allowed I expended
 “on its construction such sums that by the year 1751 the church and House were so well
 “finished that nothing suitable or convenient was lacking in them. . . .”

Those two first Carmelite missionaries sent in 1734-5 for the work of the Bishop, were Frs.
 Charles Raymond of S. Joseph and Leander of S. Cecilia: and the latter in the second volume
 of his *Journeys* mentioned that:

“ . . . The English consul, named Mr. French . . . to this consul we owe a large part
 “of our House at Baghdad, which was enlarged with his gift of 800 piastres to Fr. Emmanuel,
 “my companion. . . .”

(Fr. Emmanuel, in his own letter, 8.2.1736, *S.N.R.*, IV, p. 375, speaks of the

“English consul from Basra . . . is my especial friend, or rather of all the missionaries. . . .”)

The decree, or permit, of Isma'il Pasha did not, however, prevent his successor as Pasha
 of Baghdad in August 1737, when

“the heretic Armenians, jealous at these successful beginnings, and also at the return of
 “many of their number to Holy Church, traduced us to the Governor by repeated accusa-
 “tions,”¹

from accepting bribes and putting Fr. Emmanuel and his companion in prison in chains and
 closing the church :

“When the sum of 30,000 piastres had been paid by the Catholics, 700 by myself, our
 “fetters were unfastened, the church restored. . . . I informed the Most Christian King”
 (i.e. of France) “and his envoy at the Ottoman Porte of this insult. The king, judging
 “that a commission as consul would be greatly to my protection, was pleased to honour
 “me with it, appointed me consul of the French nation, and at the same time instructed
 “his envoy to protect our mission as much as he could. . . .”

At times the Pasha-governors treated the missionaries to a taste of their autocratic methods,
 as for instance when on

“14.10.1748 the Pasha of this city” (Baghdad) “summoned Fr. Constantius, my secretary,
 “and told him that he had just received a letter by special messenger from the Pasha of
 “Mausil, asking for a physician to cure him of a malady, and that accordingly he” (Fr.
 Constantius) “must leave that same day with the post. The poor Father begged to be
 “excused, saying that he could not do so without my permission: and the Pasha answered
 “that either he” (the Father) “would carry out his wishes, or else he (the Pasha) would

¹ Bp. Emmanuel's report to Pope Benedict of 1753, printed Rome, 1754.

"have us all put out of the city. When the Father gave me the news, I went with him to 'the Saraglio . . . but it was altogether useless, and the Pasha made him depart three 'hours later, and in a few days he did 450 miles, and arrived at Mausil, where he gave 'remedies to the Pasha and at the end of ten days he got through with it and took a boat 'on the river and reached Baghdad with fever, which still keeps him in bed on account 'of his sufferings on such a fatiguing journey. . . ."¹

At the end of July 1749 for a second time Bishop Emmanuel himself was to be thrust into the common dungeon, and the schismatic Armenians were the instigators: his report to the cardinal Prefect explained:²

" . . . I am now, Monseigneur, going to inform your Eminence of the most cruel 'persecution that we have suffered since I have been in the East. Some months ago two 'Nestorians of the dregs of the people threatened to accuse the Armenians on the arrival 'of the new Pasha in order to have back their church, of which the Armenians had got 'possession by dint of money under the preceding governorships. All the Catholics did 'what they could to prevent these two wretches from making such an accusation, being 'convinced that the results would be tragic. Nothing availed to stop them. On the 9th 'June (1749) they presented their memorial to the Pasha, who, according to custom being 'very avaricious, had all the Armenians whom he could find put into prison. Then he 'sent an officer to shut up and seal the church in dispute. The person charged with these 'instructions, knowing nothing about the way to it, inquired of some Armenian heretics, 'who instead of sending him to their church had him guided to ours in order to involve 'us in this imbroglio. I have been since assured that they gave 10 sequins to this officer 'to deal the blow, which he performed the more readily as he had made sure in his mind 'of getting out of any blame by saying that he had made a mistake. So he came to our 'House accompanied by some guards, sealed up the church and all the rooms: then he 'put me out of the House, afterwards sealing up the door too. I went first to see the Pasha's 'physician, who is a certain Greek who had stayed a long while in Venice, in order to 'learn some news from him, without, however, telling him that we had just been turned 'out of our House. This Greek, who sees the Pasha every day, told me that the Pasha had 'said to him the day before that he knew that we had come to Baghdad in order to make ' "Franks", i.e. Catholics of the Christians, and that he would like to have us hung: and, 'though this speech had disturbed me a little, it had not frightened me to the point of 'believing it" (i.e. that the Pasha meant it). "Besides, when one is fighting for a good 'cause, God gives the necessary help. I did not want, then, to go and see the Pasha, 'irritated as he was, or professed to be in order to obtain some money; but, arming myself 'with a copy of the Capitulations between the king of France and the Grand Signor, 'which I have at Baghdad properly set out, I took them to the Qadi (or head of the judicial 'department) and then to the Daftardar (or Imperial Treasurer). I let them see the 'articles in the Capitulations, wherein it is forbidden to governors and any other officials 'to seal up the houses of 'Franks' or to offer any violence to their persons or even to disturb 'Bishops and Religious in regard to their churches. My representations had very prompt 'effect. Three hours later the house was handed back to me, they opened up the church 'and all the rooms. The Pasha then took 8,000 to 10,000 piastres from the heretical 'Armenians and gave back to them the church they had previously had. This affair seemed 'then to be completely settled, but an unforeseen occurrence gave rise to a more violent 'persecution, as your Eminence will see in this narrative.

"Sulaiman Pasha of Basra, who for a long time past had coveted the government of 'Baghdad, being unable to feed and maintain his large forces on the barren pastures of 'Basra, has come and camped on the banks of the Euphrates in the fertile lands of the

¹ Bp. Emmanuel, 15.1.1749, *S.N.R.*, V, p. 366.

² *S.N.R.*, V, p. 324, 19.8.1749.

"governorship of Baghdad near to the little town of Hillah, only one and a half day's distance from here."

[See in the section of this work, under 'The Residence at Basra', the entry:

"11.3.1749, having made the necessary preparations Sulaiman Pasha left for Hillah, "on the pretext of an expedition against the Arabs".]

"The Pasha of Baghdad, Taryaki Muhammad Pasha by name, formerly Grand Vizir, considered this step an act of hostility on the part of a man, whom he already regarded "as a rebel against the Porte. After the Diwan had been called together, it was decided "to send all the troops of the Pasha, commanded by his Kiaya, to dislodge them, and "force them to return to Basra. This little army corps consisted of about 6,000-7,000 men, "but it was defeated and cut to pieces by Sulaiman Pasha, to such an extent that only "some 400 soldiers got back to Baghdad. Several thousands were killed on the spot, the "Kiaya and almost all the officers made prisoners and the other soldiers went over to the "side of Sulaiman Pasha.

"By this rout Baghdad has been, and is blockaded, and Sulaiman Pasha enjoys the "revenues of this rich government. The garrison of this city (Baghdad) which is said to "amount to 40,000 Janissaries, has declined to give any help to the Pasha here, because "the greater number desire to have Sulaiman Pasha as governor.

"In this pass the Pasha of Baghdad tried to borrow some sums from the Turkish merchants "in order to provide for his needs, and get together some troops; but, as all the merchants "are Janissaries, no one would lend him one sou. Finally he took it into his head that "he would get this money from the Christians and Jews: several were imprisoned, and their "houses sealed. What surprised me very exceedingly was that the house of the Dutch, "which is near ours, was also forced and their Factor, who is an Armenian, was also taken "away to the prison. Along with the missionaries I was in ours, tranquil in mind as being "protected by the Capitulations, but some heretics suggested to the government that I "might be holding great riches belonging to the French merchants at Basra and that, "besides, if I were imprisoned, it would be the easier to extract what one wanted from the "Christians under my" (episcopal) "jurisdiction.

"In very deed, 31.7.1749, while I was in the House alone with two servants, because "the missionary Fathers were busy with their duties, I found myself surrounded by 10 to "12 men from the government who entered into the rooms, took away from them several "trifles, among them my ring, which was on my table: they then took me outside, sealed "up my rooms, and seized the keys from me. I was then taken off to the prison along "with Fr. Constantius, my secretary, and placed in chains where I stayed 8 days and "suffered extremely from the irons, the stink and the heat of the place and the season of "the year, which brought on a quinsy, which almost suffocated me in the prison, but the "abscess having burst on the day I left the prison, which was last Thursday, I am now "out of danger. As we are universally liked in Baghdad, all the notables spoke in our "favour and represented to the government that this violence might have consequences in "Constantinople. That, Monseigneur, is how this incident ended, of which I have first "informed the Court of France and Monsieur the Ambassador at Constantinople in a "detailed statement. I am confident in the protection of his Majesty to prevent anyone "henceforth committing such excesses in respect to us. Thanks be to God we are at present "free; our church is open and we are carrying out our functions as usual, notwithstanding "the evil intentions of the heretics, who are still at present in prison, and their churches "sealed, whilst Catholicism triumphs. This business has already cost me more than 400 "piastres. . . . I have come to the conclusion that, after such an affront done to a bishop "and consul of France, it would be fitting that I should be away for some time, and that "has made me decide to withdraw to Aleppo in order to await there the orders of the

“French Court and of your Eminences, and the replies from Constantinople, in order to “return subsequently with all honour to Baghdad. . . . The physician tells me that my “native climate will cure my giddiness and deafness. . . .”

(Bishop Emmanuel was away from Baghdad in fact for several years: on 22.6.1753 he was met in Cyprus by the Dominican Fr. Lanza on his way to Mausil.)¹

The Latin ‘letters’ or report, addressed by Bishop Ballyet to Pope Benedict XIV, dated in the original MSS.² from the Convent of S. Teresa and S. John of the Cross at Rome on 15th Calends January 1753 and printed in Rome in 1754 contain information about the church in dispute between the schismatic sects which started that incident. He described how from the year 1744 the Armenians and Nestorians (Chaldaeans) alternately got possession of that church in Baghdad by paying bribes to the Pasha-governors:

“For many years past we had directed all efforts to the complete and entire conversion “of that” (the Nestorian) “community. Scarcely 50 heretical families remained” (unconverted). “At that time circumstances appeared favourable to us for pushing forward with “the work of evangelizing . . . all unanimously agreed and, 15.7.1745, in the presence “of the missionaries made a profession of our holy Catholic Faith. By paying a large sum “the following year (1746) the Armenians once more obtained possession of it” (the church in dispute), “and successively it was given a number of times, first to one and then to the “other of the two communities. At length the Armenians, who were the stronger and “richer community, remained in possession, and so it has stayed to this day” (1753). “But a certain pious Catholic woman named Amani gave as a gift to her Nestorian, or “rather Catholic, community her house adjoining the church: with the consent of the “governor to the gift the house became a church for the Chaldaean community and “dwelling for their priests. . . .”

In that printed report Bishop Emmanuel explained also to the Pope that:

“From my return to Baghdad” (i.e. in 1746 after seven years’ absence) “we enjoyed “peace and tranquillity so long as that governorship” (i.e. of Ahmad Pasha) “lasted; but “in the year 1747, in the month of October, on the death of the celebrated Ahmad Pasha, “this peace was forthwith disturbed: for the whole region was troubled to a distressful “degree and laid waste by civil wars and the revolts of the people who refused to submit “to the governors appointed by the Sultan. In the space of two years four governors came “from Constantinople and were all compelled to depart, driven out in a short time. During “this period of anarchy the Armenian heretics did not fail to vent their spleen against us, “persuading the governor, who was avaricious, to extort from us the highest possible sum “of money . . . on the ground that we had recently erected a public church contrary to “the decree of the Sultan. . . .”

“I return to the revolt by the people and rebellion of the soldiery, to settle which the “Sultan was forced to agree to their request. They were striving that in the place and “governorship of the dead Ahmad Pasha his son-in-law, Sulaiman Pasha, should be “appointed, and they secured this: and it was done so that the whole region might be “contented . . . and now everything is quiet. . . .”

Some ten years after that visit to Rome and report, the Bishop notified the Cardinal Prefect:³

“The ten years’ limit for my visit *ad limina* to the holy Apostles having expired, I propose “by next Easter to profit by the first caravan which may arrive to go and render an account “of my administration to your Eminence and the Sac. Congregation.”

¹ *S.R.*, vol. 757, p. 276.

² *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 123.

³ *Idem*, VII, p. 292, 5.1.1765.

Bishop Ballyet was the one Carmelite prelate in this part of the East who found the means to pay visits to Rome and France every few years and so keep in personal touch with the authorities in church and State: it undoubtedly strengthened his influence. A letter of 27.12.1767¹ gives dates of his return movements:

"I left Rome, 11.6.1767, and reached Marseilles without stopping in any place. I found "a ship at Marseilles ready to sail straight for Alexandretta, which is the port for Aleppo. "I arrived in that city 17.9.1767, and found the great desert caravan about to leave for "Baghdad and Basra. I hardly had the time to rest a few days" (he was then aged 67) "and make preparations for so long and arduous a journey which I was happy to complete "safely in 34 days' marching. The day of my arrival at Baghdad was 10.11.1767. . . ."

The relations of this remarkable bishop with the Nestorians and Chaldaean Catholics may be briefly noted from his own letters and other entries: first, those with the schismatic Nestorian patriarch Elias in 1749:²

"I wrote to the Nestorian patriarch Elias the most sympathetic letters I could. I employed all the arguments that I deemed most appropriate to make him return to the "bosom of the Roman Church. I enclosed in the letter to him a (copy of the) profession "of Faith of our Holy Father Urban VIII, so that he might sign and seal it. I handed "the packet of letters to an Armenian merchant, a zealous Catholic and sufficiently "instructed to be able to reply with effect to the difficulties the patriarch might make. "Moreover, I sent with my letter a little box filled with books in Arabic and Syriac such "as the *Imitation of Christ*, *Christian Doctrine* and books of disputation against the Nestorian "heresy in particular. I added to this a fine crucifix and a picture of the Apostle St. Peter, "all of these to be presented to the patriarch.

"The worthy Armenian executed the commission perfectly, but the results did not come "up to the pains he and I took, for the patriarch received my envoy civilly enough and "feigned to agree with what I wrote him, and handed him the answer, which the merchant "forwarded me from Mausil and I received about one month ago. The patriarch had, "however, sent a profession of Faith which was altogether heretical and gave me very bad "reasons for not having wanted to sign that of Urban VIII. . . ."³

The Bishop's letter of 25.5.1763⁴ contains the statement:

". . . From that time, which was about the year 1750, I have never had any relations "with the Nestorian patriarch in question. . . ."

The sequel is described in Mgr Emmanuel's letters of 1.12.1771,⁵ how a 'bishop'—a nephew⁶—deputed by the Nestorian (Chaldaean) patriarch Elias came to Baghdad to sign the act of submission

"and make his Profession of Faith, which he and his retinue made to me in public in our" (Carmelite) "church in the presence of Mgr Cornelius" (Bishop of Isfahan) "and the "missionary priests and deacons, 22.11.1771. The following day, 23.11.1771, he made his "general confession to me: and on 24.11.1771, feast of S. John of the Cross, we invited "him to say Mass pontifically in our church. . . . The attendance of people of all sorts "of communities was so great that many had to remain in the courtyard. . . ."

¹ *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 478.

² *Idem*, V, p. 324.

³ Bp. Emmanuel's letter of 26.3.1750 (*S.N.R.*, V, p. 405) refers to the refusal of the patriarch Elias at that date to subscribe the profession of Faith of Urban VIII.

⁴ *S.N.R.*, VII, pp. 211-5.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 669, and *Idem*, VIII, pp. 19-21, and *Idem*, p. 18, of 18.1.1772.

⁶ "His vicar general and successor" said Mgr Cornelius, *S.N.R.*, VIII, p. 24.

Relations with the Catholic or Uniat patriarch of the Chaldaeans were not so easy. A decree of 1758¹ restored to each of the oriental prelates his own jurisdiction: and by a Brief of 7.4.1759² Pope Clement raised Timothy, till lately Archbishop of Diarbakr, to the patriarchate of Babylon (Baghdad). Before long the new patriarch considered that the Latin bishop was trespassing in Baghdad on the jurisdiction over his Chaldaean people assigned by the decree of 1758. It was claimed on behalf of the position of the Latin bishops of Baghdad³ that Urban VIII's decrees (a) bound the bishop to permanent residence (in his diocese); (b) forbade the Sacr. Congregation de Propaganda Fide ever to decide anything regarding the Bishop of Baghdad except in a session held in his own presence, or that of his successors—which had never been done; (c) made the Bishop of Baghdad a titular bishop, not *in partibus*:

"In a special session of the Sacr. Congregation held, 31.5.1767,⁴ there was reported by "Cardinal Castelli the Prefect the controversy over jurisdiction which had recently arisen "between Mar Joseph IV Patriarch of the Chaldaeans and Mgr Emmanuel Ballyet, Latin "Bishop of Baghdad; and . . . arguments brought forward by each side against the decree "issued on 1.10.1758 having been weighed . . . their Eminences by an unanimous vote "decided that this decree ought to be observed . . . that the said Bishop should as a special "measure exercise (as regards Chaldaeans in Baghdad, Basra and other districts) the "functions in place of the Patriarch of the Chaldaeans provisionally until the Patriarch "himself provide for a bishop or suitable priest of his own rite, to be approved by the "Sacr. Congregation . . . without, however, any prejudice to the rights of the Patriarch, "and this provisional measure is to last for three years only, and cannot be renewed unless "the Patriarch be heard once more on the subject. . . . The opinion of the Sacr. Congrega- "tion being reported by Mgr Mario Marefoschi . . . in an audience held the same day, "3.5.1767, His Holiness approved it. . . ."

On this controversy the letters jointly signed by Bishop Emmanuel, Frs. Fidelis (the Carmelite Vicar Provincial), Constantius and Angelus of S. Anne on 10.2.1763⁵ and in 1768 (?)⁶ bear no doubt, as also the following communication:⁷

"The ambassador of France begs Mgr Marefoschi, Secretary of the Sacr. Congregation "de Propaganda Fide, to have regard for the rights of Mgr the Bishop of Baghdad. France, "which founded this bishopric entirely, could not see unmoved the occupant of the see "deprived of his jurisdiction: and, as he would then become absolutely useless, it would "consider itself obliged to withdraw him together with the funds assigned for his main- "tenance . . . in order that he may be reinstated in all his rights, which he has always "enjoyed until the decree of 1758, and without which he would no longer be in a position "to work for the good of religion in that country . . .",⁸

—another instance of the seriousness and tenacity with which the ministers of the king of France upheld special French claims founded solely on the bequest of Madame Ricouard in 1638 and her stipulation for bishops of French nationality, as also of the exaggerated language regarding what was at stake.

In his letters to the Pope printed in Rome 1754 Bishop Emmanuel had stated of his buildings at Baghdad:

"Among the missions existing in the empire of the Turks there is none more spacious "and fine. Besides the hospice of the Discalced Carmelites within the same walls I con- "structed a separate dwelling for the bishop and his household, with a view of the church "and a small garden planted with date-palms. . . ."

¹ *S.N.R.*, VI, pp. 455-64.

² See a "Summary" made in the Secretariat of the Congregation in *S.N.R.*, V, p. 480.

³ *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 430.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 182.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 509.

⁶ *Idem*, p. 499.

⁷ *Idem*, p. 408.

⁸ *Idem*, p. 422, has a request for an early decision as the Bishop of Baghdad had by then got back to his diocese.

Six years before his death, while in Rome, Bishop Ballyet, according to the *Acta Definitorii Generalis*—*Transactions of the Definitory General of the Order*—vol. XV, 10.6.1767,

“by these presents makes a solemn gift to the Definitory General in Rome of the Order in question, of the house, convent and church in the city of Baghdad with all their appurtenances and buildings erected by him with his own money. Further . . . he declares that after his death, whenever a Discalced Carmelite Religious should have been made Bishop of Baghdad, he should enjoy the use of the apartments in question . . . but, on the contrary, should a secular priest or Religious of another Order have been promoted to the bishopric in question, he should have no right over the house, convent, church, etc., mentioned. . . .”¹

As pointed out by the Archivist General of the Order, Fr. Ambrosius a Sta Theresia, this testamentary disposition was overruled by decree of the Sac. Congregation, 16.11.1783.

Under the year 1773 *Cont. Basra Chron.* recorded:

“In the month of March of this year plague began to rage. . . . Fr. Ildephonsus, who took the infection 23.4.1773, died on the last day” (? of the month). “On 29.4.1773 Fr. Fidelis followed . . . he laboured in this vineyard for about 30 years. . . . The same plague epidemic, which always starts in the town of Diarbakr, thence makes its way to Mardin, Mausil, Baghdad and finally Basra and infects the whole of Mesopotamia: experience proves that plague in Mesopotamia never infects Syria, nor Syrian plague Mesopotamia. While this epidemic was raging all our missionaries died . . . at Mardin two, Frs. Angelus and Constantius², and the Lay Brother Claude. . . .”

Mgr Emmanuel Ballyet, a septuagenarian, himself died of it, 4.4.1773.

Writing from Mausil, 16.4.1773 (*S.N.R.*, VIII, p. 194) Fr. Soldini, O.P., spoke of 700,000 having died in Baghdad, at Basra 2,000 dying daily: in Mausil, 100,000 dead—see *Memoires sur la Peste à Bagdad et Bassora, 1773* (*S.N.R.*, VIII, p. 228).

On 22.1.1774 the French consul at Basra wrote to Rome:³

“At my request the Pasha of Baghdad had removed the seals and attachment which he had had put on the hospice at Baghdad, and Fr. Henry on his arrival entered peacefully into possession of the convent, as also of all the property and prerogatives enjoyed by Mgr Emmanuel the Bishop, as well as of the worthy missionaries who are dead. . . .”

Left alone at Baghdad, all his companions departed or dead, Fr. Fulgentius of S. Mary, pro-Vicar Apostolic, 22.8.1800,⁴ noted down a fact which local historians may find of interest:

“Here in Baghdad the church of the Chaldaeans has been totally destroyed by the Turkish government, and there remains no other Catholic church than ours. . . .”

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¹ Quoted from *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, part 2, 1934, by Fr. Ambrosius a Sta Theresia.

² Fr. Constantius actually died with the Bishop in Baghdad, see the entry in the parochial register of Basra.

³ *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 596.

⁴ O.C.D. 242 g.

CARMELITES IN MESOPOTAMIA (OTHER MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE)

THE WORK of the Carmelites in Mesopotamia in the eighteenth century was not confined to Basra and Baghdad, however: and a few facts observed in the course of the search for information regarding Persian posts may here be given for reference by those interested:

Fr. Fidelis returned to Baghdad in June 1749

“from Karachulan where he had given a mission. He tells me that he found there a number of Armenian families who had run away from Hamadan. He was able to convert one. But it was not the same with Nestorian families, who for the most part made their profession of Faith. He made some progress also at Kirkuk. . . .”¹

In the chapter covering the reigns of Tahmasp II to Nadir Shah the circumstances of the special mission of Carmelites dispatched by the Sacr. Congregation in 1747 under Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia have been related at some length, and will not here be repeated. One report of his on the subject² is headed

“A brief Narrative of the chief facts and contrarieties which occurred in establishing the three missions in Mesopotamia,”

i.e. Diarbakr, Mardin and Mausil. There is an interesting statement of the expenses for the five years and nine months spent on this special mission for himself and the Carmelite Frs. Ferdinand and Eugenius who accompanied him:

	<i>scudi</i>
“(a) Journey from Rome to Diarbakr cost	224
“(b) Hire of a house in Diarbakr for year 1748	33
“(c) Food and maintenance for 1748	120
“(d) Servant for one year	18-60
“(e) Two Fathers going to Mardin	24-60
“(f) Journey of Fr. Ferdinand, Diarbakr-Rome, 1749	91
“(g) Fr. Leander to establish the Dominican Fathers, i.e. Fr. F. Corradino “and G. Codileonino in Mausil	III . . .”

On 8.5.1751³ two Dominican Religious mentioned had reached Mausil (Fr. Leander of S. Cecilia in his letter of 8.1.1752⁴ claimed:

“After I had established the Dominican Fathers in Mausil, and been in that town for eight months . . .”);

and in 1753 also Fr. Dominic Lanza was on his way there to found the important mission of the Dominican Order still thriving in 1937, a Latin Catholic lighthouse in the East. But already, 26.3.1750,⁵ the Bishop of Baghdad had been authorized to dispatch a Carmelite to that town and was sending one conversant with Turkish and Arabic: many conversions were being reported from the mountains beyond Mausil: again, 25.5.1763,⁶ the Bishop notified the Sacr. Cong. that he was sending Fr. Constantius to Mausil.

¹ Bp. Emmanuel, 19.8.1749, *S.N.R.*, V, p. 324.

³ Their letter is in *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 9.

⁵ *Idem*, V, p. 405.

² To be found in *S.N.R.*, VI, p. 150-3.

⁴ *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 63, Vienna.

⁶ *Idem*, VII, p. 211.

When as Fr. Emmanuel of S. Albert he had first come to Mesopotamia in 1729 he had estimated the numbers of Catholics in the whole diocese as about 60,000: in Baghdad city itself 30 Catholic families (from 1731 to 1741 only 22 baptisms were recorded by the Carmelites there: and in his letter of 22.4.1740 he reckoned 140 families of Syrian, Nestorian, Chaldaean, and Armenian Christians, schismatics included, while Fr. Eugenius of S. Macarius, 22.6.1754,¹ thought

“there must be 20 households of Chaldaean Catholics. The patriarch of the Chaldaeans “has under him a little more than 120 households”)

—numbers which, according to the Bishop’s printed letters to the Pope of 1753–4, had grown to

“about 100,000 Catholics in the diocese, apart from 300,000 heretics, and 86 families “(480 souls)”.

In his letter of 27.12.1767² Bishop Emmanuel considered himself and the three Carmelite missionaries then at Baghdad

“bien suffisants pour gouverner 500–600 familles des différentes nations, caldéenne, “arménienne, surienne, grecs et maronites. . . .”

Of *Basra* he wrote in the printed letters:³

“when in the year 1730 I visited this mission as Vicar Apostolic of 12 families residing “there I found only 8 were Catholics; but now (1753) on account of the Armenian refugees “from Persia their numbers have so increased that there are about 200 families, of whom “100 heretics. . . .”

Of *Mausil*:

“The Christian families number at least 1,000 (of whom 500 Nestorians and a similar “number of Syrians). Of the latter scarcely ten do not profess the Catholic Faith. Of the “Nestorian community, thanks to the labours of Frs. Benedict, Fidelis and Constantius “they have so returned to Mother Church that of 500 families hardly 30 now are to be “found adhering to the heresy. The Catholics possess no church, the heretics three, but “derelict and abandoned. Their priests are ten in number, of whom nine do not think “strictly about the Faith, only out of fear of the patriarch the heretics do not come near “us . . .”,

and in the neighbourhood of Mausil the villages

“*Talkaif*, 3 hours distant from Mausil: in it there are 500 Nestorian families, of whom “150 openly profess the Catholic Faith, with 2 Catholic priests;

“*Alkush*, the seat of Elias patriarch of the Nestorians . . . 500 Nestorian families . . . “among whom at least 100 are Catholics;

“*Duk*, 14 leagues from Mausil: in it there are 30 Chaldaean families with their own “church;

“*Batmai*, 4 leagues from Mausil . . . in it there are only 200 families to be found, all “Catholics with their own church.”

Of *Kirkuk*, “8 days’ march from Baghdad, about 40 families are to be found, Nestorians “with a church and priests.”

¹ *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 258.

² *Idem*, p. 478.

³ *Idem*, VI, p. 123 in MSS.

Of *Seert*, "30 leagues from Diarbakr—its inhabitants are nearly all Catholics, as well as "the bishop."

(Fr. Eugenius of S. Macarius, 22.6.1754, estimated 40 households of Chaldaean Catholics.)

Of *Jazireh* (Gezirah) "on the Tigris between Mausil and Mardin. In it there are about "200 families of the Nestorian heretical rite, with a bishop, church, priests."

Of *Urfa* (Edessa) "Armenians, more than 500 families, Syrians, about 60. Each community has its heretical church, bishop, and priests. 20 years ago I found only one "Catholic family: now in Urfa about 100 Catholics. . . ."

As to *Diarbakr* there are two estimates, one by Fr. Ferdinand of Jesus Mary, dated 10.8.1749,¹ the other by Bishop Emmanuel, dated Rome, March 1753 (in his printed report), the figures of which are not easily compared because of their different classification of communities, but 'families' are usually reckoned at 5 persons.

"*Armenians*," according to Bishop Emmanuel, "3,000 families, of whom 1,500 Catholics "supervised by one or two priests, whom their patriarch, whose seat is on Mt. Libanon, "often sends to them": according to Fr. Ferdinand, "The Armenians are to be found "to the number of 18,000 in this town: another 12,000 are to be reckoned for the rest of "the diocese. There are an archbishop and 2 churches, besides about 20 in the diocese. "The two churches in the town, I think, must be the largest in size in all Turkey."

". . . There is a fine monastery of Vartapets two days' distance from this town, from "which generally the bishops of Diarbakr are chosen." . . . Referring to the then schismatic bishop, who had rebuilt a ruined church . . . "some years later he forbade the "excrable excommunication, which every three months is wont to be pronounced in "Armenian churches against Pope S. Leo the First, and he pronounced a fiat of excommunication against whoever should dare to do so privately in all his diocese. He prohibited also "the sacrifice of victims which is customary in the Armenian churches. The Armenian "priests observe rigorously the canons not to approach the holy altar without having first "observed the vigil and preparations in church. They complete two weeks of officiating and "the other 8 days they spend in vigils and employ themselves during that time in more offices "and prayers, so that, adding all the vigils and weeks of officiating, most times a whole "month passes without them seeing their homes. Their archbishop, according to Fr. "Ferdinand, had made a profession of Catholic Faith in the hands of Fr. Leander, and "preached the two natures in Christ, purgatory and obedience to the Roman Pontiff in "his church.

"*Chaldaeans*," according to Bishop Emmanuel, "250 families": while Fr. Ferdinand wrote, "Many years ago the Chaldaean community abjured Nestorianism, and embraced the "Catholic Faith, and they have already had three patriarchs. . . . The whole of this "community, including also that of Seert, Mardin and their respective districts, does not "come to 5,500, of whom 1,000 approximately dwell in Diarbakr."

"*Syrians*, 600 families, of whom, except for 25, all are Catholics, without a priest," according to Mgr Emmanuel: Fr. Ferdinand has "about 4,500 in this town. They have "a bishop with the title of patriarch, whose patriarchal seat is Dair Zaffaran, a place "near Mardin, but he has chosen Diarbakr as his residence. They have the Jacobite errors, "consecrating in leavened bread with salt: their priests do not celebrate before having "passed 3 days and nights in vigil in the church, and do not return home until they have "done another four days and nights' vigil after the week's officiating. The unmarried ones "celebrate daily. They fast on Wednesdays and Fridays in the morning, but after sundown "eat meat. Some 2,000 of them are Catholics, although all do not go to the Chaldaean church.

"*Greeks*, 70 families, all Catholics, and a Catholic priest," according to Mgr Emmanuel: Fr. Ferdinand wrote, "The Greek community is very small, not above 600 persons. They "have a bishop . . . a small church, but well kept. Except for 30 persons all the rest

¹ *S.N.R.*, V, pp. 359-73.

"are Catholics. The priests do not celebrate without passing 7 days' vigil in church, three "before and four after the week's officiating. . . ."

Fr. Ferdinand's description of Diarbakr at that date is interesting:

'A large town, well provided with walls and ramparts, bastions and ditches, their shape 'an octagon: to go all round them on horseback would hardly be done in four hours. All 'the "farmans" issued by the Ottoman Porte give it the name Amid. The majority of the 'Muhammadans inhabiting it are slaves from Georgia bought by the Turks when young, 'and brought up in their religion. Besides the Muhammadans there are also the "Shamsi-lar"' (literally—"sun-people", which presumably means "fire-worshippers"), 'who appear to 'be an offshoot of the Gabrs, although few in number they are dispersed in many places 'in Syria, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan. In order to live in tranquillity in Turkey, where no 'religion is tolerated which is not unitarian, these "Shamsi-lar" come to an arrangement 'with the Jacobite bishop, by which every Sunday one of their sect is obliged to be present 'in church, so that, should any question arise whether they adore one sole God or a number 'of deities, the bishop can reply that they come to church: and, in order that the bishop 'shall give such a certificate, they pay him tribute. The predecessor of the present Chal-'daean bishop, and of the deceased Syrian bishop, both from Mardin, converted many of 'them to the Christian religion. . . .'

At *Mardin*, where Fr. Eugenius of S. Macarius worked from early in 1748 till 1772, at least (there are letters of his on record from 28.1.1759 (*S.N.R.*, VI, p. 532) till 10.3.1772 (*S.N.R.*, VIII, p. 30), e.g. VII, pp. 390, 418, 470, 472, 476, 499, 508, 512, 532, 566, 567, 578), and where Bishop Emmanuel went 30.6.1753, according to his printed letters of 1753, Rome, the latter estimated:

"1,000 Christian families, of which 400 of *Armenian rite*, with a very spacious church, a "bishop, 3 Religious, 5 priests, professing the Catholic Faith in all liberty; another 50 of "the *Chaldaean rite* . . . who have a church, bishop and 2 priests: also 20 Catholic *Syrian* "families, the remainder, to the number of 600 Syrian families, all adhering to heresy, have "divers churches, etc. In two villages, four leagues from Mardin, there are about "40 families of the Catholic rite, with 11 priests, and their church in ruins. . . ."

Fr. Eugenius spoke of

"two Catholic churches, one Armenian with 9 priests, the other Chaldaean with 2 priests; "30 households of Chaldaean Catholics, their numbers not equal to those of Armenian "Catholics. The Discalced Carmelites also have a church there, but they are employed "solely in practising medicine, giving instructions, and maintaining peace between the "Christian communities, preferring not to attract the Faithful to their church, in order to "keep it out of quarrels. . . ."

On 29.4.1771 (*S.N.R.*, VII, p. 612) Archbishop John Melchior Tasbas of Mardin wrote to the Sacr. Congregation that

"the Armenians had one Catholic church named after S. George which they call Surp "Keork. This church holds about 2,500 souls. It has more than 30 ecclesiastics. There "are very few Chaldaeans, hardly 30 households. They have one Catholic church, one "bishop and one priest. The Jacobites are a greater number, and have 3 churches."

Syria

Of the other Carmelite foundations, in Syria it is worth note that, 21.11.1636, scudi 150

Sites, Vicissitudes and Duration of Each Separate Establishment. Mesopotamia 1265

were assigned from the income of the Missions to purchase a site for the enlargement of the House at Aleppo—where Religious had first been sent by instructions recorded in *Regesta* under 10.3.1627; and on 12.11.1642 (vol. II, p. 152)

“As an occasion offers for making a Residence on Mt. Libanon, it was voted affirmatively “that it should be taken”—

on 18.11.1643 a donation by the patriarch of Antioch for making over a convent of S. Elisaeus on Mt. Libanon was mentioned, and money granted. On 28.5.1638 the Definitory General had already declared (*Regesta*, vol. III, p. 75) that

“the hospice at Aleppo and Residence on Mt. Carmel are not included under the name “ ‘Missions of Persia and the East’ ”,

and, 20.5.1644 (*Regesta*, vol. IV, p. 21), directed

“the hospice at Aleppo, the Residence on Mt. Carmel and Mt. Libanon to be grouped “under the name of the ‘Mission in Syria’ and not under that of Persia”,

while on 26.3.1645 (vol. IV, p. 60),

“on account of many inconveniences, experienced in winter especially, on Mt. Libanon, it “was decided that, without multiplying the number of Residences, the Religious might have “a house also at Tripoli. . . .”

On 4.6.1653 the Definitory General assigned 80 reals of eight for the Residence on Mt. Libanon or Tripoli, as well as 80 reals for the maintenance of the Religious at Aleppo.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

LATIN BRIEFS

A COLLECTION of the Letters of the Popes to Shahs of Persia of the Safawi dynasty (and Nadir Shah Afshar) between 1570 and 1750, probably almost complete: certain other Briefs addressed by the Popes to the kings of Spain and Poland, to Portuguese authorities in Goa and Hurmuz about Persian affairs and the Carmelites are added, as also replies by the Popes to the Armenian schismatic patriarchs of Echmiadzin and Chaldaean patriarchs, of interest in the history of relations of the Armenians with Rome and of doctrinal differences. The Briefs to the "kings" of Persia provide evidence of the constant activity of the Popes in endeavouring to move the Persian monarchs to maintain or open hostilities against the Turks, and so relieve the pressure on Europe so threatened by Turkish advances and invasions. These Briefs also show how frequently the Sovereign Pontiffs protested against oppression of Christians in general, asking for redress and protection, and in particular against malicious persecution of the Catholic Uniats by schismatic Armenians and renegades. Grouped according to subject these Briefs here printed may be said to be concerned with, or allude to

hostilities against the Turks, some	23
persecution of Uniats by schismatics, some	15
relief of Christians from oppression (by anti-Christian measures, extortionate taxation, etc.)	11
the Carmelites	40
the Augustinians	6
the Dominicans of Nakhchiwan, and Julfa	15
the Capuchins in Georgia	6
envoys of the Shahs, Sherley brothers	6
Armenian and Chaldaean schismatic patriarchs	5

(a) *from the Popes to the Shahs*

SUBJECTS:

For translation or
reference in this
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(N.B.—Though there may be some errors of copying by the compiler, in many cases faulty Latin, and wrong and archaic spellings are to be ascribed to those drafting the Briefs and entering copies in the registers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The latter also in some cases wrote the honorific capital letter O for 'our', U for 'us' when the Popes were concerned, at other times used small letters. similarly sometimes they paid special respect to the Persian monarchs with capital T in 'Thy', etc., at others and more often not. In this compilation of Briefs capitals have been kept for the sake of consistency in pronouns 'our' and 'thy', etc., both as regards the Sovereign Pontiffs and other sovereigns they addressed, even though small letters were used in originals: capital letters were indeed lavishly employed on all sorts of substantives and adjectives by those who copied these Briefs into the registers in Rome, and are not here reproduced as fully as used.)

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16.11.1571

S. Pii PP. V. Brevia. (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLIV, vol. 19 (434))

Illustri Scieco Tahamaso Potentissimo Persarum Regi Pius PP. Quintus

Illustri Scieco Tahamaso potentissimo Persarum regi spiritus veritatis illuminationem. Non dubitamus quin et multorum litteris et nuntiis fama denique ipsa ad Te perferatur de insigni gloriosissimaeque et post hominum memoriam inaudita navali victoria, quam Christiani principes confederati per Dei Optimi Maximi gratiam et auxilium commissa prope Sinum Corinthiacum pugna contra validissimam et numerosissimam classem ferocissimi et impotentissimi Selymi Othomani Turcarum tyranni nonis mensis Octobris modo praeteriti consecuti fuerunt, tricentis fere hostilibus triremibus instructissimis atque ornatissimis una cum earum ducibus praefectis, omnibus defensoribus, nautis, remigibus, toto etiam militari apparatu cunctisque bellicis tormentis partim captis partim demersis, caesis, fusis et occidione deletis, perpaucis e praelio fuga evadentibus. Quod quidem Divina providentia factum fuisse intelliges.

Nam anno superiori cum non sine immenso dolore accepissemus Selymum effrenata sua et insatiabili aliena rapiendi cupiditate fracto pro eius ingenita latius semper dominandi libidine pacis foedere, quod cum dilecto filio, nobili viro Duce, et inclyta Venetorum republica a Solimano eius patre dudum initum postmodum ipso ad vastissimam et imprimis formidabilem illam regni potentiam evecto per eum sancitum et confirmatum fuerat, violatis impudentissime omnibus humani, Divinique iuris legibus, regnum Cypri antiquae et pacificae Venetorum dicionis contractis undique militibus invasisse, urbes summa virium mole crudelissime expugnasse, vastasse, diripuisse, cunctandum Nobis pro pastoralis officii divinitus Nobis iniuncti debito munere non esse existimavimus, quin Christianos principes et praesertim charissimum in Christo filium Nostrum Philippum, Hispaniarum regem Catholicum regnorum amplitudine, firmissimorum populorum numero, ingentium opum magnitudine inter coeteros maxime praestantem atque florentem vehementer in Domino cohortaremur moneremus ac rogaeremus ut mature Nobiscum et ipsis cum Venetis coniunctis consociatisque viribus furentem rabie tyrannum unanimes comprimere, et a nefariis eius conatibus repellere eniteremur, quo certe laudabili salutarique Nostro consilio assiduis laboribus, continuis vigiliis, indefessa solitudine patientiae Nostrae, faventi Domino ad optatum exitum perducto, demum foedus non minus optabile

quam necessarium ad Divini nominis laudem et gloriam inter nos percussimus, non quod ipsi arma bellaque libenter quaeramus, sumus enim pacis cultores et apprime studiosi, sed ut superborum tumentia colla contundamus et conteramus. Parta igitur tanta, ut diximus, tamque admirabili victoria non solum Christianis verum universi orbis regibus et principibus Tibique potissimum veteri et inexpiabili odio cum Othomanorum gente ab avis prioribusque per manus tradito acerrime contententi, si hanc temporis opportunitatem non praetermiseris, insigniter pro futuro statim Te dicto certiorum faciendum duximus, Tibique loco ac communibus Tuis Nostrisque commodis enixe authores sumus, ut capta subito praesenti coelitus oblata occasione arridentem fortunam, qua nulla unquam melior accidere poterit, audacter alacriterque sequi atque amplecti velis, siquidem primo quoque tempore, validus exercitus a Te est instruendus, et ab istis orientis partibus hostis invadendus, ut dum ille gravissima clade obstupefactus consternatusque iacet, detrimenta et contumelias ab efferato Othomano clarissimis Persarum regibus saepius inustas et infictas aliquando rependere et sarcire valeat, Mesopotamiamque et Assyriam provincias haud ita multo ante Vobis subiectas, et a Solymano iniquissime uno eodem impetu vi ereptas et occupatas recipere et recuperare contendas. Quod enim facile Tibi succedere potest quoniam Selymus amisso nunc totius maris imperio fractus incredibili stragis calamitate, Te istic fortissime bellante, Christianis vero confoederatis firmissimas ac bellicosissimas copias terra marique contra eum hinc ab Europa ducentibus, tantos eodem tempore impetus sustinere non posse neque illi ullo modo parem fore arbitramur. Omnipotens itaque Deus in cuius manu sunt regum corda Te ad egregia illustriaque facinora animose aggredienda strenueque navanda accendat, et inflammet, resque Tuas adversus avidissimum et immanissimum humani generis hostem benigne tueatur felicibusque successibus fortunam augere dignetur. Qui omnia latius Tibi exponet isque has ad Te deferet.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die xvi Novembris 1571, anno sexto.

30.9.1592

Clementis PP. VIII Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLIV, vol. 38, p. 54)

Illustri Abasae potentissimo Persarum Regi salutem et spiritus veritatis illuminationem. Tam exaltato et illustri loco sita est laus Tua, tanta gloria multis maximisque rebus gestis parta, ut quam nulla inter nos est notitia, tamen celeberrima de Te fama adducti Tibi omnia cupiamus, contra vero Turcarum tyranni hominis omnium teterrimi, nec magis Nostri quam Tui, et bonorum omnium hostis intolerandam superbiam depressam et protritum optemus. Ut enim virtus absentium etiam ibi voluntates conciliat, sic vitia abalienant. Quae autem in illo sunt vitia? summa crudelitas, summa avaritia, summa rapacitas, inexplabilis omnia per summam iniuriam occupandi cupiditas: nulla iurisiurandi religio, nulla fides. Quos ille non vexavit? quibus nulla re lacessitus, non agros, urbes, provincias ademit? Quantum nobis iniuriarum, quantum Arabibus, Graecis, Germanis,annonibus, Italis cladis intulit? Fraudes vero ac periuria, quibus crevit, notissima sunt: his enim, non bellis legitime susceptis et iustis victoriis crevit. Inducias ac foedera, etiam si ita visum sit, cum inimicis facit, a quibus se laedi posse intelligit, ubi illos hac fraude obligavit, tum uni eorum, cui ommodissimum esse intelligit, contra fidem, contra iusiurandum, nulla re laesus bella movit: coeteri nterea quiescunt memores datae fidei et iurisiurandi quod ille semper contemnendum putavit. Sic ingularum seorsum opibus ac spoliis auctus, reliquos validiore semper manu aggreditur, quoad niversos conficiat.

Eadem nunc arte nos eludere molitur quae Tuam prudentiam haud latere arbitramur. Putavimus igitur in communi causa esse etiam consilia communicanda atque opes conferendas ad illam pestem pprimendam. Id vero existimamus posse fieri contrarium atque illi qua cum coeteris agit rationi. Ille ngulos adoritur, nunc illum adoriantur oportet universi. Quo in negotio et tractatione hoc tempore ersamur, ut iuncto foedere cum coeteris principibus Christianitatis coniunctis viribus atque armis lum adoriamur. Sed magnopere opus est ut ipse quoque ista ex parte cum oppugnes; et quoniam icitur adversum vos maxime valere tormentis bellicis atque ignibus et materia ad exardescendum icillima, ad ardorem retinendum tenacissima, ad res coeteras incendendas violentissima, quorum osi artificiorum vacui estis (nunquam enim virtute atque armis nobilitas Persica vilissimis mancipiis ederet) non patiemur Vos his artificiiis inferiores esse. Scitis his de rebus deque mittendis earum rum artificibus magnopere Vestro nomine cum superioribus Pontificibus actum esse, in quo Nobis im satisfaciendi facultas non fuit, voluntas certe nunquam defuit. Nunc igitur, si, Nobis in bellum

incumbentibus, Vos etiam statuetis bellum Vestra ex parte instaurare et continuare, artifices conquiremus, mitemusque. Certissima autem erit victoria Deo primum, a quo bona omnia existunt illius scelera ulciscite, tum tantis undique exercitibus prodigium illud adorientibus. Nam si proxime a Vobis quietus tamen Christianorum virtute ad Echinadas superatus est, ingenti classe depressa, incensa devicta deleta, paucis aliquot tantae cladis nuntiis navibus laceris ac semirutis elapsis, quid ille nunc fiet, et Christianorum principum et Vestra etiam potentia atque armis circumvallatus? Quis ei aut consistendi aut fugiendi locus ac spes relinquetur? Voluimus hoc Nostrum consilium Tibi aperire atque hortari ut hac tanta opportunitate uti velis. Deus benedictus tum in hoc negotio tum in omnibus cogitatis et captis Tuis ostendat quid verum maxime sit, quid e re Tua eque regni Tui salute atque amplitudine. Has literas duplicari voluimus, cumque illis alteris certum hominem ad Te mitemus, is ubi pervenerit et illas alteras reddet et nonnulla ex mandato Nostro exponet. Cupimus ut eius verbis fidem tribuas.

Datum Tusculi die ultima Septembris 1592, anno primo.

24.2.1601

Clementis PP. VIII Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLIV, vol. 45. pp. 44-8 No. 61)

Potentissimo Principi Persarum Regi Illustri Clemens Papa VIII

Rex potentissime et illustris salutem, et oblatum a Deo Divinae gratiae lumen toto corde accipere. Magna est vis virtutis magna efficacitas, cuius pulchritudo mirabilem in Nobis amorem excitat erga illos etiam quos numquam vidimus, id re ipsa in Te amando experimur, nam etsi longissimo terrarum marisque intervallo a Te disiuncti simus, nec Te aliquando viderimus, tamen quia a plerisque multa, et praeclara accepimus de Tua praestanti virtute, de Tui regalis animi magnitudine, de insigni fortitudine aliisque naturae ornamentis, quibus Te Altissimus, et bonorum omnium largitor Deus cumulavit, haec de Te a Nobis saepius audita, ut Te amemus effecerunt, quin etiam ut a Te vicissim amari cupiamus, quamquam et illud Nobis relatum est, magna Nostra cum voluptate, iam Te erga Nos egregie affectum gratiam et amicitiam Nostram expetere, legationem etiam misisse ad Nos, multa cum amoris et reverentiae erga Nos significatione, quae tamen legatio, si missa est nondum ad Nos pervenit, sed illud praeterea de Te audivimus quod Christianum nomen honorifice appelles, et propensam prae Te feras voluntatem erga Christianam religionem, quae sola veram salutis et felicitatis viam docet et praestat. Narrant enim et personas Tibi coniunctissimas Christianas esse, et in Aula Tua regia complures esse fortes viros Tibique carissimos, qui se Christo addictos esse profiteantur, idque ipsum Te iubente palam ostendent signo salutaris et vivificae crucis quae est gloria nostra, in qua Ipse salvator mundi et vitae auctor Iesus Christus Dominus noster, aeterni Patris aeternus Filius, carne nostra mortali indutus, salutem nostram in medio terrae mirabiliter operatus est. Quae si vera sunt, ut vera esse speramus, et toto ex animo optamus, haec certe tanto gaudio cor Nostrum complent ut eiusdem gaudii magnitudinem nullis verbis satis exprimere possimus. Nos autem scimus nullum verbum esse impossibile apud Deum Omnipotentem, qui solus est Rex Regum, per quem reges regnant et in cuius manu corda regum sunt, et quocumque voluerit convertit illa, qui antiquissimis temporibus, et in saeculis a Nostra memoria valde remotis, Cyri fortissimi regis Persarum manum dexteram apprehendit, et subiecit ante faciem eius gentes, et dorsa regum vertit, et gloriosos ac potentes terrae humiliavit, et Ipse rex Cyrus, multis victoriis Dei auxilio clarissimus, populum Dei qui erat captivus in Babilone liberum dimisit, et Divino instinctu permotus decrevit templum Domini a Chaldaeorum rege destructum iterum aedificari in Hierusalem, et vasa templi aurea atque argentea, quae asportata fuerant, restitui iussit, quemadmodum sacrarum litterarum monumentis memoriae commendatum est. Nunc autem, o rex Persarum potentissime et magni illius Cyri successor, audimus de Te quod ecclesias ritu Christiano in regno Tuo aedificari cupias, aut fortasse etiam aedificari iam ceperis, ut in eis Deus optimus assidue laudetur et sacrosancta sacrificia offerantur, et sanctum Christi evangelium praedicetur in salutem omni credenti, et ob eam causam narrant Te Christianos presbyteros et sacerdotes expetere, qui a Romana ecclesia mittantur. Magna haec sunt, o rex, et maiorum rerum exordia, et plane maximarum ut in Dei summa clementia confidimus, cuius spiritu cor Tuum ad tam praeclaras cogitationes movere non dubitamus, nam si Nostram, hoc est Romani Pontificis et Christianorum

regum patris amicitiam vere appetis, si Christi fidem in Tuis provinciis promulgari, ecclesias aedificari, evangelii doctores et magistros apud Te habere, denique Christi nomen, et Christianam religionem in Tuo regno amplissimo vere propagari desideras, esto bono animo, nam et Deus Ipse Tibi adiumento erit, et Nos quoque Ipsius Dei adiutricis gratia his desideriis Tuis libenter in primis suffragabimur. Recte autem presbyteros ad Te mitti cupis, ab hac Sancta Romana Ecclesia, quae omnium ecclesiarum quae toto orbe terrarum sunt mater est et magistra. Nam sicut unus est Deus et una fides et unum baptisma, ita una est Ecclesia Romana, magistra veritatis, firmamentum unitatis, domicilium Christianae religionis, in qua Beatissimus apostolorum princeps Petrus, quem Christus Dominus ovium suarum pastorem summum constituit, suam apostolicam sedem Divino consilio collocavit, in qua sancta sede post tot aetatum curricula, post longam et numquam interruptam pontificum successionem Nos hoc tempore humiles licet et indigni Spiritu Sancto ita disponente praesidemus. Ad Te vero presbyteros et sacerdotes Christi libenter admodum mittemus, qui evangelicam veritatem Tibi et populis Tuis annuntient, quam si corde humili audieris, et complexus fueris, et tandem Deo Te mirabiliter vocanti perfecte obedire, et Jesu Christo nostrae salutis auctori et sempiternae vitae largitori nomen dare decreveris, tum demum et Ipse vere felix eris, et regnis Tuis veram felicitatem paries, et ad regum Persarum veterem famam tantum Tuae gloriae cumulum adicies ut de Tuis meritis et laudibus nulla posteritas conticescat. Sunt autem in Oriente praesbyteri et operarii Christi fideles ac strenui filii Nostri in Christo dilecti ex ea societate, quae a dulcissimo Jesu nomine nuncupatur quae sub Nostra et huius sanctae apostolicae sedis peculiari tutela Deo militat, et in remotissimis etiam Orientis Indorumque regionibus victricem Christi crucem fixit, et semen Evangelii in salutem credentium disseminavit, et Deo auxiliante disseminare studet, nullis parcens laboribus, ut verbo salutaris doctrinae et vitae integerrimae exemplo, et denique Divino baptismi lavacro, et coelestibus sacramentis animas Christo lucrifaciat, quemadmodum Tibi non inauditum, neque omnino ignotum esse arbitramur. Ex ea igitur Societate, et ex iis Orientalibus regionibus et locis, quae ad ditionem pertinent potentissimi principis et filii Nostri in Christo carissimi Philippi Regis Catholici, quaeque loca a provinciis Tuis minus longe abeunt, et ad commeandum opportunioriam viam praebent, presbyteros ad Te mitti curabimus, et eo numero qui erit necessarius, et iam nunc ea de re mandata dedimus. Omnia denique quae Tua populorumque Tuorum salus postulaverit, summo studio benedicente Domino praestabimus, nihilque aliud expectamus, nisi ut de Tua tota voluntate Nobis planius constet et quae fama, et multorum relatu, ut diximus, accepimus eadem ex Te ipso hoc est ex litteris Tuis, Tuisque nuntiis, multo certius multoque cumulatus cognoscamus. Interea ut amoris erga Te Nostri et desiderii sinceræ amicitiae inter nos conciliandae illustrior extet significatio, has Nostras litteras ad Te dare placuit testes voluntatis in Te Nostrae et veluti pignus benevolentiae. Eas autem Tibi reddent hi duo dilecti filii Nostri quos ad Te nominatim mittimus, nimirum Franciscus Costa, Religiosus presbyter ex eadem Societate Jesu, doctrina et zelo Dei praestans, et vir industrius ac diligens, Didacus de Miranda, ambo Lusitani ambo rerum usu praediti Nobisque probati et valde grati, qui alias etiam in Perside fuerunt, Tuoque regio nomini sunt addictissimi, quin etiam Didacus Venetiis collocutus est cum Assandebechio familiari Tuo, eaque ab eo accepta de Te Nobis retulit, quae Nobis iucunda valde fuerunt. Ex iis igitur mentem Nostram, ubi ad Te Angelo Domini duce incolumes pervenerint, multo apertius multoque copiosius intelliges atque illud in primis quam appetentes simus salutis Tuae quam cupidi Tuae amplitudinis et gloriae. Quare a Te petimus ut illis fidem plenissimam habeas, perinde ac si Nos ipsi Tecum praesentes loqueremur, confidimus autem quod hos nuntios Nostros et Nobis dilectos omni cum honore et humanitate excipies, nam et Nos erga Tuos quos ad Nos miseris parem humanitatem adhibebimus ut Noster inter Nos amor firmiores radices agat, et in dies magis coalescat. Vere enim ex Nostra animorum et voluntatum coniunctione magnae et multiplices utilitates redundare poterunt, quas Te pro Tua prudentia satis perspicere non dubitamus, sed ea in primis quae est de Tuo et Nostro et totius hominis Christiani perpetuo atque infensissimo hoste Turca coerendo, qui intolerabili superbia, et insatiabili cupiditate dominandi omnia regna, omnes provincias sua tyrannide opprimere et durissimae servitutis iugo subiicere avidissime desiderat; sed speramus in Dei clementia quod humiliabit superbum et brachium eius et dentes eius conteret in ore eius et moles leonis confringet, cuius rei non obscura indicia annis proximis dedit Deus in Hungaria et leonem illum immanissimum superari posse ostendit. Nos vero pro Nostro pastoralis officio praeter ea adiumenta quae carissimo filio Nostro Rudolpho Imperatore electo adversus teterrimum hostem praebuimus et praebebimus, in ea cura maxime versamur ut reges et principes Catholicos filios Nostros in Christo carissimos omni officii genere permoveamus, quo communem inimicum communibus studiis oppugnent, et magna spe sumus fore ut id a Divina misericordia impetremus. Quod si Tu quoque iusta indignatione permotus tam multas et tam graves Tibi a Turcis illatas iniurias aliquando ulcisci statueris, et avitae Persarum gloriae memor Tuaeque

propriae virtutis summa vi, summoque animi ardore bellum, non minus Tibi gloriosum quam necessarium, susceperis, profecto fera illa et immanis bellua undique vulneribus confecta prosternetur. Quod tanto magis sperare, Nobisque polliceri licet quod Divinae motionis vim in Tuo corde videmus, dum erga Christi nomen et Christianam religionem Te adeo propensum esse audimus, sic Deus et Pater misericordiarum opus Suum quod iam in Te incepit Ipse perficiat ut unum Nobiscum et cum principibus Christianis corpus efficiaris et Tecum arctissime colligati omnia Tua Sua ducant, tantoque vehementius contra communem inimicum pro communi salute et gloria exardescant. Deum autem exercituum in cuius manu sunt victoriae et triumphi toto ex animo precamur ut quemadmodum olim ante Cyrum sic eat ante Te et portas aereas conterat et vectes ferreas confringat, Teque omnibus difficultatibus superatis victorem et triumphatorem efficiat.

Esto igitur forti et excelso animo atque ut Te decet magna meditare et magna aggredere ut maiorum Tuorum gloriam virtute et magnitudine animi non solum sustineas, sed etiam adaugeas et amplifices.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die xxiii Februarii MDCI pontificatus Nostri anno decimo.

24.2.1601

Clementis PP. VIII Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLIV, vol. 45, pp. 49 (58) (No.62))

Carissimae in Christo Filiae Nostrae, Reginae Persarum Illustri, Clemens Papa VIII

Carissima in Christo filia Nostra salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Mira sunt consulta Dei et viae inscrutabiles sapientiae Illius, quae fortiter et suaviter res humanas ad aeternam gloriam Suam disponit. Neque enim sine magna Divini numinis providentia factum esse arbitramur, quod potentissimus Persarum rex vir Tuus ex Christiana matre natus, Te quoque Christianam ut audimus coniugem sit sortitus. Sic enim Dei adiutrice gratia speramus fore ut quemadmodum ab apostolo Paulo scriptum est sanctificetur vir infidelis per mulierem fidelem et ipse quoque rex ad Christianae veritatis et fidei lucem admirabilem perducatur cuius rei iam illustra indicia dicuntur extare. Nobis enim relatum est de eodem rege viro Tuo, quod praeter regias multas illius virtutes et praeclara animi corporisque ornamenta non mediocrem prae se ferat propensionem erga veram et sanctam religionem nostram Christianam, sine qua nemo salvus esse nemo aeternam vitam et felicitatem adipisci potest. Nam non solum Te quae Christi fidem profiteris thori et regni consortem habet et praestantibus naturae donis ornatam et dotatam ardentem amat, sed in aula sua regia complures, ut narrant, habet viros primarios, et sibi in primis caros, qui aut Christiani iam sunt aut Christo nomen dare expetunt; quin et dicunt regem ipsum ita erga Nos affectum esse, quos Dei dispositio licet meritis impares caput Ecclesiae Catholicae et totius populi Christiani patrem et pastorem esse voluit, ut Nobiscum sinceram et solidam amicitiam et coniunctionem [cupiat et petat] mitti qui in ecclesiis ab ipso rege exstructis et vero Deo dicatis, qui fecit caelum et terram, evangelium salutis annuntient, eidemque altissimo Deo preces et sacrificia Christiano ritu offerant atque adhibeant. Quae si ad Nos saepius perlata vera sunt, ut vera esse ex intimis cordis Nostri sensibus optamus, profecto magnum aliquid, et in omnes aetates memorandum parat et disponit Dei clementia, nimirum ut Christianam religionem regnis et provintiis istis amplissimis iterum restituat, ubi antiquis temporibus ante impii seductoris Mahometis detestabiles errores floruisse constat, quo Dei dono, ut nihil praestantius, nihil divinius dici aut cogitari potest, ita etiam quantam laudem, quantam gloriam quantas utilitates regi viro Tuo esset allaturum Tu ipsa pro Tua prudentia facile potes conicere atque aestimare. Primum quidem ut nosti nihil est omnis humana felicitas sine veri Dei et Eius verae fidei cognitione cum nulli ad vitam sempiternam aditus pateat, nisi per salutare baptismi lavacrum in Christo regeneratus, et in ovile Christi, hoc est Ecclesia Catholica, ingressus, vivum Christi membrum per sacramentum regenerationis et per gratiam Spiritus Sancti efficiatur. Sed si Rex idem potentissimus vir Tuus tantum bonum et sibi ipsi Deo auctore pareret, et regnis et populis suis procuraret, nihil illo felicius, nihil illustrius umquam extitisset; omnes Persarum reges qui ante eum fuerunt fama et gloria superaret et tamquam alter Cyrus et alter Constantinus Magnus omnium gentium linguis totiusque posteritatis clarissima memoria et immortalis laude celebraretur. Accedit quod hoc fortissimo religionis vinculo Nobiscum et cum filiis Nostris regibus et principibus Christianis arctissime adstrictus et quasi unum corpus effectus, Turcis immanissimis et communibus totius nominis Christiani hostibus, et suis infensissimis inimicis iam tremendus esset et formidolosus eisque non solum terrorem afferet sed sua

potentia et militum robore instructus, Nostra etiam et Christianorum principum amicitia et adiumento suffultus facile tyrannum illum superbissimum et qui insatiabili regnandi aviditate omnia regna totiusque Asiae imperium devorare cupit, tamquam quodam freno iniecto coaceret, immo vero summo Deo exercituum adiuvante tot populos miserandae servitutis iugo oppressos liberaret et tot sibi a Turcis illatas iniurias non minus iuste quam fortiter et gloriose ulcisceretur.

Nos igitur cum ea quae supra narravimus de tanti regis virtute animi magnitudine, propensione in Christianam religionem et in Nos observantia Nostraeque amicitiae desiderio accepissemus, statim incredibili quadam laetitia affecti non solum parem illi voluntatem reddere eumque amare coepimus, sed illius salutem et gloriam quae cum Dei gloria summopere coniuncta est ardentissime expetere. Sic enim a Nobis ratio pastoralis officii postulat, qui licet indigni in hac sancta sede Beatissimi apostolorum principis Petri Ecclesiae Catholicae praesidentes Christi summi pastoris vices in terris tenemus, eiusque fidem latissime per totum terrarum orbem propagare animasque ab impietate et errorum tenebris eductas ad ipsum qui est lux vera et sol iustitiae adducere et merito cupimus, et Divina illius adiuvante gratia sedulo etiam studemus.

Quare ut tantis bonis, quae ex hac Nostra amicitia et animorum inter Nos coniunctione iure sunt optimo speranda nulla quantum in Nobis est mora interponatur, statuimus ad eundem potentissimum et fortissimum Persarum regem certos homines et nuntios Nostros mittere, viros prudentes, pios, rerum usu praeditos, qui in Asia et Perside alias etiam fuerunt, qui regis viri Tui gloriam et salutem concupiscunt eiusque regio nomini plurimum sunt addicti, qui denique Nobis valde grati et probati sunt, hi autem sunt dilecti filii Franciscus Costa religiosus Dei servus et sacerdos Christi Domini et Didacus de Miranda, Lusitani. Qui Didacus Venetiis etiam cum Assamdebechio ab ipso Persarum rege in Italiam misso est collocutus, eaque de regis voluntate confirmasse refert, quae Nos magis magisque ad hos nuntios in Persidem mittendos impulerunt. Hi, filia in Christo carissima, has Nostras litteras Tibi reddent, testes Nostri in Te paterni amoris, Nostrisque verbis salutem et felicitatem multam in Domino nuntiabunt, et cetera exponent quae illis mandavimus, quibus omnem fidem ut Nostris familiaribus et a Nobis missis habeas. Curabis autem pro Tua pietate et zelo honoris Dei et pro eo amore quo regem virum Tuum merito prosequeris ut ab eodem rege et humaniter excipiantur et benigne ac libenter audiantur, dabisque operam ut negotium sanctae religionis et perfectae amicitiae inter Nos et regem feliciter conficiatur, et rex iste magnus summo cum Nostro et totius populi Christiani gaudio se ipse Christo dedat. Unde bona maxima et innumerabilia ad eius veram felicitatem et laudem promanabunt, atque ut Evangelii praedicationi ostium in Perside aperiatur et semen fidei per latissimas illas regiones disseminetur. Nos enim operarios fideles presbyteros Christi ubi id rex, ut speramus, se vere expetere ostenderit et provintius et locis propinquis mitti curabimus, qui nullas diligentiae, laboris et caritatis partes praetermittent, ut sanctum Christi Evangelium et verbum vitae annuntient, et lucem Christianae veritatis ad salutem animarum Deo auctore diffundant, quemadmodum ex iisdem nuntiis Nostris copiosius intelliges, nominatim autem Franciscus, qui praesbyter est et doctrina praestat, consolabitur Te in Domino et, si quid fuerit, de his quae ad Nostram Catholicam religionem pertinent, cumulatus instruet, ut Deo perfecte servies, eique sis quam gratissimus. A Nobis enim mittitur et ab hac Sancta Ecclesia Romana venit, quae omnium fidelium mater est et magistra, et in qua Christianae fidei et doctrinae traditio ab ipsis Beatis apostolis Petro et Paulo accepta, per tot saeculorum aetates pura et incorrupta semper, tamquam in suo fonte conservatur. Vides, igitur, filia in Christo carissima, quanta et quae praeclara occasio Tibi a Deo praebeatur de Christiana religione et de viro Tuo, quem unice diligis optime merendi. Age igitur quantum potes, poteris autem Dei spiritu iuvante plurimum adiuvere studium, et desiderium Nostrum et operi tam pio omni ope omnique industria suffragare ut ab eo qui Te corona in terris decoravit sempiternae in coelo beatitudinis gloriam consequaris et Nos Tibi Nostram paternam et apostolicam benedictionem amantissime impartimur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die xxiii Februarii MDCI, pontificatus Nostri anno decimo.

2.5.1601

P. Clementis VIII Brev.: (Arm. XLIV, vol. 45, p. 105, No. 24)

Potentissimo Principi Persarum Regi Illustri Clemens PP. VIII

Rex potentissime et Ill^{is} salutem et oblatum a Deo divinae gratiae lumen toto corde accipere. Pervenerunt his proximis diebus ad hanc almam urbem Nostram arcem Christianae religionis et

portum nationum, quos ad Nos, ut ipsi referunt misisti, vir nobilis Antonius Scierleius et vir honoratus Cusein Alibechius quorum adventus periucundus Nobis fuit, cum a tanto rege, et tantae potentiae principe et tam multis, ut audimus, animi et corporis ornamentis praedito, ex tam longinquis et remotis regionibus ad Nos venerint, Tuasque quemadmodum ipsi affirmant, litteras Nobis gratissimas attulerint, quas accepimus singulari cum voluptate. Ipsos, qui eas Nobis Tuo nomine reddiderunt oculis vultuque hilari aspeximus, omnique cum benignitate excepimus atque a Nostris quam humanissime tractari iussimus, quod ipsi multo uberius Tuae Celsitudini referre poterunt, et denique ea benevole imprimis attenteque audivimus, quae Tuo nomine Nobis retulerunt. Paria enim Tibi in amore reddimus, et quemadmodum Tu et litteris et viva Tuorum voce profiteris, Te gratiae et amicitiae Nostrae esse appetentem ita Nos vicissim pari benevolentiae affectu Tibi respondemus ex Nostra amicitia et conjunctione tamquam ex quodam fonte. Magna bona redundare posse intelligimus, cum ad totius christianae Reipublicae, tum ad Tuam, Tuaeque illustris coronae utilitatem et gloriam—quod Tu quoque pro Tua prudentia non ignoras, sed optime intelligis Accedit quod Divinae potentiae et sapientiae proprium est non secus atque ex parvo semine ingentes arbores procreantur, ita ex initis exiguis res maximas efficere, non enim viae Dei sunt sicut viae hominum, sed omnia quaecumque vult facit in coelo et in terra. Ac sane sperandum est in summa Dei bonitate, si forti et excelso animo esse velimus tempus advenisse, quo immanissimus Turcarum tyrannus cuius insatiabilis dominandi libido nullis terminis continetur, non solum coerceatur, sed plane superetur, cuius rei manifesta extant argumenta, cum per hos annos magnas clades terra marique a Christianis Principibus acceperit. Unde tanto magis animi Tui magnitudo excitari atque inflammari debet adversus taeterrimum et superbissimum hostem, qui Te ipsum et maiores etiam Tuos gravissimis iniuriis et detrimentis effecit, et Nos sane id Tecum agimus, quod summi Romani Pontifices praedecessores Nostri cum patre et maioribus Tuis saepius egerunt, ut scilicet iusto dolore exardescas et inimicum infensissimum regum Persarum nomini, qui omnes quidem sed Te potissimum durissimo servitutis iugo opprimere molitur, ne inultum abire patiaris, sed ita vehementer oppugnes ut illum aliquando audaciae et superbiae suae poeniteat. Nam quod Te cupere significas quodque ii, quos ad Nos misisti, coram etiam narrarunt, ut reges et Principes Christiani Tecum contra Turcam foedus ineant, Nos idem cupimus, partesque Nostras pontificiae auctoritatis ad id interponemus; sed res magni momenti diligenti tractatione, et non modico tempore indigent. Interea non desunt ex Principibus nostris, qui eum bello exerceant atque infestent, et praesertim carissimus filius noster Rudolphus electus Imperator, qui continenter cum eo bellum gerit et iam nunc hac ipsa aestate gesturus est, et Nos quoque illi adiumento sumus, et auxiliares Nostras copias contra Turcas mitimus, et Catholicos principes filios Nostros ad eidem electo Imperatori opem ferendam omni officii genere permovemus. Itaque Tuae est prudentiae et consilii uti hac opportunitate, et dum Turca robur exercitus sui in Ungariam mittit, et armis Christianis detinetur, Tu illum invade, et quasi illius nudatum latus ferro aggredere ut ille accipiti bello distractus et pluribus in locis oppugnatus, veluti quaedam ferox bellua multorum venatorum concursu vexata telisque coniectis saucia, tandem ad terram prosternatur. Nihil igitur procrastinandum ne occasio praetereat sed quod Nostros ex sua parte facere vides, Tu quoque ex Tua fac, et Turcam eodem tempore oppugna quam fortissime. Sic Tu Christianis et Christiani Tibi vicissim adiumento erunt, et quod omnes spectamus re ipsa efficietur, ut communis hostis gemina oppugnatione debilitatus corruat atque intereat; atque hoc ipsum ad foedus, quod desideras, conciliandum maiorem et faciliorem aditum aperiet; Nosque tanto efficacius de eo agemus, cum apud omnes constiterit Te summo studio summo ardore totisque viribus in illius hostis perniciem incumbere quem ab aliis quoque invadi, atque opprimi concupiscis, quod Principes Christiani complures, ut diximus, iam pro sua virili faciunt. Nos vero utilitati, et rationibus Tuis et gloriae Tuae valde ex animo favemus, et favebimus, quod ex eo facile perspicere potes, quod antequam Tui, quos ad Nos misisti, Romam pervenissent, iam Nos ad Te cum litteris Nostris amatissime scriptis, duos familiares Nostros miserimus vere dilectos filios Franciscum Costam, sacerdotem Christi, et Didacum Mirandam Enriquium, ambos Lusitanos, et Nobis valde gratos, qui cum incolumes Deo duce in conspectum Tuum venerint, quod supra quam dici possit optamus sane ex nostris litteris, atque ex eorum sermone intelliges copiosius quam praeclearam de Tua virtute opinionem habeamus, et quam benevolo erga Te animo simus, et quantopere cupiamus non solum Te omni humana felicitate esse florentissimum sed sempiterna etiam illa in caelo felicitate et beatitudine frui quam nemo potest adipisci, nisi qui ex aqua et spiritu regeneratus Christianae fidei veritatem suscepit et professus fuerit. Quamobrem incredibilem voluptatem cepimus ex eo capite litterarum Tuarum, et ex colloquio eorundem duorum praestantium virorum, quos ad Nos misisti, velle Te nimirum ut Christianis et iis praesertim qui a Nobis mittentur aditus pateat in regnum et provincias Tuas quodque Christianis et Persis libera sint commercia ipsique Christiani non solum immunitate, multisque favoribus et privilegiis a Te ample concessis gaudeant

et potiantur, sed etiam ecclesias et templa Christiano ritu Deo altissimo in Tuo regno et ditione aedificent, sacerdotes et presbyteros habeant, qui divina officia persolvant, sacramenta administrent verbum Dei praedicent et lucem ac semen Evangelii Christi in salutem omni credenti ubique disseminant, atque diffundant. Quibus rebus nihil Nobis gratius nihil Deo acceptius nihil Tibi salutaris et magnificentius potest accidere, nam cum Tu vere et ex animo Dei gloriae servieris Ille etiam per quem solum reges regnant Te gloriosum et de inimicis Tuis Turcis victorem et triumphatorem efficiet. Quare brevi ad Te presbyteros mittemus Doctores veritatis et magistros salutis quemadmodum alteris Nostris litteris polliciti sumus, quas Francisco et Didaco supradictis ad Te perferendas dedimus, quos Tibi iterum et saepius commendamus petimusque ut eos humaniter accipies, laetosque ad Nos remittas, sicut Nos Tuos accepimus, et ad Te remittimus multa cum amoris significatione et litteris Nostris, quibuscum de his ipsis rebus de quibus ad Te scribimus, copiose locuti sumus, qui etiam ex ore et oculis Nostris Nostram in Te eximiam voluntatem Tuaeque gloriae desiderium perspicere potuerunt. Deus omnipotens qui Te in magni Cyri Regis solio collocavit, det Tibi cor sapiens et corroboret Te ex alto virtute et fortitudine, ut vincas hostes Tuos Turcas et lucem Evangelii Christi in regnum Persarum ubi olim late resplenduit restituas omnesque reges qui ante Te in regno isto fuerunt ita rerum gestarum magnitudine et gloria superes, ut nulla aetas, nullaque posteritas famam Tuam ignoret, nec de Tuis unquam laudibus conticescat.

Datum Romae apud Sanctos Apostolos sub annulo Piscatoris die secundo Maii 1601 pontificatus Nostri anno decimo.

17.5.1601

Clementis PP. VIII. Brev. (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLIV, vol. 45, p. 127 (136), No. 143)

Potentissimo Principi Persarum Regi Illustri Clemens PP. VIII

Rex potentissime et illustris salutem et oblatum a Deo Divina gratia lumen toto corde accipere. Litteras Nostras eodem tenore scriptas ad Tuam Celsitudinem dedimus tam dilecto filio viro nobili Antonio Scierleio quam viro honorato Cusein Ali Bechio qui Tuo nomine ad Nos venerunt amicitiae inter nos conciliandae causa, ex quibus litteris Nostris copiose scriptis cumulate intelliges quam propensa voluntate paria Tibi reddamus in omni benevolentiae affectu, et quam ardentem gloriam et salutem Tuam expetamus. Et quia Cusein Ali Bechius proficisci se velle dixit ad carissimum in Christo filium Nostrum Philippum Hispaniarum regem Catholicum, Antonius vero dixit se recta ad Celsitudinem Tuam velle iter dirigere, ut quoad fieri poterit quam citissime ad Te perveniat, Nobis haec eius deliberatio pergrata fuit, eique separatim has ad Te litteras dedimus cum alteris longioribus perferendas. Iucundum est enim Nobis ut tanto citius intelligas quantopere cupiamus sinceram amicitiam Tecum arctissime conglutinare et crebro ad Te nuntios et litteras mittere, ut de Tua salute saepe intelligamus et Tuae gloriae quantum cum Domino poterimus faveamus. Cetera ex iisdem prioribus litteris Nostris eidem Antonio traditis copiosius, ut diximus, Celsitudo Tua cognoscet.

Datum Romae apud Sanctos Apostolos sub annulo Piscatoris die 17 Maii 1601 pontificatus Nostri anno decimo.

6.6.1601

Clementis PP. VIII. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLIV, vol. 45, p. 216 (225), No. 224)

Potentissimo Principi Persarum Regi Illustri Clemens PP. VIII

Rex potentissime et illustris salutem et oblatum a Deo Divinae gratiae lumen toto corde accipere. Posteaquam dies complures apud Nos fuit vir honoratus Hossain Ali Bag quem ad Nos Celsitudo Tua misit, quem et libenter admodum vidimus, et omni cum humanitate cum omnibus eius comitibus tractavimus, cum iam a Nobis benevole et honorifice dimissus ex hac Alma Urbe Nostra esset discessurus, tres eius comites dixerunt se velle Christianos fieri, et sacro baptismi lavacro regenerari. Hi

autem sunt Scia Ossein, Risa et Alli, qui diligenter interrogati palam et aperte responderunt se velle Christianam fidem suscipere et baptizari. Quare cum homines sint adulti et ratione praediti et sine ulla cuiusquam vi aut metu sed sua propria voluntate sponte ac libere Christianam religionem profiteri velint, et baptismum petant, Nos, qui neminem cogimus ut Christianus fiat, non potuimus tamen eos reiicere, qui ex Nostro officio omnibus id petentibus ianuam vitae et salutis aeternae per baptismum salutare tenemur aperire. Nam cum de animae sempiternae salute agatur, non possumus ad Christum vitae et salutis auctorem ultro venientes non recipere. Quare ad Celsitudinem Tuam rem ut acta est scribimus, ne mireris si tres supradicti cum eodem Hossain Ali Bag in Persidem non redeunt. Confidimus autem de Tui animi magnitudine et de ea benevolentia quam erga Nos prae Te fers, et quam Nos vicissim erga Te et Tuos omni significatione declaravimus, hoc Tibi nequaquam molestum fore, immo vero gratum et iucundum quod hac ratione dum aliqui ex Tuis apud Nos sunt, tanto magis inter Nos amor constringatur et amicitia coalescat, quod a Te etiam magnopere petimus.

Datum Romae apud S^{um} Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die 6 Junii 1601 pontificatus Nostri a^o 10^o.

30.6.1604

Clemens Papa VIII Regi Persarum. (Arm. XLIV, vol. 56, p. 257 (274))

Potentissime Rex atque illustris salutem, ac lumen Divinae gratiae. Tuae Celsitudinis bellica virtus, uno omnium ore publice, privatimque ita celebratur ut quamquam Tibi, non minus quam Nobis hostis infensus Turca omnes aditus intercluserit, ea tamen ipsa in omnium Christianorum Principum versetur sermone, omnium praedicatione circumferatur. Dei dona sunt haec, Tuae Celsitudini ab Auctore bonorum omnium, occulta ratione, tributa existimamusque Te, et reipublicae et magni alicujus commodi causa, orbi terrarum esse datum, Tua virtute ut restituatur in pristinum Tui potentissimi regni dignitas atque amplitudo.

Nos certe, licet a Te maximo simus locorum intervallo disiuncti: pro eo tamen, qui Tuae inclitae virtuti debetur honor, sumus in Te animo amico ac benevolo, optamusque Tibi eos belli eventus, qui Tuam gloriam, cognitam jam testatamque apud omnes, hominum memoriae commendent. Sempiternae Nostrae hujus in Te voluntatis propensae cum maxime vellemus testes esse apud Te probatos viros et fide dignos elegimus ex ordine Carmelitano pios doctosque sacerdotes tres, quos ad Te mittimus, una cum eorum sociis, nempe Paulum Simonem, Joannem Thadaeum, et Vincentium. Nostras hasce litteras Tuae reddent Celsitudini, Tibique, Nostro nomine, gratulabuntur de regia Tua civitate recuperata, de tot ac tantis victoriis, de fama illustri, quae Te totum per orbem vehit omnium applausu atque admiratione. Nostrae hujus benevolae in Tuam Celsitudinem voluntatis significatio si Tibi, ut speramus, erit grata ex iisdem nostris hominibus cognosces alia quoque quae Tibi erunt gratiora. Ut Tu fidem habeas in omnibus quae mandato Nostro Tibi exponent a Te petimus majorem in modum, et Tuae Celsitudini precamur ea, quae Tibi et Tuis populis utilia sunt et salutaria.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris 30 Junii 1604 Pontificatus nostri anno 13.

8.10.1605

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arm. XLV, vol. 1, p. 134—formerly 123)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Sciah Abbas Persarum Regi Paulus Papa Quintus

Illustris ac Potentissime Sciah Abbas Persarum Rex salutem atque lumen veritatis. Iucundissimum Nobis fuit, quod cum Nos praeteritis mensibus scripserimus Regiae Celsitudini Tuae significaverimusque, Nos divina bonitate ita disponente in sacrosancta Apostolica Sede Beati Petri Principis Apostolorum nullis certe Nostris meritis praesidere, ac Te non minus quam Sanctissimus Pontifex Clemens octavus (quem Deus ad caelestia praemia post longos gravesque labores pro Ecclesia Sancta susceptos vocavit), diligere, deque Tuis speciosissimis triumphis, quos de communi inimico Nostro

immanissimo tyranno Turca quotidie reportare intelligimus, gaudere, nunc ad manus Nostras pervenerint litterae Tuae, quas ad praedecessorem Nostrum officiosissime scribebas. Plane Nobis renunciatum fuerat Regiam Celsitudinem Tuam magna prosequi reverentia Summum ecclesiae Christianae Catholicae Pontificem, Tuamque in Christianos homines pietatem singularem esse, sed utrumque ex hac epistola Tua multo manifestius comperimus; adeo officiose, adeo humaniter, adeo benigne Tuam egregiam in Nos observantiam, atque in Nostros homines charitatem Nobis significasti. Quare Noster amor erga Celsitudinem tuam mirifice auctus est, eoque magis a Deo Omnipotenti Nostris precibus petimus, ut lumine sapientiae Suae mentem Tuam illustrare dignetur, vires, opes, fortitudinem in Te ac ducibus militibusque Tuis amplifcet, quo maiores, atque illustriores victorias in dies consequaris. Et quidem voluissemus, ut nobilis orator Tuus Bastam Colibech ad Nos incolumis pervenisset, utique Nostrum amorem minime vulgarem expertus esset: sed quia morte praeventus legationem absolvere non potuit, patienter feramus necesse est. Caeterum quotiescumque aliquos ex Tuis ad Nos miseris perhumaniter eos recipiemus, ac perbenigne tractabimus; cupimus enim vehementer, ut re ipsa intelligas, quanti faciamus amicitiam atque benevolentiam Tuam, et quam grata Nobis sint omnia officia, quae iugiter Christianis hominibus exhibes. Quos quidem quamquam abs te continuis beneficiis affectos intelligimus, nihilominus etiam atque etiam commendamus tibi tanquam filios Nostros charissimos, quorum animarum salus prae omnibus rebus Nobis cordi est. Hac de causa iussimus, ut quam primum aliquot religiosi viri sacerdotes ex Carmelitanorum familia, videlicet Paulus Simon, Joannes Thaddaeus atque Vincentius, quos felicitis recordationis Clemens Papa octavus praedecessor Noster ad consolationem animarum Christifidelium, qui istic degunt, in Persiam mittebat, susceptum iter maturarent, Nostrasque litteras ad Regiam Celsitudinem tuam deferrent; ac simul pluribus verbis Nostrum amorem tibi declararent. Interea hortamur te, ut hanc Nostram amicitiam amoris accessione fovere, atque amplificare velis; Nos vero quibuscumque rebus tibi usui atque iucunditati esse poterimus, libenter auctoritatem, operam, industriam Nostram tuae Regiae Celsitudini navabimus; praecipue vero Nostris orationibus Deum assidue precabimur, ut robur et potentiam tuam adversus fidei Nostrae sanctae inimicos dextera Suae fortitudinis augeat, ac te in viam salutis dirigat.

Datum Romae apud, Sanctum Marcum sub annulo Piscatoris, octavo Idus Octobris MDCV (-8.10.1605) Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

14.2.1606

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arm. XLV, vol. 1, p. 239 (formerly 228))

(This Brief is identical in wording with that dated 8 10.1605 (octavo Idus Octobris MDCV) as far as the words "ac simul pluribus verbis Nostrum amorem Tibi declararent."

Then, instead of:

"Interea hortamur Te, ut hanc Nostram amicitiam amoris accessione fovere, atque amplificare velis; Nos vero quibuscumque rebus Tibi usui atque iucunditati esse poterimus, libenter auctoritatem, operam, industriam Nostram tuae Regiae Celsitudini navabimus; praecipue vero Nostris orationibus Deum assidue precabimur, ut robur et potentiam Tuam adversus fidei Nostrae sanctae inimicos dextera Suae fortitudinis augeat, ac Te in viam salutis dirigat.

"Datum Romae apud *Sanctum Marcum* sub annulo Piscatoris, octavo Idus Octobris MDCV "pontificatus Nostri anno primo",

it reads:

"Et quoniam Te ex animo diligimus et in Tuis victoriis atque triumphis mirifice oblectamur, quod confidimus attritis a Te viribus immanissimi Tiranni Othomanici fore ut regna ista Tua amplissima ac universa Christiana respublica aliquando ab invasione communis istius crudelis inimici liberentur: ideo etiam atque etiam petimus a Te ut acrius insistas ac vehementius quotidie bellum hoc et Tibi et Nobis non minus necessarium quam salutare urgeas. Nos vero maiori qua possumus vi atque constantia adversus Turcas instamus, Christianos principes omnes inflam- mamus, occasionem rei prospere et foeliciter gerendae dum abs Te inimici fortiter oppugnantur

“proponimus, ac simul Nostris orationibus Deum assidue precamur, ut robur et potentiam Tuam
 “adversus fidei nostrae oppugnatores dextera Suae fortitudinis augeat, ac Te in viam salutis dirigat
 “Datum Romae apud *Sanctum Petrum* sub annulo Piscatoris vi Kalendas Martii MDCVI ponti-
 “ficatus Nostri anno primo.”

11.3.1608

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 3, p. 165 (175), No. 424)

Illustri et Potentissimo Scia Abbahas Persarum Regi Paulus Papa Quintus

Illustris et potentissime Scia Abbahas Persarum rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Occasione huius venerabilis fratris Nostri Matthaei Erasmi archiepiscopi provinciae de Naxivan in Armenia Maiori qui cum benedictione Nostra ad gregem fidei suae commissum revertitur volumus pro singulari benevolentia qua Celsitudinem Tuam prosequimur Te Nostris hisce literis salutare ut Te certiore redderemus de propensa in Te voluntate Nostra de studio atque desiderio quo tenemur continuandi illa amoris et humanitatis officia, quibus vicissim amicitiam Vestram praedecessor Noster foelicis recordationis Clemens octavus, Tuque, rex potentissime, fovebatis.

Quod Nostrum desiderium etiam Tibi significavimus satis a principio Nostri pontificatus aliis Nostris literis, quas Tibi reddendas dedimus dilectis filiis Nostris Religiosis viris servis Dei Paulo Simoni, Joanni Thadaeo et Vincentio sacerdotibus fratribus Ordinis Carmelitani qui tunc in Persidem iussu Nostro susceptum mandato eiusdem praedecessoris Nostri iter prosequerentur. Ab hoc igitur venerabili fratre Nostro intelliges quam Tibi debere profiteamur ob humanitatem atque benignitatem qua filios Nostros Christifideles in amplissimis regnis Tuis degentes tractas, et quam ex animo cupiamus posse aliqua in re Tibi parem gratiam referre. Quod cum aliter facere nequeamus maiori quo valemus charitatis affectu Tibi a Domino veram foelicitatem precamur. Et cum intelligamus foelices progressus bellorum, quibus adversus immanissimum Tyrannum Othomanicum praeliaris, non cessamus orare Deum Omnipotentem ut dextera virtutis Suae robur et fortitudinem Tuorum militum confirmet et augeat: communium vero inimicorum nostrorum arma atque vires conterat ac dispergat; quemadmodum etiam hortamur filios Nostros charissimos Christianos reges, ut dum Tu fortiter ac genere inimicum in Asia perstringis ipsi in Europa ad illum invadendum se comparent. Quod in Divina misericordia confisi aliquando fore speramus potissimum pace inter nos vigente et armis Tuis foeliciter progredientibus. Verum plura adhuc et de his et de Nostro in Te amore venerabilis idem frater Matthaeus archiepiscopus Celsitudini Tuae renunciabit, quem ut fratrem Nostrum Dei servum fidelem Tui valde studiosum et amantem Tibi diligenter commendamus; quemadmodum etiam commendamus Tibi cum totis Nostrae charitatis visceribus universos filios Nostros Christianos in latissimo et potentissimo regno Tuo commorantes ut benignitate et gratia Tua adiuti commodius Deo ac Redemptori nostro servire possint, quem oramus ut Te protectione Suae gratiae semper custodiat et ad veram salutem Tua omnia consilia et opera dirigat atque disponat.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris v Idus Martii MDCVIII pontificatus Nostri anno tertio.

11.3.1608

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 3, p. 166 (176), No. 425)

Illustri et Potentissimo Scia Abbahas Persarum Regi Paulus Papa Quintus

Illustris ac potentissime Scia Abbahas Persarum rex salutem atque lumen Divinae gratiae.

Tribus abhinc fere annis scripsimus Celsitudini Tuae per dilectos filios Nostros Paulum Simonem, Joannem Thadaeum atque Vincentium viros Religiosos ex Carmelitanorum familia, qui mandato Nostro iter, quod in Persidem iussu foelicis recordationis Clementis octavi praedecessoris Nostri susceperant ad Te, maturabant Tibique Nostris literis significabamus ingentem laetitiam quam de

victoriis ac triumphis Tuis acceperamus et quam ex animo Te diligeremus ac itidem cuperemus continuare mutuae benevolentiae officia, quae inter praedecessorem Nostrum et Celsitudinem Tuam intercedebant. Verum quia nondum intelleximus pervenerintne adhuc praedicti filii Nostri ad Te, et maiori semper desiderio inflammemur significandi Tibi Nostrum amorem nacti opportunam occasionem huius dilecti filii Joannis de Avila Hispani, qui ad Te nunc reverti velle Nobis dixit, a quo fuisse missum ad Nos cum Tuis literis et mandatis, sed ea sibi erepta a latronibus Nobis exposuit, ei ad Celsitudinem Tuam Nostras has literas sinceræ dilectionis et benevolentiae testes dare volumus. Plane vir iste multa Nobis renunciavit de Tua egregia humanitate in filios Nostros Christifideles, qui in amplissimo regno Tuo vivunt, et quod omnes, qui ex Nostris partibus ad Vos veniunt benigne et amice passim istic recipiuntur, quod certe tanto magis Nostrum amantem voluntatem Tibi devinxit. Retribuat igitur Tibi Dominus quem pro vera foelicitate Tua semper oramus, quemadmodum etiam facimus pro foelici eventu bellorum, quae adversus communem hostem et Christiani nominis perpetuum inimicum et tyrannum Othomanicum continenter geris. De quo toties triumphasse et tam splendoras et illustres victorias reportasse Te cum summa iucunditate audivimus. Qua de causa etiam Te hortamur ut nunquam remittas bellum donec immanis ferae huius vires in Asia conteras, quo facilius filii Nostri charissimi Christiani reges ipsum in Europa adorianur. Quod certe sicuti vehementer cupimus ita quando Divinae providentiae placuerit nec id aliquando fore desperamus summo animi ardore curaturi sumus.

Interim armis Tuis validissimas preces Nostrae ad Deum ferventissimae pro victoriis Tuis iungentur. Caeterum si aliud praestare poterimus, Tuque id Nobis aliquo pacto significaveris, dabimus operam ut intelligas quam Nobis cordi sint Tua omnia et quam cupidi simus Tuae foelicitatis et consolationis. De qua re etiam plura idem dilectus filius Joannes de Avila Tibi renunciabit; quem etsi satis Tibi cognitum esse existimemus, cum ipse de Tua in eum liberalitate multa Nobiscum locutus sit, ut Nostra causa perhumaniter excipias desideramus. Deus Omnipotens Pater misericordiarum lumine Suae sanctae gratiae det fortia et generosa consilia, atque opera Tua ad laudem Sui sanctissimi nominis et ad veram Tuam salutem dirigat atque disponat.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris v Idus Martis MDCVIII pontificatus Nostri anno tertio.

22.3.1608

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV., vol. 3, p. 170 (180), No. 435)

Illustri et Potentissimo Scia Abbahas Persarum Regi Paulus Papa Quintus

Illustris ac potentissime Scia Abbahas Persarum rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Quemadmodum pluribus aliis Nostris literis praecipue vero iis, quas nuper huic dilecto filio Joanni Avilae Hispano ad Tuam Celsitudinem dedimus, Tibi significavimus, statim curavimus a principio Nostri pontificatus ut dilecti filii Religiosi viri Paulus Simon, Joannes Thadaeus atque Vincentius fratres ac sacerdotes Ordinis Carmelitani Discalceatorum quos foelicis recordationis praedecessor Noster Clemens Octavus iam in Persidem direxerat, susceptum iter maturarent et literas Nostras testes praecipui in Te amoris Nostri ad Celsitudinem Tuam deferrent, ut propensae Nostrae voluntatis erga Te studium Tibi patefacere. Verum quia nihil adhuc accepimus de illorum adventu in Persidem, quamvis intellexerimus eos iter iam coepisse cum oratore Tuo, qui a charissimo in Christo filio Nostro Rodulpho Imperatore electo ad Tuam Celsitudinem revertebatur, cum quo se coniunxerant apud Magnum Moscovitarum Ducem; debebant enim tunc in eius aula: ideo suspicamur ne praedicti filii Nostri servi Dei aliquo impedimento remorentur, detenti fortasse ab ipsis Moscovitis, seu a Tartaris occasione praesentium perturbationum illius regni, aut a Turcis qui ad Mare Caspium habitant. Quocumque autem modo impediuntur quominus pervenire possint ad Te tanto magis dolemus quanto vehementius quotidie desideramus fieri certiores quod innotuerit Tibi benevolentia singularis, qua Te prosequimur et studium ac desiderium quo tenemur illius amoris continuandi, qui inter foelicis recordationis praedecessorem Nostrum et Celsitudinem Tuam intercederet. Adhibere itaque cupimus omnem diligentiam ut sciamus quid acciderit tribus hisce filiis Nostris ad Te missis; et quia in Tua praestanti humanitate ac benignitate maxime confidimus, certi etiam quod nemo Te melius hoc Nobis praestare possit, petimus etiam atque etiam a Te velis mandare

ut hi tres filii Nostri Paulus Simon, Joannes Thadaeus atque Vincentius fratres Carmelitani Discalceati qui in Persidem cum oratore Tuo veniebant sedulo ac diligenter inquirantur, praecipue apud Moschos et Tartaros, etiam apud Turcas ad Mare Caspium. Multum quidem obstringes Tibi hoc officio Nostram charitatem qui ut vides valde solliciti sumus hac de causa sicuti etiam Tibi renunciabit hic dilectus filius Joannes de Avila, quem ut benigne excipias, ut alteris Nostriis literis Tibi significavimus, et ex animo cupimus, et veram foelicitatem in Eo qui solus potest homines efficere foelices ac beatos Celsitudini Tuae optamus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris xi Kal. Aprilis MDCVIII pontificatus Nostri anno tertio.

16.10.1608

Pauli PP. V. Brev.. (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 3, p. 169)

Scia Abbas Persarum Regi Paulus Papa V

Illustris Scia Abbas Persarum Rex Potentissime salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae ad agnoscendam veritatem, quae salus est et vita credentium.

Summam Nobis consolationem in Domino attulerunt litterae, quas a Celsitudine Tua Nobis reddidit dilectus filius Paulus Simon, frater carmelitanus discalceatus, nuper ex Perside ad Nos reversus. Gavisus quidem sumus plurimum multis de causis. Primum sane, quia magno cum desiderio expectabamus ut responderes litteris Nostriis, quas sub Nostri Pontificatus initio Tibi amantissime scripseramus, ut intelligeremus Te certiore factum esse Nostrae erga Celsitudinem Tuam egregiae voluntatis; deinde, quia ex eodem filio Nostro Paulo Simone accepimus Te bene valere, cuncta Tibi prospera atque secunda esse, et quae ad bellum attinent, quod cum inimicis communibus fortiter ac constanter geris, cuncta feliciter progredi; postremo, quod summopere desideramus animum Tuum in Nostros confirmatum esse, quem aliquando sub alienatum ab eis fuisse graviter dolemus. Sed Omnipotenti Deo gratias immortales agimus, cujus providentia factum est ut idem Paulus Simon et fratres ejus opportune advenerint, suspicionesque omnes ex corde Tuo remove potuerint. Nam ut Celsitudini Tuae renunciarunt et Nos litteris Nostriis Tibi significavimus, consilia studiaque Nostra eo directa sunt ut, Deo auxiliante, charissimorum filiorum Nostrorum regum ac principum Christianorum arma jungamus adversus impium saevumque tyrannum Othomanicum. Itaque ex his satis cognoscere potes quam false ad Te delatum fuerit Nos aut filios Nostros, reipublicae Christianae principes, negligere ea quae in orientalibus regionibus geruntur. Et quidem si licuisset Nobis perfrui majori quiete ac tranquillitate a perturbationibus, quae in istis partibus nuper excitatae fuerunt, fortasse habuisses hactenus aliquod signum evidentius ardentis desiderii, quo tenemur videndi cohibitum aliquando furorem audaciamque immanium ferarum Othomanicarum quae vineam Domini, ecclesiam videlicet fidelium, in oriente devastaverunt. Sed quod huc usque minime conficere potuimus, id Divina misericordia cooperante, speramus brevi tempore perfecturos esse, praesertim cum ex Tuis litteris multo magis simus incensi ad tam necessarium tamque pium bellum. Qua de re quam primum facere certiore volumus Celsitudinem Tuam, ut acrius prosequeris institutam expeditionem adversus communes hostes. Quod autem pertinet ad ea quae Armuzii gesta sunt, de quibus Tuis litteris Nobiscum conquestus es, Nos quidem ea de causa cum litteris Nostros dilectum filium Paulum Simonem ad charissimum in Christo filium Nostrum, Philippum Hispaniarum Regem, misimus, quem efficaciter hortati sumus ad conservandam omni genere officii pacem, mutuamque benevolentiam, quae inter Nos intercedit, et ad removendam nedum causam, sed omnem occasionem dissidii quae quoquo pacto exoriri posset, de cujus magnanimitate atque prudentia omnia Nobis ex voto pollicemur. Te vero misurum esse ad Nos, ut scribis, oratorem, Nobis quidem fuit gratissimum. Ipsum utique libentissime excipiemus atque perhonorifice, ut par est, tractabimus. Pari pacto ad Celsitudinem Tuam oratorem mittere cogitamus, qui de amore in Te Nostro atque de desiderio quo tenemur confirmandi Tuam cum filiis Nostriis charissimis regibus ac principibus Christianis amicitiam, ac de studio quo laboramus ut Tibi, quantum cum Domino poterit, satisfiat in his quae Paulus Simon mandato Tuo Nobiscum egit, certiore faciat. Interim accipias has Nostras praecipuae benevolentiae qua Celsitudini Tuae singulariter prosequimur indices ex dilectis filiis piis ac religiosis viris, Joanne atque Vincentio, qui in Perside jussu Nostro remanserunt, quos iterum Tibi diligenter commendamus,

et cum illis pariter istarum litterarum latores, filios Nostros dilectos ejusdem Ordinis Carmelitanorum Discalceatorum fratres, Redemptum et Benignum, qui sicuti idem vitae institutum profitentur, ita pari zelo pietatis atque ornamento Christianae virtutis praeditos esse, ut speramus, se demonstrabunt. Quorum unusquisque quoties contigerit ut de veritate Nostrarum litterarum dubites, si forte antequam Noster orator perveniat ad Celsitudinem Tuam aliquas acceperis, certiore Te facere poterit, annuli Piscatoris signum cognoscunt et fide digni sunt. Deum assidue oramus ut Spiritus Sancti lumine mentem Tuam illustret, quo ad Ejus aeternae sinceraeque pulchritudinis obtutum elevatus Illius amore succensus evadas, particepsque ineffabilis Ejus misericordiae ac simul ad sanctissimi Nominis Sui gloriam victricibus armis Tuis favcat caelestis gratia.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub ann. Pisc. xvii, Kal. November 1608 pont. N^{ri} anno quarto.

99.1609

Pauli PP. V. Brev. (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV. vol. 5, p. 39 (47), No. 105)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Sciah Abbahas Persarum Regi Paulus Papa Quintus

Illustris ac Potentissime Sciah Abbahas Persarum rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Magna animi Nostri laetitia excepimus honoratum et generosum virum Aalim Gulim Beig oratorem Celsitudinis Tuae, quem cum religioso ac dilecto filio Francisco Costa sacerdote ad Nos misisti, ac literas humanitatis et amoris Tui erga Nos plenas ab ipso accepimus et summa cum iucunditate legimus quae de foelicissimo progressu Tuo adversus infensissimos teterrimosque communes inimicos Turcas Nobis significasti. Deo Omnipotenti gratias immortales egimus, atque iugiter habemus, quod orationes Nostras clementer exaudierit, qui iugiter eius bonitatem precati sumus, ut ad exaltationem et gloriam sanctissimi nominis Jesu Christi filii Eius unigeniti Domini nostri dignaretur robur ac vires Tuas augere auxilio ac virtute Divinae Eius dexteræ. Quantum ad reliquum attinet Nos sicuti antea pluribus Nostris literis Celsitudini Tuae significavimus Te ex animo diligimus et reciproci amoris Tui cupidi sumus, mutuaque Nostram amicitiam, quantum cum Domino poterimus, omni genere officii non solum conservare sed augere iugiter curabimus. Quemadmodum ex altera parte vehementissime desideramus destructionem et exterminium Othomanici Tyranni immanissimi inimici Dei et hominum, cuius rei gratia assidue nitimur omni studio diligentia labore coniungere vires Nostras et charissimorum filiorum Nostrorum regum coeterorumque Catholicorum Christianae reipublicae principum. Perge igitur foeliciter, nec permittas inimico ut possit ex istis partibus quiescere. Nos quidem nec studium neque diligentiam unquam remissuri sumus donec Christianorum arma adversus Turcas excitemus.

Quae omnia uberius intelliges ex oratore Tuo, cui hanc Nostram voluntatem abunde declaravimus: qui etiam Tibi significabit quam gratus fiat Nobis eius adventus et quam libenter illum viderimus quoties ad Nostrum conspectum accessit. Plane ut in publico eius in Almam hanc Urbem Nostram ingressu mandavimus exciperetur honorificentissime, ita iussimus ut toto hoc tempore quo hic mandat omni amoris et honoris significatione tractaretur: et quia maxime decebat egregiam Tui apud Nos existimationem et benevolentiam qua et singulariter prosequimur et quia idem orator Tuus omni genere honorificentiae et humanitatis dignum se praebuit: quo nomine illum Celsitudini Tuae plurimum commendamus. Deum oramus ut Tibi, rex potentissime ac fortissime, mentem illustret Spiritus Sancti lumine ut quae ad eius gloriam et veram Tuam foelicitatem conducunt videas et cor Tuum amore magis accendat Redemptoris humani generis clementissimi Domini nostri Jesu Christi filii Eius unigeniti, qui ab aeterno una cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto unus est Deus, ut quemadmodum de Tuis prosperitatibus et de terreni regni Tui foelicitate nunc gaudemus sic de vera Tua beatitudine in regno coelesti ubi gaudium et gloria est sempiterna postea laetari possimus. Postremo Celsitudini Tuae toto Nostri cordis affectu filios Nostros Christifideles, qui in regionibus amplissimo imperio Tuo subiectis commorantur, commendamus ut Divinam misericordiam orationibus suis propitiam Tibi regnoque Tuo reddere valeant.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Marcum sub annulo Piscatoris quinto Idus Septembris MDCIX pontificatus Nostri anno quinto.

9.10.1609

Pauli PP. Brev. V. (Arm. XLV, vol. 5, p. 57—formerly 49)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Scia Abbahas Persarum Regi, Paulus Papa Quintus

Illustris ac Potentissime Scia Abbahas Persarum Rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Discesserat paucis ante diebus vir honoratus ac generosus Ahali Guli Beig [ʿAlī Qulī Baig] Celsitudinis tuae orator, cum dilectus filius nobilis vir Robertus Serleius [Robert Sherley] Anglus alter tuus orator ad Nos pervenit, et vero Nobis gravior fuit eius adventus, quanto magis illum videre desiderabamus, ut commodius ex ipso cognosceremus quae ad communem utilitatem daturum esse Te illi in mandatis iamdudum literis Tuis Nobis significaveras. Magna igitur populi celebritate, ingentique omnium laetitia in Almam hanc Urbem Nostram ingressus, alteraque die deductus ad Nos, qui honoris causa, sicuti etiam priori oratori Tuo feceramus, illum praesentibus nonnullis ex venerabilibus fratribus Nostris Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalibus benigne excepimus, gratissimas literas Tuas Nobis reddidit, ac diserta et eleganti oratione causam suae legationis exposuit. Postea reversus privato colloquio arbitris omnibus remotis diligentius et fusius tuam benevolentiam studiosamque erga Nos voluntatem Nobis declaravit; consilia belli gerendi adversus communem inimicum tyrannum Othomanicum aperuit; quid nobis faciendum existimes demonstravit; ad mittendum Nuntium Nostrum ad Celsitudinem Tuam proposita negotii gravitate Tuamque in Nostros humanitatem excitavit. Quibus omnibus ita respondimus, quemadmodum idem orator Tuus Tibi rescribet, ut facile intelligere possis Nostrum desiderium apprimae conscientiae tuae voluntati, sicut Noster in te amor maxime in tua erga Nos benevolentia congruit. Iterabimus itaque officia pastoralis Nostrae sollicitudinis apud filios Nostros charissimos Reges et Principes Catholicos Christianae Reipublicae; curabimusque eos coniunctis animis atque armis impellere ad suscipiendum aequale gloriosum ac necessarium bellum adversus immanes inimicos Turcas, quemadmodum hactenus iugiter fecimus; potissimum vero hortabimur ad hoc, quemadmodum desideras, charissimum in Christo filium Nostrum Philippum Regem Catholicum Potentissimum et eos Principes qui loci opportunitate facilius invadere possunt Othomanicam tyrannidem. Denique nihil praetermitteremus, quo maiore detrimento atque molestia inimici ex istis partibus afficiantur. De his autem quae pro dignitate et honorificentia Nuntii Nostri mittendi ad Te pollicitus est Nobis Tuo nomine idem orator Tuus, et de archiepiscopo Catholico in maiori Armenia constituendo, agimus Celsitudini Tuae summas gratias, et de utroque cogitabimus, nec nisi dignum tanto munere decernemus, et qui Tibi et officio suo satisfacere possit; quemadmodum etiam dabimus operam, tales ut sint caeteri religiosi viri, qui in Persidem a Nobis mittentur. Nihil enim magis desideramus, quam exemplis Christianae pietatis, mansuetudinis, constantiae, charitatis, quae omnium virtutum perfectio est, Celsitudinem Tuam et subiectos Tibi populos amore unigeniti Filii Dei Redemptoris Nostri Jesu Christi acrius semper inflammare, ut gaudium quod accipimus in terris, ex Tua amicitia et benevolentia augeatur, imo vero perficiatur in caelis, ubi syncerus amor et vera charitas reperitur; quod certe Nostris orationibus indesinenter a Deo petimus. Quem oramus, ut ad Sanctissimi Eius nominis gloriam et Christianae fidei propagationem Te in viam salutis dirigat, et super communes inimicos potentem faciat, eosque in fortitudine brachii Tui conterat, dissipet atque dispergat. Diligimus Te ex animo, Rex Potentissime, Tuamque omnia Nobis semper cordi erunt.

Datum Tusculi sub annulo Piscatoris vii Idus Octobris MDCIX (=9.10.1609) pontificatus Nostri anno quinto.

22.6.1610

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Secr. Vat., Arm. XLV, 6., p. 17, No. 40)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Sciah Abbahas, Persarum Regi, Paulus Papa Quintus

Illustris ac Potentissime Sciah Abbahas Persarum Rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Gaudemus vehementer quoties literas Celsitudinis Tuae accipimus vel nuntii Nobis de Te afferuntur, quibus certiores reddimur de foelici progressu Tuo adversus communem inimicum tyrannum Othomanicum, et de continuatione Tui in Nos ac filios Nostros amoris. Propterea binas

epistolas quas a Celsitudine Tua ad nos detulit dilectus filius religiosus ac pius vir, sacerdos Dei Vincentius Sancti Francisci frater Carmelitanus Discalceatus, summa cum iucunditate legimus. Ex ipsis namque plene cognovimus non solum recuperatum abs Te fuisse fortiter ac generose totum quod Turcae Dei hominumque hostes exsecrandi Tibi ante ademerant, sed etiam in eorum fines Te ingressum esse, et quotidie progredi, ac praeterea intelleximus quanto amore prosequeris filios summopere Nobis dilectos fratres Carmelitanos Discalceatos, quos in Persidem misimus.

Quod autem dicis, nullum accepisse Te responsum ad eas literas quas antea per legatos Tuos ac Nostros ad Nos dederas minime mirandum, quando enim postremas has scribebas verisimile est eos, qui deferre Tibi literas Nostras debebant, adhuc in itinere fuisse. Nam prioribus literis Tuis, quas Nobis reddidit dilectus filius Paulus Simon, frater Carmelitanus Discalceatus, respondimus viginti iam abhinc mensibus. Ad alias vero, quas 'Ali Quli Baig, nobilis Persa, et paulo post dilectus filius Robertus Sherleius, nobilis Anglus, oratores Tui attulerunt, rescripsimus anno praeterito.

Tibi persuadeas volumus, quod sicuti Celsitudinem Tuam magnificamus, sic negotium de quo Nobiscum agere voluisti Nobis maxime cordi est, et quia eius magnitudo atque gravitas ita exigit, et quia Tibi, quantum cum Domino possumus, ostendere cupimus propensione animi Nostri Tui amantissimi. Utinam praesentium temporum conditio nimis adversa desiderio Nostro Nos non impediret, iam reipsa ostendissemus Celsitudini Tuae quam cupiamus ex his partibus communem inimicum invadendo victricia arma Tua adiuvare. Quod quia aliter facere non possumus, orationibus saltem Nostris ad Deum ferventibus praestare jugiter nitimur, studium nunquam neque diligentiam remittentes, qua Principum Christianorum animos conciliemus, ut ad tam pium et tam necessarium bellum impellere facilius possimus. Quod renunciasset hactenus Tibi credimus oratores Tuos si quemadmodum speramus salvi et incolumes ad Te pervenerunt; et hic dilectus filius Noster Vincentius Sancti Francisci uberius etiam Celsitudini Tuae significabit.

De egregia autem voluntate quam profiteris erga Nos et hanc sanctam apostolicam sedem cuius tam praeclara signa Nobis dedisti, in restituendis tribus illis ecclesiis, quas Erivani demolitus erat Turca immanissimis pietatis et religionis hostis, et in excipiendis fovendisque filiis Nobis summopere dilectis fratribus Discalceatis Carmelitanis, gratias summas Celsitudini Tuae agimus; sicut indicibiles etiam Tibi habemus de nobilissima oblatione sanctae civitatis Hierosolymorum, si concederet Tibi Deus omnipotens ac misericors ex inimicorum manibus illam eripere, sicut Nos Eius Divinam bonitatem precamur. Ex altera parte Nos quoque semper respondere curabimus, quantum cum Domino poterimus, amori Tuo omnibus benevolentiae et amicitiae officiis. Quod reliquum est Tibi diligentissime commendamus hunc Nostrum dilectum filium Vincentium Sancti Francisci et fratres eius, cui integram fidem adhibebis in his, quae de Nostro in Te amore Tibi renunciabit, sicuti etiam pari fiducia iisdem fratribus credere poteris quicquid Nobis significare volueris: atque iterum Celsitudini Tuae lumen Divinae gratiae cum omni Nostri cordis affectu precamur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Marcum sub annulo Piscatoris x Kalendas Julii MDCX pontificatus Nostri anno sexto [~22.6.1610].

9.7.1610

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 6, p. 35 (olim 27), No. 64)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Sciah Abbahas Persarum Regi, Paulus Papa Quintus

Illustris ac Potentissime Sciah Abbahas Persarum Rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Literas accepimus, quas a Celsitudine Tua Nobis reddidit vir prudens et industrius Cuge Sefer Giulay, quem Venetias miserat. Magnam sane consolationem Nobis attulit singularis amor atque benevolentia, quam erga Nos profiteris in Tuis literis, cui semper quantum cum Domino poterimus mutuis sinceræ amicitiae officiis respondere curabimus. Interim ipsum Sefer libenter vidimus, Tua potissimum causa, ei que promptum paratumque auxilium Nostrum in negotiis Tuis expediendis detulimus. Sed iam ut Nobis renunciavit cuncta ex sententia Venetiis peregerat. Quod reliquum est illud a Te postulamus, Tibi persuadeas Nos Te ex animo diligere, Tuaeque verae foelicitatis atque salutis percupidos esse, atque gratissimam Nobis fore semper omnem occasionem declarandi magis ac magis Celsitudini Tuae hunc nostrum erga Te praestantem amorem. Idque, ut Tibi renunciaret, ipsi Sefer mandavimus, sicut ex eodem uberius intelliges. Deum misericordiarum Patrem oramus ut Spiritus Sancti lumine mentem Tuam illustret ad agnitionem Illius, qui veritas et via est, quae ducit ad aeternam gloriam Jesus

Christus unigenitus Eius filius vita et salus animarum, ut ab Eius immensa bonitate praemium incorruptibile recipias amoris, quo credentes in eum Christianos filios Nostros dilectissimos prosequeris quos quidem Celsitudini Tuae cum omni charitatis affectu commendamus, ac praecipue dilectos filios pios ac religiosos viros fratres Discalceatos, qui Tui studiosissimi sunt et liberalitatem, beneficentiam et humanitatem Tuam in eos celebrare nunquam desistunt.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Marcum, sub annulo Piscatoris vii Idus Julii MDCX pontificatus Nostri anno sexto.

24.7.1610

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arm. XLV, 6 (LXXVIII), p. 33)

Illustri et Potentissimo Sciah Abbahas Persarum Regi Paulus Papa Quintus

Illustris et Potentissime Sciah Abbahas Persarum Rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Significavit Nobis dilectus filius Nobilis vir Robertus Sherleius anglus orator Celsitudinis Tuae cuncta egisse in Hispania, quae illi in mandatis dederas, et iam comparare se ad iter, ut quam primum in Persidem ad Celsitudinem Tuam revertatur. Quia vero illi praeceperas ut ad Regem Angliae se conferret, hoc autem facere non poterat absque animae suae periculo, nam rex ille divisus est a communione Ecclesiae Sanctae Catholicae, postulavit a Nobis vellemus illum excusare apud Celsitudinem Tuam si religionis causa se ab hac legatione abstinuit. Cum autem adeo iustam adeoque manifestam habeat excusationem zelum videlicet salutis animae suae, petimus etiam atque etiam a Te, ut illam e Nostra causa admittas: quod certe Nobis gratissimum erit, qui interea Deum orabimus, ut lumine Suae sanctae gratiae Te illustret, ut viam salutis agnoscere, et per eam ad synceram et incorruptibilem felicitatem pervenire possis.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Marcum sub annulo Piscatoris Nono Kalendas Augusti MDCX, pontificatus Nostri anno sexto [=24.7.1610].

12.9.1611

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Secr. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 7, fol. 53, formerly 44, No. 112)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Sciah Abbahas Persarum Regi Paulus Papa Quintus

Illustri ac Potentissime Sciah Abbahas Persarum Rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Accepimus iucundissimas litteras a Tua Celsitudine viro forti et honorato Anghes Beio oratori Tuo ad Nos datos, quas Nobis reddidit dilectus filius nobilis vir Franciscus Comes de Castro orator apud Nos et hanc sanctam apostolicam sedem charissimi in Christo filii Nostri Philippi Hispaniarum regis Catholici potentissimi. Aegrotaverat enim orator Tuus in Hispania et cum tempus instaret redeundi ad Te in Persidem, sicuti ipse Nobis scripsit, consilio Hispaniarum regis obsecutus, cuius amorem ac benevolentiam erga Celsitudinem Tuam expertus erat, negotium omne oratori eius Romae demandavit, qui summa fide ac diligentia cuncta Nobis exposuit, quae in mandatis ad Nos dederas oratori Tuo, cui non potuisse ad Nos dare coram signa peramantis in Te Nostrae voluntatis valde dolemus. Eadem de causa neque venerabilis frater Antonius episcopus Cyrenensis, qui cum Anghes Beio ex Perside profectus erat, ad Nos venit, cuius quidem praesentiam et colloquium, ut maxime desideraremus, fecerunt litterae ipsius ad Nos scriptae, quibus humanitatem, beneficentiam, benignitatem Celsitudinis Tuae erga dilectos filios Nostros Christifideles, qui in regnis Tuis amplissimis degunt; potissimum autem erga se ac socios suos fratres ordinis Sancti Patris Augustini mirificis laudibus commendabat. Plane quam maxime Tibi debere, Rex fortissime ac generosissime, profitemur, quia Nostros adeo benigne et amanter tractas, et quia ut ex litteris Tuis cognovimus, promptus ac paratus es dare eis quotidie evidenter significationes Tuae benevolentiae. Devinxisti Tu quidem his Tuis officiis, et hac animi propensione in Christifideles Nostram charitatem ita ut semper Tui memores simus in Nostris orationibus et assidue precemur Deum et Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut Spiritus Sancti

lumine mentem Tuam illustret, gressusque Tuos dirigat in viam salutis, ut per Eius ineffabilem misericordiam merearis accipere retributionem, quam Tibi toto cordis affectu desideramus. Sicuti etiam assiduis Nostris precibus ab Eius immensa bonitate petimus, ut immensae virtutis Suae potentia, qua contere solet arcus et arma superbiorum confringere, victricibus armis Tuis adversus Christiani nominis perpetuum inimicum tyrannum infensissimum Othomannicum adsistat, ipsumque ad Divini nominis Sui gloriam sub pedibus Tuis prosternat, atque intolerabilem eius tyrannidem in nihilum redigat. Utinam quemadmodum Nostras hasce preces, quas nunquam intermisimus, potuissemus quoque vires atque copias Nostrorum charissimorum in Christo filiorum Christianae reipublicae regum atque principum simul coniungere, ut ab initio Nostri pontificatus ad hanc usque diem sedulo acriterque sategimus; sicuti facturos esse statim ac ministerium apostolatus accepimus, Celsitudini Tuae non semel significavimus; sed Divina providentia, quae in Sua gubernatione non fallitur, aliter disponente, tot et tam multiplices difficultates emeruerunt, ut non tantum Nostrum studium atque laborem pro hac armorum coniunctione impediverint sed coegerint Nos laborare pro animorum reconciliatione, discordiarumque compositione, quae inter Nostros nimis importune, nimisque graviter potissimum in Germania excitatae fuerunt. Nec Nos quoque a suspicionibus perturbationum in Italia immunes fuimus, quae omnia Celsitudini Tuae renunciassent hactenus credimus oratores Tuos Alibeium Persam et dilectum filium Robertum Serleium anglum, quos iam se recepisse ad Te existimamus. Hi enim cuncta per se cognoscere potuerunt cum uterque etsi non eodem tempore in Urbe fuerunt: fere interfuerit his quae in Italia gerebantur et sollicitudinem Nostram viderit de statu rerum Germanicarum. Sed et idem Anghes Beius id ipsum Tibi pari pacto renunciare modo poterit, quem dum mansit apud Hispaniarum regem audivisse et intellexisse Nostrorum in Germania discordias et contentiones procul dubio arbitramur. Quare singularis humanitatis et prudentiae Tuae conscii, confidimus fore ut miserearis potius afflictionis Nostrae, quam de Nostra negligentia conqueraris in cohortandis, inflammandisque filiis Nostris dilectissimis Christianis principibus ad Turcicum bellum. Dubitare namque nullo modo potes de Nostra voluntate, praesertim cum ad innatum desiderium Nostrum opportunitas, quam admirabilis virtus et fortitudo ac foelicitas Tua in bello Nobis praebet destruendi hanc Deo et hominibus odiosam tyrannidem, adiuncta sit. Propterea valde quoque cupimus Celsitudini Tuae persuasum esse quod si benignus Nostris precibus Deus annuerit tribuens concordiam ac pacem Christianae reipublicae Nos nunquam cessabimus, nunquam quiescemus, donec Divina gratia cooperante, Christianorum arma commoveamus adversus Turcas. Quantum autem ad reliquum attinet, Nos non minus Te cupidi sumus nedum conservandae sed augendae mutuae amicitiae ac benevolentiae Nostrae, idque sedulo curabimus omni genere officii, amoris atque dilectionis. Ideo cum mittere deberemus, sicuti a Nobis postulasti, aliquem ecclesiasticum praelatum in Persidem, qui studeret utilitati fidelium ibidem commorantium, et uno et eodem tempore repraesentaret Celsitudini Tuae Nostrum peculiarem amorem, elegimus ad hoc venerabilem fratrem Antonium da Govea, ipsumque episcopum Cyrenensem creavimus quia muneri huic apprime idoneum, Tibique valde gratum fore existimavimus, cui in omnibus, quae de praestanti erga Te Nostra benevolentia Tibi exponet, indubitata fides adhibeas, volumus. De negotiatione, quam a mercatoribus exerceri desideras, cum Tuis diligenter agemus cum charissimo in Christo filio Nostro Philippo eorum rege, quem Tui amantissimum esse scimus, quem in omnibus quae fieri poterunt, libenti animo gratificaturum Tibi confidimus, Deum Omnipotentem toto Nostri cordis affectu oramus ut Celsitudini Tuae veram, absolutamque foelicitatem tribuat, ac viam aperiatur, quae ducit ad vitam, quam unigenitus Eius filius Dominus noster Jesus Christus propria morte, pretiosissimi Eius sanguinis effusione humano generi acquisivit.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris pridie Idus Septembris MDCXI pontificatus Nostri anno septimo [= 12.9.1611].

3.11.1612

Pauli PP. V. Brev : (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 8, p. 60 (69), No. 165)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Sciah Abbahas Persarum Regi Paulus Papa Quintus

Illustris ac Potentissime Sciah Abbahas Persarum Rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Paterna charitas, qua solliciti sumus de incolumitate dilectorum filiorum Christifidelium in amplissimis regionibus Celsitudini Tuae subiectis commorantium quos saepius iam Tibi commendavimus, urget

Nos ut iterum illos regiae benignitati Tuae quam efficaciter commendemus. Renunciatum siquidem Nobis fuit adeo gravibus afflictionibus pressos esse ut ob summam inopiam illi potissimum, qui Assyrii sive Jacobitae vocantur et Aspahanum incolunt, coacti sint nisi calamitatis eorum miserearis proprios filios venundare ut tributa solvant. Quae res Nostrum animum vehementer affligit eoque magis quia Assyrii praedicti, ut accepimus, reiectis detestatisque antiquis eorum erroribus ad gremium Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae redierunt. Propterea confisi in Tua erga Nos praestanti benevolentia tot indicibus, adeoque manifestis, Nobis declarata Celsitudinem Tuam etiam atque etiam rogamus Nostra causa iubere velis, ut mitius agatur cum dilectis filiis Assyriis, praecipue cum Aspahanitis. Optamus enim maxime ut aliquem fructum eorum conversionis percipere incipiant, et paternae Nostrae dilectionis ac peculiaris curae atque sollicitudinis qua illorum salutis satagimus indicium habeant. Etsi minime dubitamus de benevola Tua in Nos voluntate, ac proculdubio speramus Nostras has literas valde profuturas illis miseris apud Tuam Celsitudinem; quia affectus paternus nullis terminis in filiorum discrimine cohiberi potest, volumus adhuc ut dilecti filii Religiosi fratres Discalceati, qui saluti animarum Christifidelium Aspahani inserviunt, id ipsum postularent Nostro nomine Tibique declararent uberius quanta animi molestia afficiamur hac de causa, et quam Nos Tibi devinxeris, si ut confidimus facilem Te praeberis huic Nostrae postulationi. Quos ut benigne audias eisque eandem prorsus fidem ac Nobis, si Nos ipsi Te alloqueremur, adhibeas petimus. Interim Deum oramus ut per Suam ineffabilem misericordiam cor Tuum perfecto Eius amore inflammare mentemque Tuam Spiritus Sancti lumine illustrare Tuamque potentiam ad Sui sanctissimi nominis gloriam super tyrannum Othomanicum exaltare dignetur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris iii Nonas Novembris MDCXII pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

31.8.1614

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Secr. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 10, fol. 44, formerly 35)

Paulus Papa Quintus Illustri et Potentissimo Sciah Abbahas Persarum Regi

Illustris et Potentissime Sciah Abbahas Persarum Rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Libenter accepimus occasionem salutandi Celsitudinem Tuam, quam Nobis praebuit reditus dilecti filii religiosi viri Augustini Franci Armeni ordinis Sancti Dominici, qui visitatis Sanctorum apostolorum liminibus, regreditur in Persidem cum benedictione Nostra ad fratres suos Armenos. Nam cum alii quoque duo fratres eiusdem Ordinis ex Romana Provincia, dilecti videlicet religiosi viri Paulus Maria Cittadinus, Dominicus Paulaccius cum eodem dilecto filio fratre Augustino venturi essent in Persidem, ut mandato Generalis Magistri totius ordinis Dominicani, fratres suos istic invisant; volumus hac opportunitate has literas constantis in Te benevolentiae Nostrae testes illis ad Te dare. Ipsi igitur Celsitudinem Tuam Nostro nomine invisent ac plurima salute Te impartientur. Diligimus Rex Potentissime, atque fortissime Te, quia semper praebuisti valde benevolum Te Nobis, et quia satis proclivem Te semper professus es Tuis ad Nos literis erga dilectos filios Christifideles, qui in amplissimo regno Tuo degunt, et valde quoque cupimus Nostram cum Celsitudine Tua amicitiam conservare, ut uberius iidem literarum Nostrarum latores Tibi renunciabunt, quos summopere Celsitudini Tuae commendamus. ut benigne illos Nostra causa excipias, non modo ut securi, immunesque ab omnibus incommodis, atque molestiis sint, verum etiam, ut amanter et honorifice tractentur. Commendamus quoque pariter Celsitudini Tuae omnes dilectos filios Christianos, qui sub ditione Tua sunt, ut Nostra commendatione dominium Tuum, ut confidimus, benignius experiantur. Paterno affectu de angustiis et afflictionibus illorum valde solliciti sumus. Quare persuadere Tibi potes, obstricturum esse Tibi arctissimo obligationis vinculo benevolentiam Nostram, quoties Nostra causa iusseris Ministris Tuis, ut cum Christianis filiis Nostris dilectis mitius agant. Interea non cessabimus precari Deum, ut cor Tuum ad coelestia desideria erigat, ac lumen veritatis illius, qui vera vita et via ad salutem aeternam est, Tibi patefaciat, prompti ac parati, quantum cum Domino poterimus, paria semper in amore Tuae Celsitudini referre.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris Pridie Kalendas Septembris MDCXIII, pontificatus Nostri anno decimo.

28.4.1618

Pauli PP. V. Brev. (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 15, p. 320 (329) and vol. 34, p. 215)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Sciah Abbas Persarum Regi Paulus Papa Quintus

Illustris et Potentissime Persarum Rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Animi magnitudo Celsitudinis Tuae eaque rara benignitas, quam expertos esse accepimus filios Nostros vere Christianos, qui Catholicam Romanam fidem profitentur in amplissimis regnis Tuis, mutuaque officia, quae inter Nos intercesserunt, pollicentur Nobis ac firmiter sperare faciunt Celsitudinem Tuam quod Tua sponte solet Nostra etiam causa multo magis facturam, Teque Nostrae in filios tam longo intervallo disiunctos paternae charitati beneficentiae Tuae favore suffragaturam. In Armenia Maiori multos esse accepimus Catholicos Christianos, qui ob varias bellorum calamitates, quae a communibus hostibus mota fuerunt Celsitudini Tuae, multis miseriis repleti sunt, illos intimo Nostri cordis affectu Celsitudini Tuae commendamus, praesertim venerabilem fratrem Nostrum, Matthaeum Erasmus Archiepiscopum Naxivani,¹ ac dilectum filium, Paulum Mariam Cittadinum Ordinis fratrum Sancti Dominici Vicarium in iis partibus Generalem, eiusque dicti Ordinis fratres, aliosque sacerdotes ac pastores et ministros animarum eorumque ecclesias, res et bona ita ut Tua benigna protectione foveantur, et ab improbis defendantur, in suaque humilitate quiete vivere possint, et qui nemini nocent a nemine vexentur. Quod et Celsitudine Tua dignissimum erit et nomini Tuo gloriosum: Nos vero et hanc sanctam sedem multum ob hanc rem Celsitudini Tuae devincies.

Datum ut supra (= Romae, apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die vigesima octava Aprilis millesimo sexcentesimo decimo octavo pontificatus Nostri anno tertiodecimo).

25.7.1619

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 13, p. 197 (360))

Illustri ac Potentissimo Sciah Abbahas Persarum Regi Paulus Papa Quintus

Illustris ac Potentissime Sciah Abbahas Persarum Rex salutem et agnitionem Divinae veritatis. Celsitudinis Tuae literas accepimus quas Religioso viro Redempto ex Ordine Carmelitarum discalceatorum ad Nos dederas, easque magna, ut par erat, cum attentione atque animi voluptate perlegimus: siquidem totas uberi laetitiae materia redundantes invenimus. Quanta enim Nos laetitia perfundere debuit quod Asiae rex potentissimus fortitudinis ac prudentiae fama maxime celebris tanto studio Nostram benevolentiam expetat et stabili Nobiscum amicitiae foedere iungi contendat. Equidem si nulla ratio alia existeret, hac certe una de causa ad Celsitudinem Tuam praecipue diligendam magnopere impelleremur; sed profecto alia multa sunt, quae mente Nostram erga Te caritatem sibi vindicant; certis namque testimoniis accepimus Celsitudinem Tuam Christianos, qui ex Nostris partibus in provincias Tuas proficiscuntur, perhumaniter et honorifice excipere atque liberaliter tractare; praecipue vero id praestas erga Religiosos Carmelitas discalceatos, viros probitate ac sapientia praestantes quique Tibi non modico usui esse possunt. Intelleximus etiam Te cogitare Christianis qui istic versantur nobilem ecclesiam Tua magnificentia dignam aedificare, quibus de rebus Celsitudini Tuae maximas, ut debemus, gratias agimus, deque adeo propensa in Christianam religionem Tua voluntate plurimum Nos Tibi debere profitemur. Itaque quibus unquam poterimus officiis huiusmodi Tuo erga Nos animo respondere semper parati erimus. Interim Deum pro Celsitudinis Tuae foelici statu assidue orare non cessabimus, ut quas ipse hactenus de Othomanico tyranno immanissimo Christiani nominis hoste insignes Tibi victorias detulit, eas ad Tuam gloriam atque ad Christianorum utilitatem et pacem novis quotidie triumphis cumulare dignetur. Illud praeterea misericordiarum Patrem Deum toto animi affectu rogabimus, quod quidem unum ad Tuam foelicitatem et ad Nostrum perfectum de Te gaudium decesse intelligimus, ut nimirum quae in Te iecit Christianae pietatis semina, ea crescere atque ad debitam maturitatem pervenire benigne faciat. Ut ita aliquando Celsitudinem Tuam cum coeteris

¹ "Mexicani," which appears in the manuscript instead of "Naxivani," is an error of the scribe in copying: on p. 215, vol. 34, "Naxivani" is given.

potentissimis Christianis regibus perfecta, quae in Christo Iesu est, caritate complecti valeamus, haec erunt perpetua vota Nostra, quibus utinam obsecundet Deus. Quantum autem ad illa attinet quae Tuo nomine exponi Nobis fecit Redemptus Carmelita, ex Nobis cordi semper futura Celsitudo Tua sibi persuadeat, cui iterum salutem, quae vera est, ex animo optamus atque a Deo peramanter precamur.

Datum Romae apud S. Mariam, 25 Julii 1619, anno xv.

16.7.1620

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Secr. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 14, p. 249, formerly 140)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Schiah Abbahas Persarum Regi Paulus Papa V

Illustris ac potentissime Schiah Abbahas Persarum Rex salutem et agnitionem Divinae veritatis. Opportunam et gratam Nobis occasionem praebet salutandi Celsitudinem Tuam adventus in Persiam dilecti filii religiosi viri Vincentii a Sancto Francisco Carmelitae discalceati Prioris Sancti Pauli in hac Nostra Urbe, qui istuc mittitur ad visitanda sui ordinis monasteria; is nostras has litteras Celsitudini Tuae reddet; ac simul coram fusius testabitur quantopere Tuam veram salutem ac foelicitatem expetamus Deum assidue orantes, ut Celsitudinis Tuae mentem lumine verae fidei, quae origo est, et fundamentum bonorum omnium, illustrare dignetur. Equidem de Nostra in Celsitudinem Tuam propensa voluntate Tibi satis persuasum esse non dubitamus; sicut Nos vicissim Tuam in Nos benevolentiam et observantiam iampridem perspectam habemus; cuius significationem non obscuram dederunt plures ad Nos litterae Tuae humanissimae et officio plenae; necnon munus lapidis Bezoar, quod superiori anno, per fratrem Benignum Carmelitam discalceatum misisti, valde Nobis gratum, tanquam pignus Tui in Nos amoris. Qui quidem Tuus amor, quemadmodum speramus, efficiet, ut hic frater Vincentius, quem Nos ob ipsius virtutes non mediocriter diligimus, Celsitudini Tuae cum suis meritis, tum etiam Nostra causa sit valde acceptus; eique et omnibus eiusdem ordinis Religiosis, atque universe cunctis Christifidelibus, qui in Tua ditone sunt, benigne favere, et patrocinari velis; id certe tanquam firmum testimonium Tuae (humanitatis), ubi usus venerit, Nostris in Celsitudinem Tuam officiis respondere parati erimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem (etc.), 16 Julii 1620 (etc.), anno 16.

10.6.1623

Gregorii PP. XV. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 21, p. 93 (104), No. 116)

Potentissimo Principi Sciah Abbahas Persarum Regi Illustri Gregorius PP. XV

Potentissime Persarum rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Vetus Graecorum sapientia usque adeo prae se contempsit genus humanum, ut coeteras totius orbis nationes barbaras appellaret, tantisque honoribus civium suorum extulit ingenia ut temere mentiretur, ab ipso coelo petitum esse e Graeca insula adolescentem, qui solis rector foret et dierum parens. Ita tamen Persarum, quorum arma formidavit, admirata est virtutes, ut qui perpetuis literarum monumentis perfecti regis exemplar describere voluit non alio quam in Persidem oculos adiecerit, atque inde ex regiis aedibus in famae lucem Cyrum produxerit, a quo exterae nationes et posteritas universa veras regnandi artes ediscerent. Verum cum maxima haec olim fuerint istius gentis decora, non minores tamen triumphos Persicis virtutibus decrevit Romanae ecclesiae fides. Non paucos enim in istis regionibus genitos, qui Christo sacramentum dixerunt, templis arisque coluit, ac Sanctorum conciliis inseruit, quos coeli cives et domesticos Dei cunctis terrarum principatibus praeesse credimus. Hinc semper inclyta fuit in orbe Christiano Persia nominis gloria tum opinio quaedam per nostrorum populorum animos pervasit, intercedere tacitum quoddam Persis cum Christianis velut amicitiae foedus, istarumque provinciarum reges rebus Nostris benevolenter favere, eam vero opinionem mirifice augent, qui a Perside in Italiam

Religiosi sacerdotes redeunt. Isthic enim aiunt iustitiae vim dominari, hospitii ius coli, nec solum ex militiae laboribus sed etiam ex literarum studiis gloriam quaeri; regalis vero solii firmissima propugnacula aequitatem haberi ac clementiam. Nihil ergo mirum si benevola quadam animorum propensione triumphos vestros sua solatia esse putat Christiana respublica universa. Nos quidem ubi ad Pontificatum Romanum miserentis Dei bonitas evehit, cum foelicitas virtutum et hominum salus potestatis Nostrae gloriae esse debeat, assiduus precibus orare coepimus Patrem misericordiarum ut paternam charitatem Nostram Celsitudinis Tuae prosperitate consolaretur.

At enim posteaquam tantum terrarum interuentum emensus ad Nos legatus Tuus pervenit et regias literas reddidit quibus et benevolentiam Nobis Tuam significabas, et offerebas amicitiam, cum tanto regi non ingratis fore pontificias sollicitudines cognosceremus, decrevimus in posterum par esse Celsitudinis Tuae gloriam ad praecipuas Nostras curas pertinere. Quamobrem cum istuc mentem Nostram regii nominis gloria et nobilissimi regni amplitudo non raro advocet, ut Tibi alicui usui esse aliquando possimus potentiae Tuae vim ac publici amoris causas diligenter perpendimus. Intelligimus vero duas potissimum esse res quae Tibi tantam Christianarum gentium benevolentiam conciliant, rex potentissime, odium scilicet Turcarum et Hispani regis amicitiam. Duo enim principes tributorum copia et nationum famulatu formidolosi, dum invicem devincimini amoris vinculis generi humano salutaribus Orientem et Occidentem videmini potentiae Vestrae magnitudine coniungere et communem hostem potestis in septentrionis latibula detrudere. Deus ergo foederum arbiter, ac testis in cuius manu corda regum sunt, orandus est ne ullae unquam similitates dirimant amicitiam hanc, quae utrumque terrarum orbem commerciorum vicissitudine conciliat. Cum ergo illius conservatio populorum Nostrorum votum sit, et Divinae clementiae beneficium, facile coniecere potest Celsitudo Tua, quam invitis omnium auribus acceptus sit nuncius ille, qui Lusitanos a Persis oppug-natos, arcemque Ormutianam a Tuo milite captam nuper significavit.

Certe qui unique vestrum excidium cupit et meditatur Turcarum tyrannus non potest opportuniore solatio levare miseras quibus Byzantium Imperium hac tempestate discerpitur. Videt enim quod sibi ruinae periculum impenderet, si ei domesticis seditionibus laboranti bellum inferret Persae regis potentia, non suis solum viribus, quae maximae sunt, nixa sed auxiliariis etiam foederatorum Hispanorum opibus communita. Quare Nos quibus utriusque vestrum foelicitas cordi est, vocem in tanto rerum discrimine cohibere non possumus. Oceani clamor et navigantium quaerelae non sinunt Nos in horrida tempestatis formidine conquiescere. Ne ergo Nobis ea pericula prospicientibus vecors unquam silentium exprobreter Celsitudinem Tuam alloqui decrevimus ut eam saltem quam possumus opem praesentibus malis attulisse videamur.

Ormutium, cum in ipsius Persici sinus faucibus hospitalem portum navigantibus hactenus patefecerit, si Lusitanis eripiat, maximis quidem comoditatibus orbabit Europam at regnis Tuis afferet utilitatis non ita multum. Ea enim arce, dum Hispani regis amicitiam coles uti poteris perinde ac Tua, ipsique milites Hispani ibi commorantes finium Tuorum custodes et dignitatis Tuae defensores erunt. Coeterum si propugnaculum illud, vi ereptum, per iniuriam tenueris potentissimum regem Tibi ex amico inimicum reddes ac magna stipendiorum vi, quibus ibi praesidorum militem alere cogeris fortissimae nationis inimicitias et navigantium omnium odia redimes. Denique non tantum Tibi adiunxeris emolumentum quantum publicae benevolentiae dempseris quae quidem etiam quando sterilis est habetur gloriosa et verus principum thesaurus dicitur. Praecipuas enim eorum divitias non tam auri atque argenti talenta quam mundi amorem et populorum studia esse Cyrus ille vester in Graecis historiis testatur.

Audi, potentissime rex, preces totius Christianae reipublicae, quae iisdem vocibus quibus Celsitudinis Tuae triumphos et virtutes praedicat a Te obnixè flagitat ut Persicae magnanimitatis et iustitiae memor eam arcem Hispano regi restituas, nec navigationi post hominum memoriam celi-berrimam viam hoc tempore occludas. Deme hoc inimicis Tuis solatium, qui sperant ad Ormutium recuperandum contra milites Tuos instrui posse eorum populorum arma, qui incogniti Oceani arcana generi humano aperuerunt, et hemisphaerium utrumque potuere victoriarum suarum cursu metiri. Nos certe vix dici potest quantum cupiamus Lusitanos Persici nominis amantissimos nunquam adduci ad eam miserrimam necessitatem ut cogantur experiri an armorum vi et sanguinis profusione eum portum recuperare valeant, quem maiores eorum publicae terrarum ac maris commoditati muniverunt. Potest magnanimitas Celsitudinis Tuae Europam universam et pontificem Romanum Persico regno arcitissime in praesentia devincire. Nos certe daturi omnes operam sumus, ut nationes omnes Orientales intelligant regnorum istorum stabilimenta fulciri dum tanto beneficio Christianum orbem obligabis. Id autem ut testemur luculentius allegamus istuc dilectum filium Franciscum Costam, virum Nobis charum, rei Persicae peritum et ob id, ut speramus, gratum Celsitudini Tuae. Ei ergo sententiam Nostram hac in re uberius declaranti eandem quam Nobis ipsis fidem habere poteris.

Interea Nos Deum rogamus qui pacem mirabiliter operatur in sublimibus Suis ut quam celerrime dissensiones hae reconciliatione concordiae non militum internicione diiudicentur. Celsitudini vero Tuae, a qua solatium hoc Christianae nationes expectant, tanti beneficii debitorem delegare possumus ipsum dominantium Dominum qui cum dives sit in misericordia eiusmodi consilium illustri aliqua foelicitate remunerabitur. Ab Eo autem gemitibus inenarrabilibus Romana Ecclesia continenter petet ut pedes Celsitudinis Tuae dirigat in viam salutis, quae tantum regem post diuturnam praesentis vitae gloriam ad regnum deducat beatitudinis sempiternae.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die x Junii MDCXXXIII pontificatus Nostri anno tertio.

9.3.1624

Urbani PP VIII. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 38, p. 26—formerly 355)

Illustri et Potentissimo Sciah Abbahas Persarum Regi Urbanus Papa VIII

Illustris et Potentissime Rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Orbis patrociniū et generis humani tutelam par est haberi pontificiam dignitatem. Romana enim Sedes, cui potentissimi reges fasces imperii submittunt, specula terrarum est, ubi excubias agere debemus pro salute regnorum universorum. Neque ulla natio reperitur usque adeo aut montium iugis aut oceani fluctibus a nostris regionibus seiuncta, quam Apostolicae charitatis brachia non complectantur. Persidis vero oblivisci nullo pacto possumus. Coluntur in orbe Christiano caelestibus honoribus non pauci viri Persae, tanquam cives caeli et domestici Dei; atque ut olim Graecia humanae sapientiae magistra in regali Persarum aula quaesivit perfecti principis exemplar, ac Cyri virtutem tanquam bene regnandi normam aetatibus universis proposuit ad imitandum, ita nunc Roma quae habetur divinae veritatis oraculum aliquot etiam Persas Sanctorum concilio inseruit; quorum qui vitam imitaretur ad principatum perveniret beatitudinis sempiternae. Porro autem gloria Celsitudinis Tuae cui iamdiu plaudit Europa, allicit istuc eorum cogitationes, quibus gratissimum spectaculum est coronatus virtutibus princeps. Accedit, quod non ita pridem docuisti nationes in hac mundi patria commorantes, quo animo sis in Pontifices Romanos, quibus amicitiam Tuam perhonorifica legatione obtulisti. At enimvero mirifico Nos solatio cumulant Religiosi sacerdotes Carmelitae Discalceati, ubi Tuarum praedicatione laudum Persici regni felicitatem extollunt. Beneficia certe in gentem immemorem atque ingratham non contulisti. Si enim nobile dominantium oblectamentum est eas regiones gloria peragrarē, quas ditione tenere non possunt, per eas certe Tibi huius laetitiae argumenta non desunt. Videtur Italiae singulare Divinae clementiae documentum regia illa humanitas, quae in regnis istis hospitales aedes Carmelitae familiae patefecit, atque in eorum templis Christianas Cruces et Romana Sacra palam dominari non vetat. Quare Nos, qui nuper ad Apostolicae Maiestatis solium evecti sumus, identidem mentis Nostrae oculos convertimus in Celsitudinem Tuam, cupientes Regem regum, qui dives est in misericordia, hanc regalis ingenii pietatem, insigni aliqua prosperitate remunerari. Vota pro tua salute nuncupamus, ac Patrem luminum obnixē oramus, ut tantum regem per semitas Divinorum mandatorum ad eam gloriam perducatur, ubi cohaeredes Christi postquam ex mortalitatis carcere evolarunt, regnantes in caelo iudicant nationes et dominantur populis. E re autem visum est, hoc pontificiae voluntatis desiderium Apostolicis literis significare Celsitudini Tuae, ut comperit sit isti nationi beneficiis, quae ex aula Persica in Christianam plebem proficiscuntur, non deesse in hac catholicorum principum parente Roma gratum animum ecclesiasticae hierarchiae. Ob id Celsitudini Tuae populos Christo servientes diligentissime commendamus, quos sacerdotes Nostri publicae tranquillitatis studiosi assidue hortabuntur, ut reddant quae sunt Caesaris, Caesari, et quae sunt Dei, Deo. Carmelitanam vero familiam caelestibus opulentam virtutibus et Christianae Reipublicae gratissimam, quibus regalis humanitatis officiis tueris, iisdem in Urbe Romana nominis Tui decora et pontificiae charitatis solatia auges. Nostram vero voluntatem quam tam celebri indulgentia iampridem demeruisti, illae Tibi artes omnino obstringere possunt, quibus regno caelesti vis infertur atque aeternitatis principatus comparantur. Hoc assiduum charitatis pontificiae votum fore omnino credat Celsitudo Tua, cui inter humanae felicitatis plausus triumphanti divinae Veritatis Solem cupimus affulgere.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die ix Martii MDCXXXIII [= 9.3.1624] pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

8.3.1629

Urbani PP. VIII. Brev. (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 43, p. 44—formerly 23)

Potentissimo ac illustri Regi Persarum, Urbanus PP. VIII

Potentissime ac Illustris Rex, salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Omnipotenti regnantium arbitrio vitam terrenae vanitatis contemptricem devoverunt, qui in Persidem a Nobis in praesentia allegantur Carmelitani sacerdotes Discalceati propagantes ubique Regnum Caelorum et Imperium Pietatis. Cum autem voluntariam paupertatem invidiosis divitiis anteferant, et rerum omnium egeni perambulent terras remotissimas, accedent tamen ad Celsitudinem Tuam amplo earum laudum commeatu instructi, quae apud omnes nationes haberi possint beneficia caeli. Speramus fore ut virtus publicae gentium saluti serviens illis faciles aditus isthic ad regale solium patefaciat. Voluimus tamen hoc ad Te per illos deferri luculentum charitatis pontificiae testimonium. Cum enim non semel Europa complexerit Persici regni legatos ad Romanum Pontificem properantes, crederis benevola esse in Nos et Christianum nomen voluntate. Porro autem coniciunt omnes non leve apud Celsitudinem Tuam pondus inesse eius principis commendationi, cuius auctoritati potentissimi Reipublicae Christianae reges obediunt, cuius amicitiam Tu ipse bellica potentia celeberrimis literis et legationibus quaesivisti. Certe cum regium sit implere fama nominis sui orbem terrarum feliciter gloria Persici regnatoris triumphabit in plausu Christianitatis, si patrocínio et beneficentia muniat religiosos sacerdotes, quos in regnum Celsitudinis Tuae mittit Romana Ecclesia in remotissimas nationes et ultra oceani claustra et solis vias propagata. Plane qui isthinc Romam redierunt Tuis aucti beneficiis, eos certe Italia audivit gratissimos insignium facinorum Tuorum praedicatores. Qui autem has Apostolicas literas Tibi reddent, digni omnino sunt, qui Tibi beneficium debeant, cum se ipsos Deo viventi hostias acceptabiles offerre cupiant pro salute provinciarum Tuarum et vera felicitate Celsitudinis Tuae; cui Nos anxii precibus lumen Spiritus Sancti et dexteræ Divinae patrocínium impetrare semper studebimus.

Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die octava Martii MDCXXVIII [= 8.3.1629] anno pontificatus Nostri sexto.

9.1.1633

Urbani PP. VIII. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, An. 10, vol. 47, p. 51)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum

Illustris ac Potentissime Rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Ex iis quae Pater Joannes Thadeus Carmelita Nobis exposuit, tum ex avi Tui gloriosissimi Regis literis quas Romam attulit, atque ex humanissimis Maiestatis Tuae literis, quae post acceptas Nostras ad eundem avum Tuum per Patres Dominicum et Matthaeum missas, ad Nos dedisti, aperte perspeximus quanta animi propensione Carmelitis Capuccinisque fovendis rem Christianam adjuves, quantumque in eam studii ostenderis cum majora in dies beneficia a Tua liberalitate in illos profectura esse pollicitus es. Eam ob causam ingentem Tibi habemus gratiam promittimusque fore ut tantis pro meritis recordatio nulla unquam temporis diuturnitate ex animo Nostro deleatur. Haec porro amoris in Nos Tui significatio atque erga Christianos benignitas ad ea procuranda Nos impulit quae pro illorum utilitate sanctissimae Nostrae Religionis instituta praecipiant: nimirum ut ii qui se Christi fidei adiunxerunt, pastore, gubernatoreque ne careant, qui eos non minus exemplo quam hortatione pietatem doceat erga Deum, observantiam atque obedientiam erga principes, benevolentiam, mansuetudinem, aequitatem erga omnes, quique oblati Sacrificiis incolumitatem Tuam atque istius imperii felicitatem a Divina clementia assidue deprecetur.

Idcirco Nos Christi Domini, atque Apostolorum vestigia sequuti ipsum Patrem Joannem Thadeum ad dignitatem episcopalem ereximus, ut eorum qui in regia ista civitate Christo jam nomen dederunt, quique in futurum dabunt, in iis quae ad animae salutem pertinent Rectorem et Moderatorem agat. Sed quod timendum valde est ne vir senio pene confectus brevi ex hac vita discedat, ut ipso deficiente Christianis de Pastore recte consultum sit, Patrem Timotheum ejus sodalem Civitatis Tuae Bagdat

episcopum creavimus atque illi ad eosdem excolendos adiutorem dedimus. Utrumque ad haec perficienda in amplissimas regni Tui provincias mittimus, Tuamque fidei ac tutelae sic commendamus, ut maiore studio ac diligentia commendari nequaquam possint. Quicquid eorum causa feceris id totum optime collocatum iri pro certo habeas; quod episcopalis, qua decorantur, dignitas ac virtutes, quibus insigniti sunt, maxime apud omnes in honore esse debeant, Nos certe quaecumque in eos beneficia contuleris, ea non secus ac si Nobis collata essent Tibi debebimus.

Petimus autem ut iis publicae fidei literas, quae apud vos paravae vocantur, amplissimas tribuas quo ubique in Tua ditione tuto versari atque ultro citroque commeari sine periculo vel incommodo queant. Caeterum quae Nostro nomine Tecum different de singulari charitate qua Majestatem Tuam prosequimur, deque singulari aeternae Tuae salutis cupiditate quam animo complectimur iis fidem habere ne graveris. Hanc salutem sicut a Deo petere nunquam desinemus, ita utrique dedimus in mandatis ut pro illa piis supplicationibus et sacrificiis continenter insisterent, nec pauca adjecimus monita, quibus servatis eos Tibi maxime obsequentes atque imperio Tuo opportunos fore confidimus.

Illud praeterea a Te petimus, ut templum quod Christianorum usui amplum et magnificum in regia ista civitate avus Tuus exaedificatum se receperat atque decreto de quo diximus aperte confirmaverat, Tua animi magnitudine ac beneficentia dignum erigi quamprimum iubeas. Qua in re Cyrum atque Darium clarissimos viros, qui olim amplissimi istius imperii gubernacula tractarunt, imitaberis, qui, ut in sacris Esdrae libris narratur, ad Hierosolymitam templi aedificationem in sacerdotes atque in sacrificia sumptus liberaliter suppeditarunt, neque ambigendum Tibi est ne ejus meriti maximum a Deo bonorum omnium largiore praemium referas.

Christianos denique qui inter Tuae ditionis fines in praesentia versantur quique versabuntur in posterum plurimum Tibi commendatos esse cupimus, atque abs Te enixe petimus ut eos in Tuum patrociniū recipias, et omnem ab illis injuriam ac molestiam avertas, curesque ne quis muneribus quibus juxta Christianum ritum funguntur, impedimento sit.

Peculiariter vero a Te postulamus ut venerabilem Fratrem Timotheum Episcopum Bagdat regiae Tua benignitate ac clementia tuearis, atque ut proregem Tua auctoritate illi concilies, quo benevolis paravanis, quibus opus habebit, quam expeditissime instructus, libere ubique commorari, suique muneris functionibus sine cujusquam interpellatione dare operam possit. Quae omnia, si Nostro rogatu effeceris, ob tot, tantaque beneficia perpetuo Nos devinctos habebis, qui Deum patrem luminum continenter orabimus, ut mentem Tuam Divinae suae gratiae splendore collustret, et post plurimorum annorum curriculum feliciter inter mortales exactum aeternam Tibi in caelo beatitudinem largiatur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 9 Januarii 1633 pontificatus Nostri anno decimo.

13.10.1637

Urbani PP. VIII. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 51, p. 30 (19), No. 28)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Urbanus PP. VIII

Illustris ac Potentissime Rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Non unius Europae finibus concluditur pontificia sollicitudo, sed ad omnes etiam remotissimas regiones sedulo se profert, praecipuam Romani pontificatus gloriam in eo studio constituens, quo aeternae quarumcumque gentium saluti consultum sit. Proinde cum trecentis abhinc annis in Naxivanensi provincia nonnulli ex Ordine Sancti Dominici ritus Latini versati fuerint, ad illos Summi Pontifices identidem mittere consueverunt ex eorum fratrum familia Italos sacerdotes scientiam salutis edoctos a quibus de singulis quae ad Catholicam religionem pertinent, tum etiam quae ad regularis disciplinae conservationem sunt necessaria erudirentur. Nos, qui erga amplissimum istud regnum charitate aut iuvandi desiderio nulli ex decessoribus Nostis concedere profitemur, ne pastoralis muneris aliqua ex parte defuisse videamur, pium ipsorum institutum prosequentes, mittimus dilectum filium Thomam Vitalem de Monte Regali virum pietate, prudentia aliisque virtutibus instructum ut collegii Armenorum in Alingia rectorem atque magistrum agat. Non terrent illum longissimi itineris discrimina, quin isthuc se conferat ad Evangelicam veritatem promulgandam et nomen Domini portandum coram gentibus; eique hoc unum votum est, et negotium immortalis animorum bono consulere et semina spargere coelestis verbi, quibus Deo incrementum dante, aliquando verae felicitatis

fructus colligantur. Non dubia speramus fore ut ei Celsitudinis Tuæ patrociniū suffragetur. Exploratum enim re ipsa habemus, quibusnam benevoli animi documentis alios exceperis, quos ad late patentis Tuæ ditionis loca non semel allegavimus. Quare dubitandum non est ne pari regalis clementiæ significatione in posterum quoque Tui similem Te praebeas. Illum tamen Tibi serio commendamus atque a Celsitudine Tua maiorem in modum petimus, ut et patrociniū Tui vi communito libere ubique sui muneris functionibus et absque aliquo impedimento operam dare permittatur. Non minori diligentia Christianos omnes Tibi commendamus qui in ipso regno commorantur: eos enim licet tam longa locorum distantia remotos Apostolicae charitatis brachiis peramanter complectimur. Quod si, quemadmodum de animi Tui magnitudine Nobis pollicemur praestiteris; eos nulla aetas arguet beneficiorum immemores, sed Tuæ benignitatis magnitudinem quam assiduis laudibus prosequuntur continenter extollent. In primis autem piis supplicantibus et sacrificiis Tibi incolumitatem et perenne bonum a Divina clementia enixe precabuntur. Nos interim veram Celsitudini Tuæ faustitatem exoptantes plurimum cupimus Tibi illucescere Solem iustitiae orientem ex alto Deumque illum oramus, qui dat salutem regibus, ut Te non solum terrena felicitate diutissime perfrui velit, sed ad eam etiam semitam clementer advocet, unde sedes paratur in sempiternae beatitudinis principatu.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die xiii Octobris MDCXXXVII pontificatus Nostri anno quintodecimo.

30.1.1646

Innocentii PP. X. Brev.: (Arch. Vat. *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 55, p. 19; also in Arm. XLV, vol. 29, p. 110 (113))

Regi Persarum Innocentius PP. X

Illustris ac Potentissime Rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Late per orbem diffusa Celsitudinis Tuæ bellicae potentiae fama, ut summam apud omnes existimationem regio Tuo nomini conciliavit, ita et frequentissimas abs Te comparatum iri victorias constanter pollicetur. Sane vero qui Tua regna iis praesidiis instruis ac firmas, quibus non tantum incursus hostium repellantur, sed concitatis in illos armis eorundem plane vires frangantur atque audacia; multo id nunc conficere opportunius poteris contra Turcarum Tyrannum orbis totius ac potissimum regiae Tuæ domus insensissimum hostem. Is quidem, cui solemne est promissam fidem, ut libitum fuerit, regibus ac principibus fallere eamque tamdiu uni servare dum bellum et cladem alteri inferat, ad perfidiam mox reversurus, in inclytam nuper Venetorum Rempublicam, pace disrupta nulla lacessitus injuria, ingenti classe arma ferens, Cretaeque regno quod in eorum potestate est inhians, Caneam urbem necopinato adortus occupavit, majora deinceps moliens in communem perniciem exitia. Quamobrem dum nefariis illius conatibus suas Christiani principes vires opponere per quam strenue satagunt, erit sane providum Celsitudinis Tuæ consilium, valido instituto exercitu in finitimas ejus ditiones arma inferre, quibus abs Te damna reparentur Persico sceptro jam antea illata et quae idem ipse inique occupaverat in tempore recipiantur. Minus certe ab illo virium, quamvis ingentes eae fuerint, transmitti isthuc ad repugnandum poterunt, quas inter Christianorum praelia distractas sentiet, ac subinde ut, Deo bene iuvante, speramus imminutas pariter ac profligatas. Nos quidem pro Pontificia Nostra cura ac sollicitudine publicae saluti prospicientes Celsitudinem Tuam in id vehementer hortamur, cujus eximium imperii robur atque insignis potentia, tot fulta agminibus bellicosissimarum gentium, undique victoriarum ferax atque hostibus ipsis pertimescenda, motis nunc opportune armis, et mirificam sibi apud omnes laudem et maximum suis regnis emolumentum ac securitatem parabit. Neque enim Te latet quam magna regnis iisdem creare pericula poterit Turcarum Tyrannus, si Christianorum ruinis, quod abnuat Dei bonitas, elatior is et confidentior accrescat. Nostrum interea studium in rem usumque Celsitudinis Tuæ propensius exstare continenter volumus; eoque, ab Omnipotenti Deo, qui dat regibus fortitudinem virium Tibi incrementum armorumque felicitatem contra terrerum communem hostem, impensissime apprecamur. Plurima Celsitudini Tuæ in hanc ipsam rem Nostro nomine significabit qui has Tibi litteras defret, cui et fidem abs Te integram haberi cupimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 30 Januarii 1646 pontificatus Nostri anno secundo.

31.8.1647

Innocentii PP. X. Brev.: (Arm. XLV, vol. 29, p. 250 (257); also *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 55, p. 396)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Innocentius PP. X

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Sub initio praeteriti anni pontificias Nostras litteras ad Celsitudinem Tuam dedimus, quibus illam enixe hortabamur ut contra communem hostem Turcarum tyrannum opportune in praesentia regias suas vires ac victricia arma moveret. Verum cum ad eas litteras nihil adhuc a Celsitudine Tua responsi acceperimus, arbitrati tam longo itineris spatio facile illas interiisse alterum ipsarum exemplum transmittendum ad Te duximus, ut, ipsis perlectis, plane intelligas, quam Tibi regnisque Tuis fructuosum futurum sit ac salutare tyrannum ipsum distractum alibi ac distentum valido ac felici exercitu adoriri. Id vero eo impensius a Celsitudine Tua postulamus, quod hoc ipso temporis intervallo Turcarum vires in eo quod cum Venetis agitant bella insigniter terra marique debilitatae sunt ac fractae iisdemque proinde potiori amisso robore suarum copiarum audacia atque animis haud leviter conciderunt. Interea, dum suas Christiani principes vires in infensissimum huiusmodi hostem alacriter inferunt, erit Celsitudini Tuae peropportunum latis in eundem armis cum immortalis Tui nominis ac Persici regni gloria amplissimas de illo victorias reportare. Quod Nos, Deo bene iuvante, et cupimus vehementer et speramus.

Datum Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die xxxi Augusti MDCXLVII pontificatus Nostri anno tertio.

13.7.1652

Innocentii PP. X. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 57, p. 188 (205))

Illustri ac Potentissimo Persarum Regi Innocentius PP. X

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Inclytum Persidis regnum faustis Celsitudinis Tuae temporibus cum armorum gloria, tum opum amplitudine spectatissime florere libenter audimus; quin eximio voluntatis studio iustitiam, clementiam et alias regii animi virtutes amplectimur quibus constantis famae testimonio Christianae Fidei cultoribus et religiosae pietatis instituta profitentibus favere, atque non solum quietem et securitatem praestare, verum etiam non raro insignis humanitatis argumenta et liberalitatis subsidia exhibere diceris, ut hanc quoque praeclarissimi et in sui regni Christianos indulgentissimi principis proavi Tui laudem non minus egregia imitatione quam hereditario iure Tibi vindices. Quarum equidem rerum in hac urbe praecones praeter alios nuper extiterunt frater Jacobus a Jesu Ordinis Praedicatorum et socii qui nunc in Armeniam revertuntur. Hos et coeteros in provinciis Tuis Catholicae religionis Nostrae viros Celsitudinis Tuae auctoritate et iustitia a schismaticorum et improborum hominum iniuriis defendi ac protegi pro charitate Nostra et muneris debito adeo cupimus, ut id plane quamvis superfluum sciamus, tamen praetermittere non possimus, quin a Te summopere postulemus. Iidem testari poterunt quam enixis et assiduis precibus adeamus Omnipotentem Deum ut Celsitudinem Tuam veritatis Divinae luce plene cognita diu in terris et aeternum in coelis regnare velit, quod nunc etiam ab Eius infinita bonitate et misericordia toto ex corde flagitamus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die xiii Julii MDCLII pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

18.2.1656

Alexandri PP. VII. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 60, p. 325, olim 305)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Alexander Papa VII

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Ea est Celsitudinis Tuae humanitas ut terras, quamvis dissitas vastasque, sui nominis fama impleat. Qui nempe istuc veniunt, non solum

mutasse non patriam nec tecta creduntur. Ita omnes benigne excipis, ita liberaliter dimittis, ut cum virtutem Tuam ac fortitudinem foris hostes lacessere reformident, comitatem provocare hospites exterique non dubitent: eadem nempe animi magnitudo, quae adversariis Te terribilem ostendit, adeuntibus facilem et comem praebet. Et quidem ita se res habet: frustra hominum solertia ac labor ad ignotas antea regiones novas sibi oceano vias aperuisset, si immanis feritas atque barbaria inhospita littora ac loca omnia obsedisset. Verum non tam portus tranquillique maris sinus, quam ipsa humanitas disiunctas gentes nationesque in unum coegit, hominumque commercia vulgavit. Quo ut nihil utilius universo mortalium generi dari potuit, ita virtus, quae tantum praestare potest, diligenter colenda est observandaque. At vero aliud et longe maius est, cur a Celsitudine Tua hanc adhiberi cupiamus. Non enim aurum aut quae terrena sunt quaerimus, ob quae alii ad maria, terrasque peragendas sollicitantur, sed Nostri thesauri sunt in gentibus evangelizare investigabiles divitias Christi. Etenim super aurum electum est sapientia, quam ut doceret asperum ac difficillimum iter suscepit Religiosus vir frater Joseph a Sancta Maria Carmelita Discalceatus, quem propterea ut perbenigne ac studiose complectaris, vehementer a Celsitudine Tua petimus. Sane dignus es, ut qui tam amicas animas erga Nos geris, quae maxima sunt bona consequaris. Verum ita persuasus esse debes nunquam fore ut Te in eum Religiosum collati beneficii poeniteat. Facile esset referre, quam obsequentem ac rebus suis faventem felicitatem habuerint, qui Christianae religioni amplificandae provehendaque incubuerunt. Sed ut solidiorem ac minime fluxam prosperitatem Tibi optamus, ita non multum mortalem hanc et caducam moramur. Quae interim benevolentiae Nostrae prolixaeque voluntatis documenta ad Te deferet idem Religiosus, pergrata Celsitudini Tuae accidissemus, si illum Tua potentia atque autoritate, ubi opus fuerit, adiuveris. Habebis vero, ut es virtutis amans, in primis quod plurimum ac etiam de causa eum diligas, quae in illo nisi eximia et praecipua fuisset, nunquam tanto cum contemptu tot se periculis ac mortis praesentis pene discrimini commisisset. A Deo secunda omnia Celsitudini Tuae, utque aliquando Eius Tibi lumen affulgeat enixissime precamur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die xviii Februarii MDCLVI pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

27.5.1656

Alexandri PP. VII. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 61, p. 39, olim 28)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Alexander Papa VII

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Quanta sit erga Nostrum nomen Celsitudinis Tuae humanitas ac benevolentia saepe perspectum est. Neque enim amplissimi regni opes ac regium ipsum insigne pluris facis, quam ipsas virtutes, quae solae exteris ac remotissimis nationibus commendare reges solent, et eorum memoriam posteris ingentem tradere. Inter quas nulla accommodatior est gloriae ac nominis famae celebrandae, quam in hospites peregrinosque benignitas, qui nempe quocumque venerint de Celsitudinis Tuae laudibus et egregie factis referant. Nam alioqui spectata bello virtus, relatae de hoste victoriae, propagati imperii fines, quamvis inter praecipua ac prima numerentur, magno tamen splendore carent, nec parum imminuuntur nisi sint qui liberaliter accepti dimissique quanta ea sint vere et amanter aliis praedicent, testenturque has tantas laudes una praesertim humanitate ac facilitate perpoliri, nec inclementia aut asperitate aliqua obscurari, aut minus cultas amabilesque videri. Sed cum multa a Te sapienter fiant, tum non parum regni Tui opibus potentiaeque prospectum putas Nostris hominibus tam amice ac tanta voluntatis significatione admittendis. Ii enim, cum pro Tua salute et incolumitate assidue Omnipotentem Deum preantur orantque, ut Celsitudinem Tuam suo lumine suaeque gratiae donis illustret, tum de populorum suorum felicitate ac securitate non secus ac de sua sunt solliciti. Hoc enim habet Christiana charitas, ut omnes ardentem diligat, omnes intimis sensibus omnique animi affectu prosequatur; pro aliorum lenique salute vitam ipsam ponere, sanguinem profundere non detrectet. Hac impulsus nihil arduum ac difficile putant; quin ipsas per difficultates et obiecta pericula, velut per plana et proclivia enituntur. Qui ardor assidue in Nostro sinu ac visceribus vivit, et immortalem Celsitudini Tuae felicitatem precari Nos iubet. Diligimus siquidem Te, et singulari Tua in Nos propensione et propter egregiam

animi Tui indolem ac virtutes quibus nihil terrenum aut perituum referri a Deo cupimus optamusque Interea amoris erga Nos Tui non exiguas significationes dabis venerabilem fratrem Paulum Piromallum episcopum Naxivanensem regia qua soles clementia atque humanitate excipiendo. Ille sane dignus est pietate sua et singulari erga Celsitudinem Tuam observantia Tuo patrocinio ac benevolentia; tum multa a Nobis afferet, quae Nostram erga Te charitatem et eximium plane amorem luculentius declarabunt. Cui propterea fidem habere velis, quod Nobis gratissimum erit, et a Celsitudine Tua magnopere petimus; cui ut Deus Sui lumine et gratiae donis affulgeat, et veram absolutamque felicitatem impartiat Eundem votis ardentissimis ac precibus exposcimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die xxvii Maii MDCLVI pontificatus Nostri anno secundo.

21.9.1658

Alexandri PP. VII. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 63, p. 157 (143), No. 114)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Alexander PP. VII

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Quo praeclaras regii animi Tui dotes et in primis incorruptae iustitiae zelum ac eximiam in homines Nostros benignitatem affectu benevolentiori complectimur, eo sane dolentius audivimus in aliquibus florentissimarum ditionum Tuarum locis morem quemdam clam Te non ita pridem obrepisse, quo religionis Nostrae desertoribus propinquorum haereditates exclusis aliis coniunctis Christianis cum summo istorum detrimento et calamitate deferantur. Quod nimirum non solum rectae iustitiae et communi omnium pene nationum et gentium iuri adversatur, sed etiam civilis regiminis tranquillitati et bono vel obesse maxime potest; cum longi usus experientia compertum sit eiusmodi homines, qui pecuniarum cupiditate et pretio ad religionem commutandam adducuntur, nec ei quidem quam assumunt ex corde adhaerere, sed potius utramque prae lucro negligere et contemnere atque adeo Deum ipsum et omne Eius omnino cultum et curam abijcere, principes non revereri et ad universos ausus improbos et scelera detestanda quaeque paratos semper esse. Cum igitur consensus publicus pro certo habeat Celsitudinem Tuam huiusmodi novitati ubi primum eam rescivisset obviam iam ab initio ituram fuisse, nec eam diutius permanere ulla ratione passuram, quod ipse sponte Tua etiam olim praestiturus fuisses, ut optantibus et petentibus nunc enixe Nobis tribuas etiam atque etiam a Te poscimus; et de spectata praecellentis iustitiae et clementiae Tuae virtute et fama sane speramus. Porro autem aequitati ac liberalitati regiae cum Nos ipsi, tum Christiani omnes laudes et grates libenter agemus, et Omnipotentem Deum pro Tua et amplissimorum regnorum incolumitate, quiete et gloria comprecari non desinemus. Caeterum fausta et felicia cuncta Celsitudini Tuae perfecta cum agnitione veritatis Divinae illustrius etiam ac beatius evenire in summis profecto cordis Nostri votis est. Ita luminum Pater Deus pro immensa bonitate Sua largiri misericorditer velit.

Datum ut supra (=Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die 21 Septembris 1658 pontificatus Nostri anno quarto).

16.7.1661

Alexandri PP. VII. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 64, p. 166)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Alexander Papa VII

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Ingenti Persarum nomini et Maiestatis Tuae qua praecelsi animi magnitudini, qua iustitiae zelo et aliarum regiarum virtutum gloriae orbis Christiani vel existimationis iudicia vel benevolentiae studia plane favent. Verum praeclaras has laudes et praesertim insigne specimen illius benignitatis, qua erga Christianos in regnis istis Tuis degentes uteris, ipsi prae caeteris omnino pronis auribus excipimus et eximio prorsus amantissimae voluntatis affectu complectimur. Quare pro salute, prosperitate et omnibus rebus secundis

faustisque Tuis assiduas ad Altissimum preces enixe fundimus, uti melius coram testari poterit venerabilis frater episcopus Neocaesareae Babiloniae coadiutor; cui sane in regia civitate Haspaan residentiam acturo, et Maiestati Tuae singularem pontificiae mentis caritatem iugibus uti speramus incrementis cumulatam usque confirmaturo, ut fidem et honorem habere velis, a Te magnopere petimus. Hic profecto praesul religionis prudentiae et erga Te observantiae notis iis insignitus est, ut egregie Tibi carum et acceptum fore credamus. Porro Nos ab Omnipotenti Deo Maiestati Tuae protectionem custodiam et plenum veritatis Suae lumen ad perfecti decoris cum in hac praesenti, tum in aeterna vita coronam ex omni corde congeminationis votis efflagitamus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die xvi Julii MDCLXI pontificatus Nostri anno septimo.

19.11.1661

Alexandri PP. VII. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 64, p. 206, olim 180)

Illustri et Potentissimo Regi Persarum Alexander Papa VII

Illustris et potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Ingenti Persarum nomini et Maiestatis Tuae qua praecelsi animi magnitudini, qua iustitiae zelo et aliarum regiarum virtutum gloriae in universo orbe Christiano vel existimationis iudicia vel benevolentiae studia plane favent. Verum praeclaras has laudes et praesertim insigne specimen illius benignitatis, qua erga religionis nostrae cultores in regnis istis Tuis degentes uteris, ipsi praeceteris omnino pronis auribus excipimus, et eximio charitatis affectu complectimur, quem profecto cumulant egregiae studii et honoris erga sanctam hanc Sedem diversis temporibus exhibitae significationes nedum a maioribus Tuis, verum etiam a Te ipso vel literis illis, quas ante non multos annos ad sanctae memoriae Innocentium Decimum praedecessorem Nostrum humanissimae ac propensissimae voluntatis indices praescripsisti. Quare pro salute, prosperitate et omnibus rebus secundis faustisque Tuis assiduas ad Altissimum preces enixe fundimus, uti melius coram testari poterit venerabilis frater episcopus Neocaesareae Babiloniae coadiutor, cui sane Te volente ac libente, quod plane confidimus, in regia civitate Haspaan pro regimine spirituali Christifidelium residentiam acturo, et Maiestati Tuae singularem pontificiae mentis benevolentiam iugibus, ut speramus, incrementis auctam et cumulatam usque confirmaturo, ut fidem et honorem habere administratorum regionum opem et favorem conciliare, commeatus literas sive caravanas concedere, ac demum omnibus in rebus, quae pro sui muneris executione opus ipsi fuerit, prolixè gratificari velis, a Te magnopere petimus; quicquid enim in eum et alios fidei nostrae orthodoxae viros humanitatis et beneficentiae contuleris, id omne Nos in summi beneficii locum reposituros esse pollicemur. Ipse profecto praesul religionis prudentiae et erga Te observantiae notis iis insignitus est, ut egregie Tibi carum et acceptum fore credamus; cum praesertim actiones eius omnes profuturae quoque sint rationum Tuarum utilitatibus, quippe quae nihil aliud spectabunt quam correctionem morum et disciplinam Christianarum virtutum, quibus imbuti homines, cum in observatione mandatorum Dei, tum in praestando principibus fidelitatis et obedientiae debito magis confirmantur et accenduntur. Porro Nos ab omnipotenti Deo Maiestati Tuae protectionem, custodiam et plenum Maiestatis Suae lumen ad perfecti decoris cum in hac praesenti, tum in aeterna vita coronam repetitis ex omni corde votis efflagitamus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die 19 Novembris 1661 pontificatus Nostri anno septimo.

12.7.1664

Alexandri PP. VII. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 65, p. 181, olim 167)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Alexander PP. VII

Illustris et potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Regia iustitiae virtus, qua Maiestas tua spectate praecellit, tum erga Nos perspecta benevolentiae studia pollicentur venerabili fratri patriarchae Chaldaeorum Antiocheno, qui per summam iniuriam a schismaticis sede sua deiectus

est, omnem auctoritatis Tuæ opem pro ea quamprimum recuperanda praesto futuram quod etiam atque etiam a Te summis precibus postulamus. Sed quoniam dilectus filius Gabriel de Chinon religiosus Capuccinus missionarius Noster rem universam et rationes quibus in ea Nobis laborandum esse censeamus, coram latius et distinctius edisseret, eius verbis ut fidem habere velis plane cupimus. Maiestati Tuæ perfectam, omnibusque numeris absolutam felicitatem et lumen ad eam consequendam prævium ab immensa summi Dei benignitate iugiter enixeque postulamus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die 12 Julii 1664, pontificatus Nostri anno decimo.

18.3.1668

Clementis PP. IX. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 67, p. 316 (595))

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens Papa IX

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Romani Pontificis a summo totius humani generis Conditore Deo informata caritas nullam hominum societatem a se curisque peramantibus suis alienam putat sed probitatem iustitiam aliasque praeclaras virtutes ubicumque refulerint complectitur et admiratur. Antecessores igitur Nostri gloriosos Persarum reges, ac speciatim Celsitudinem Tuam peramplius harum laudum decoribus excellentem et orbe toto celebratam existimationis et benevolentiae praecipuo sensu prosecuti usque sunt. Nos autem in hac parte ut eorum nulli concedimus ita in regia voluntate Tua parem animi propensionem Nobis profecto pollicemur, ideoque nunc ab ea fidenter petimus ut Patrem Stephanum de Ameria et socios Capuccinos homines non suam sed unice gloriam Dei et animarum salutem in Georgiae provincia quaesituros ab iniuriis schismaticorum ritus Graeci in ea regione residentium auctoritate Tua defensos ac tutos esse velis, quo sui muneris functionibus exercendis incumbere libere, ac secure possint. Idem quoque ab insigni clementia Tua poscimus et expectamus pro universis Catholicis qui in late patentibus regnis ac ditionibus Tuis commorantur, quosque regalis patrocinii praesidio quantum maxime possumus vehementer commendamus. Verum Nos invicem veritatis Divinae perfectam agnitionem et bonorum omnium qua spiritualium qua temporalium uberem et assiduam faustitatem a praepotenti dextera Domini Celsitudini Tuæ ex animo toto peraccurate precamur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die 18 Martii 1668 pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

26.5.1668

Clementis PP. IX. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 67, p. 367 (697))

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens Papa IX

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Praeclarum qua singularis benignitatis qua iustitiae aliarumque virtutum regiarum decus uti longe lateque Celsitudinis Tuæ famam gloriamque percelebrat, ita pridem antecessoribus Nostris et hodie Nobis animum et fiduciam addit ea saepe a Te petendi quae profecto Tua sponte rectae generosaeque mentis impulsu praestes. Itaque quamvis non dubitemus quin venerabili fratri Matthaeo Archiepiscopo Naxivanensi Religioso proboque viro istuc ad residentiam suam venienti protectionis Tuæ praesidium adversus improborum hominum iniurias etiam absque literis adfuturum fuisset, tamen pro certo pariter habentes humanitatem eximiam Tuam plurimum officiis Nostris tributuram esse, eundem Archiepiscopum Tibi magnopere commendamus ut rationibus cunctis eius in his quae ad exercitium pii muneris obeundum pertinent benigne prolixèque favere velis. Quod equidem si, uti speramus, effeceris voluntatem Nostram iampridem vehementer propensam arctius Tibi devincies et ubi se occasio tulerit ad referendam cumulandamque gratiam etiam promptiorem et alacriorem reddes. Caeterum Nos ab Omnipotenti Deo

Celsitudini Tuae ut ea cum perampla bonorum omnium felicitate perfecte Divinam veritatem agnoscat, et aeternae salutis certissimam viam ingrediatur enixe ac indesinenter efflagitamus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die 26 Maii 1668 pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

9.6.1668

Clementis PP. IX. Brev. : (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 67, p. 377 (718))

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens Papa IX

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Literas ad Celsitudinem Tuam deferendas venerabili fratri Matthaeo Archiepiscopo Naxivanensi nuper dedimus. Verum opportune quidem accidit ut antequam ipse discederet de pacificatione inter potentissimos Christianitatis reges penitus perfecta atque publicata nuncium allatum Nobis fuerit. Nam quemadmodum hinc profecto speramus fore ut misericordia Divina concedente non solum civitas Candiae ab iniustis communis hostis violentiis liberetur, sed etiam confluentibus undique validis principum Christianorum auxiliis tota insula illa ex eius faucibus eripiat, ita gloriae quoque Tuae (cui sane vehementer favemus) paratam occasionem cernimus, qua movendo in eum arma se magis ac magis insigniter exerat, et summis cum iustitiae ac fortitudinis inclytae laudibus opituletur amicis, et illata sibi ab hoste infensissimo damna simul ulciscatur; cum certe in praesens ex una parte respublica universa Christiana, quod iamdiu numquam alias contigit, communi pace consentiat, et ex alia vel hoc ipsum Venetorum exemplum (qui pene soli Turcarum vires et conatus omnes tamdiu sustinere ac retundere valuerunt), ante oculos ponat, eorum opes quamvis eae quidem videantur ingentes, tamen nunc temporis certe non ita formidandas esse. Quod si evenierit, Candiae propugnaculo, quod avertat Deus, immanem hostem potiri, et adversus Nos progressus facere, verendum esset ne perpetuam illam et insatiabilem suam cuncta devorandi famem novis prosperitatibus et viribus adauctam in vos omnem vestraque converteret.

Quare vel Nostra vel ipsius quoque Celsitudinis Tuae causa has ei literas alteras scribere volumus et, quod ex animo toto facimus, magnopere petere ut hanc tantam inimici saevissimi comprimendi et ab eo sibi tam iniuste erepta recuperandi et invictae Persarum virtutis, atque famae celeberrimae magis adhuc extendendae opportunitatem e manibus elabi nullo modo patiat; prout omnia latius idem Archiepiscopus coram edisceret, cuius verbis non secus ac Nostris fidem plenam habere benigne voles.

Caeterum amoris et existimationis erga tantum regem praecipuae Nostrae documentum ingens in parvo munusculo, ut animo perbenevolo ac perlibenti accipias et agnoscas valde cupimus. Omnimodam animae corporisque salutem et felicitatem exacte prorsus intellecta Divinorum veritate Celsitudini Tuae ab Omnipotenti Deo votis assiduis et enixis efflagitamus.

Datum Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die 9 Junii 1668 pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

13.10.1668

Clementis PP. IX. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 68, p. 89 (75))

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens Papa IX

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Singularem Celsitudinis Tuae clementiam aliasque regias virtutes in religionis nostrae cultoribus benigne tractandis saepius experti, fidenter eidem in praesenti universos Christianos in Armenia degentes praecipue commendamus ut inclyta animi generositate, quam officii Pontificiis impendere consueveris, illorum rebus ac rationibus omnibus, ac potissimum adversus schismaticorum iniurias ac vexationes patrocinii Tui tutelam praesto esse velis. Tantis profecto benefactis Celsitudinis Tuae parem voluntatis mutuae responsionem iam nunc rependimus pro felicitate nedum terrena, sed post agnitam perfecte veritatem ac diuturnae vitae mortalis usuram etiam in coelo omnimode completa et perenni Celsitudinis Tuae in Altissimi conspectu preces accuratas effundentes.

(Datum ut supra=) Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die 13 Octobris 1668 pontificatus Nostri anno secundo.

13.2.1669

Clementis PP. IX. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 68, p. 150 (136))

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens Papa IX

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Revertentem istuc venerabilem fratrem Arachielem Archiepiscopum Armenum de Gheriam [? *sc* for Erivam] litterarum Nostrarum ad Celsitudinem Tuam commeatu prosequi volumus, rogantes ut ipsi ea clementiae ac benignitatis argumenta praebere digneris, quibus personas a Nobis commendatas excipere consueveris quaeque cum ipsum, tum alios Catholicos in eius Archiepiscopatu degentes tutos ac securos praestare queant adversus insidias et iniurias schismaticorum, semper feralibus odiis et ubi possunt etiam factis in eos plusquam hostiliter saevientium. In primis autem idem Archiepiscopus cupiet sibi tribui facultatem a Celsitudine Tua construendi ecclesiam in civitate de Erivam, quae sane res omnibus illarum regionum Catholicis magno qua solatio, qua spirituali profectui prorsus esset. Id autem largiri si voluntati regiae placuerit, iampridem benefactis suis devinctam caritatem Nostram novo et arcto benevolentiae vinculo sibi magis ac magis adiunget. Interim Nos assiduis precibus insistentes omni ex animo Altissimum oramus ut Celsitudini Tuae veritate penitus detecta felicitatem bonis omnibus affluentem impertiri pro summa Sua bonitate velit.

(Datum ut supra=) Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die 13 Februarii 1669 pontificatus Nostri anno secundo.

28.9.1669

Clementis PP. IX. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 68, p. 257 (243))

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens Papa IX

Illustris ac potentissime rex Persarum salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Quo Celsitudinis Tuae ob iustitiam ac clementiam in tractandis perhumaniter atque protegendis ab improborum iniuriis religionis Nostrae viris frequentiores laudes audimus, eo sane magis propense voluntas Nostra gratae mentis mutua vice promeritis hisce Tuis plene respondet. Hinc quoque fidentius inclyto patrocinio Tuo magnopere commendamus Placidum episcopum Babiloniae quem Catholicis istius regiae civitatis in rebus spiritualibus et animae salutem respicientibus praefuturum istuc allegamus. Hominem profecto pietate, prudentia, coeterisque virtutibus praesule sacro dignis perornatum, ut libenter excipias, et in exercendis muneris sui partibus, ubi opus erit, auctoritate ac benevolentis animi studio praesto esse velis a singulari generositate, qua polles, vehementer exposcimus. Coeterum Celsitudini Tuae cum ad perfectam Divinae veritatis agnitionem, tum ad omnem rerum secundarum faustitatem et gloriam Omnipotentem Deum propitium atque faventem ex intimis animi sensibus accurate precamur.

(Datum ut supra=) Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die 28 Septembris 1669 pontificatus Nostri anno tertio.

19.10.1669

Clementis PP. IX. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 68, p. 264 (250))

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens Papa IX

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Inclytae memoriae genitor Celsitudinis Tuae Catholicis Armenis diocesis de Naxivan indulsit ut amplissima exemptione etiam a praefectis et gubernatoribus quibuscumque perfruentes, immediate

supremae iurisdictioni regiae subiecti forent. Huiusmodi privilegium ad illorum securitatem ac defensionem ab iniuriis schismaticorum et aliorum improborum hominum asserendam unico negotio, quin Celsitudo Tua eis conservare et inviolatum tueri velit, plane non dubitamus; quinimo ut illud insuper nova clementiae Tuae concessione magis adhuc stabiliatur ac roboretur ab ea summo-pere petimus. Etenim magna profecto cum fiducia speramus fore ut ipse praeclarissimi patris hominibus Nostris impertita beneficia nedum rata libenter habiturus, verum etiam benigne aucturus, et ampliaturus plane sis. Quod equidem Nos de spectata erga Nos et religionis Nostrae viros benevolentia Tua Nobis indubie pollicemur, qui benefactis hisce Tuis nisi aliud poterimus memorem certe gratae voluntatis affectum usque rependimus. Interim ab Omnipotenti Deo Celsitudini Tuae perfectum veritatis Divinae Suae lumen et ad iugia incrementa gloriae provehentes auras ex omni prorsus animo comprecamur.

(Datum ut supra=) Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die 19 Octobris 1669 pontificatus Nostri anno tertio.

10.9.1672

Clementis PP. X. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 70, p. 201, olim 191)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens PP. X

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Etsi tanta locorum distantia ab Urbe disiungitur Celsitudo Tua nullis tamen circumscribitur finibus fama quae Te ob propensam erga Catholicam religionem eidemque nomen dantes voluntatem praecipuis in hac orthodoxae fidei regia solidarum laudum praeconiis effert. Cum autem ad aures Nostras pervenerint iniustae vexationes, quas ob studium propagandae Catholicae religionis perpressus Tuis in ditionibus est dilectus filius Azzarias Acas ex Armenia, has ad Celsitudinem Tuam dare literas volumus, quibus de illatis praedicto Azzariae damnis certior factus praeclara eorumdem reparatione novum eximiis decoribus Tuis addas incrementum. Praestantiores sane nullos nomini Tuo titulos vindicaveris, quam illos quos ab extenso in amplissima dominatione Tua Divino cultu inclytis documentis comparare contenderis. Age itaque rex potentissime Regis regum militiam ab adversarum partium incuriis defende, comprime vires insurgentium in illam validaque patrocinii Tui suffragatione Catholicis praedicto praeertim Azzariae impensa sollicitis votis Nostris egregie responde; regium ita caput Tuum verae gloriae corona circumdabis, aeternamque Tibi sic viam straveris ad salutem. Intimae autem huiusce voluptatis perceptionem ex animo Nobis auspiciant Celsitudini Tuae a bonorum omnium auctore Deo, diuturnam quoque praesentis felicitatis usuram impense precamur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die x Septembris MDCLXXII pontificatus Nostri anno tertio.

25.10.1672

Clementis PP. X. Brev.: (*Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 71, p. 63 (50))

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens PP. X

Illustris ac potentissime rex Persarum salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

. . . Praecipuae sane argumentum laetitiae sumpsimus ex datis a Celsitudine Tua ad Clementem Nonum fel. record. predecessorem Nostrum literis. Ex iisdem enim aperte cognovimus quam praeclare de Summis Pontificibus, quos Suos in terris vicarios Dominus noster Jesus Christus constituit sentias, simulque intelleximus insigne beneficium quo praedicti predecessoris Nostri rogatu Catholicos Tuis in ditionibus degentes effecisti eisdem scilicet regiae dominationi immediate subiectis. Nos itaque qui non alienos a praefato predecessore Nostro sensus animo fovemus, ac cum dignitate ab ipso per mortem relicta Catholicae quoque religionis amplificandae onus suscepimus, eximias Celsitudini Tuae pro assumpta Catholicorum tutela ex Apostolico solio gratias rependimus propensamque in eosdem benevolentiam

Tuam profusis lacrymis decoramus. Tanti autem facimus declarationem qua eos ab alieno imperio subtraxisti ut huiusmodi privilegium inviolabili a Te decreto confirmari magnopere cupiamus. Quia vero compertum quoque Nobis est nullis concludi finibus regalem beneficentiam Tuam ab eadem insuper enixe petimus ut perpensa Catholicorum indigentia ac paupertate liberaliter eisdem indulges tributum a Mirsa Ibraim nuper impositum eaque tantummodo sis contentus solutione, quam viribus ipsorum parem regiis antecessoribus Tuis pendere consuluerunt. Optatis ubi Nostris parueris voluntatem Tibi non modo Nostram magis magisque conciliaveris sed Illum quoque propitium reddideris qui thesauros inestimabiles fidelibus Suis paravit in coelis, ut ad fidei Suae cognitionem sine qua nulla patet via ad aeternam salutem Te perducatur eundem obsecrabimus, a Celsitudine interim Tua postulantes ut dilectos filios Azariam et Antonium ordinis Sancti Dominici ad Te cum quodam munusculo Nostro nomine accedentes humaniter de more excipias Tibique diuturnam praesentis felicitatis usuram ex animo apprecantes.

Datum Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die xxv Octobris MDCLXXII pontificatus Nostri anno quarto.

25.10.1672

Clementis PP. X. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 71, p. 52)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens Papa X

Illustris ac potentissime rex Persarum salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Cum ad aures Nostras pervenerint iniustae vexationes, quas venerabilis frater Archiepiscopus Naxivani ab eiusdem provinciae principe perpeusus est, a quo scilicet ob privilegia a Celsitudine Tua pro Catholicis obtenta in vincula coniectus atque in carcerem detrusus fuit, paternae in eundem charitatis Nostrae munus duximus per has Te literas rogare ut adversus iniurias ipsi ac dignitati qua insignitur illatas supremae autoritatis Tuae praesidio ipsum in posterum munire, Tuaeque ipsa beneficia ab alienis insultibus vindicare velis. Nec pluribus opus esse ducimus ut aequitatem Tuam in hunc scopum inflammemus, ab eadem enim valida Tibi admonenda esse incitamenta profecto non dubitamus, Celsitudini quocirca Tuae a Sole qui nunquam occidit lumen Divinae gratiae iterum iterumque precamur.

Datum Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die xxv Octobris MDCLXXII pontificatus Nostri anno quarto.

26.10.1682

Innocentii PP. XI. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 75, p. 94)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Innocentius PP. XI

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Cum Nobis constantis famae testimonio innotuerit quam benevolam geras voluntatem erga eos, qui in amplissimis regni Tui ditionibus Christianam religionem profitentur, praetermittere nolimus occasionem, quam obtulit venerabilis frater Sebastianus Archiepiscopus Naxivanensis ad ecclesiam sibi commissam proficiscens quin has ad Celsitudinem Tuam grati animi Nostri testes eo nomine daremus literas, Tibique significaremus ad Nos praecipue pertinere omnia seu prospera seu adversa quae eiusdem religionis professoribus accident. Quamobrem vehementer ab aequitate Tua petimus, ut eos ab improborum hominum iniuriis ac vexationibus potenter tueri, omnibusque in rebus liberaliter iuvare pergas. Inprimis vero Celsitudini Tuae magnopere commendamus praedictum Archiepiscopum Naxivanensem singularis probitatis, ac virtutis virum a Te flagitantes, ut illi in exercitio sui muneris praesidio esse regiamque opem ac patrocinium praestare velis. Illud vicissim Celsitudinem Tuam pro comperto habere volumus, enixe Nos Divinam bonitatem rogaturos ut, nunquam interrupto

rerum secundarum cursu, bonis omnibus florere Te faciat ac praesertim perfectum veritatis Suae lumen sine quo vana cuncta et inania sunt menti Tuae clementer infundat.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die xxvi Octobris 1682 pontificatus Nostri anno septimo.

19.6.1683

Innocentii PP. XI. Brev.. (*Epist. ad Princ.*, 75, p. 167)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Innocentius PP. XI

Illustris ac Potentissime Rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Quam infensi nationibus omnibus semper fuerint et futuri sint Turcae extensum ab ipsis longe lateque humano divinoque iure violato imperium ac inexplebilis eorum dominandi libido abunde declarat Ad providam hinc aliorum principum regumque solertiam ac vigilantiam spectat sibi invicem praesto esse atque adversus communem et implacabilem hostem, ubi occasio poscat, acriter insurgere ne scilicet novis in dies auctus incrementis unumquemque tandem sub sua redigat potestate. Cum autem constantis famae testimonio cognitum habeamus ac plane perspectum Celsitudinem Tuam iis praeditam esse excelsi atque invicti animi dotibus, quibus regem maximum insigniri opus est, merito confidimus fore ut, ubi cognoveris eosdem Turcas ingentibus undique coactis viribus Hungariae regnum aggressos fuisse, fortissimos exercitus Tuos in ipsorum ditiones immittas, ad ulciscenda damna quae praeclarissimo regno Tuo toties intulerunt, et inferre parati sunt. Exere itaque, rex potentissime, publicarum iniuriarum vindicem gladium, amplectere sortem, quae Te invitat ad palmas, persuasumque habe non omissuros Nos pro commodis, quae incommissam pastoralis curae Nostrae Christianam rempublicam e strenuis conatibus Tuis derivatum iri speramus, Divinam bonitatem continenter rogare ut Celsitudini Tuae successus prosperos tribuat, imprimis vero perfectum, veritatis Suae lumen ostendat, quo temporalibus perfrui bonis valeas et aeternis.

Datum Romae apud S^{um} Petrum die 19 Junii 1683.

24-7-1683

Innocentii PP. XI. Brev.: (*Arch. Vat., Epist. ad Princ.*)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Innocentius Papa XI

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Allatum ad Nos est Eleazarum patriarcham Armenorum qui apud Exmiazin in amplissimo regno Tuo sitam urbem residet, indulgentem odio, quo omnes Armenos ad Romanae Ecclesiae unitatem accedentes acerrime insectatur, occasione transitus, quem illac proxime elapso Decembri faciebat venerabilis frater Vartanus Unanianus archiepiscopo Armeno huic sanctae Sedi unito Leopoli degenti coadiutor non ita pridem deputatus eum per vim detinuisse, ac multis ignominiiis affectum in carcerem detrudisse, animo, ut fertur, ipsum morti tradendi vel saltem oculorum lumine orbandi. Quia vero ad Nos inprimis spectat, omni qua possumus ope ac praesidio iuvare eos, qui Catholicam religionem amplectuntur, a perspecta totoque terrarum orbe celeberrima Celsitudinis Tuae aequitate, cui a praedicto Armenorum patriarcha, detentione praefati Vartani gravissima offensa atque iniuria illata est, etiam atque etiam petimus, ut eum pristinae libertati restitui iubeas testatumque omnibus facias, magnae Tibi curae esse insontium incolumitatem. Propensam erga Te ob eximias regeque maximo dignas dotes Tuas voluntatem Nostram magis etiam Tibi hoc praeclaro facto devincies, cuius Celsitudini constantem rerum secundarum faustitatem ac perfectum verae fidei lumen a Deo impense precamur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die xxiv Julii MDCLXXXIII pontificatus Nostri anno septimo.

26.8.1684

Innocentii PP. XI. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 76, p. 110 olim 99)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Innocentius Papa XI

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Cum notum Nobis sit Europeorum principum legatos ab iisdem principibus ad Celsitudinem Tuam missos in itinere quo ad aulam Tuam tendunt Sumachiam inter praecipuas clarissimi regni Tui urbes connumeratam atque eidem itineri interiectam omnino attingere, facile adducimur ad flagitandum ab humanitate qua prae insignibus aliis regii animi Tui dotibus maxime praestas, ut domicilium ibidem parari permittas ad excipiendos Christianos qui in amplissimas ditiones Tuas se conferunt. Gens enim Tui nominis studiosissima, secundorumque eventuum Tuorum percupida peculiare hoc benevolentiae Tuae testimonium plane sibi vindicat. Nos quidem, ubi officiis votisque Nostris, quemadmodum de perspecta beneficentia Tua merito confidimus, indulgeas cumulas de huiusmodi re gratiae voluntatis vices, qualibet oblata occasione Celsitudini Tuae rependere non omittemus, cui interim uberem indeficientium bonorum copiam in primis vero perfectum veritatis lumen a Deo enixe precamur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die xxvi Augusti MDCLXXXIV pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

20.7.1686

Innocentii PP. XI. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 77, p. 43)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Innocentius PP. XI

Illustris ac Potentissime Rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Etsi facile Nobis persuademus abiectum rerum profligataram statum, in quo exercituum Domino militante, qua memorandis cladibus acceptis, qua florentibus urbibus amissis, constituti in praesens sunt Turcae, Celsitudini Tuae satis incitamenti praebere ad repetendas ab iisdem amplissimas ditiones quibus per summam iniuriam inclyti reges maiores Tui expoliati sunt; ad validos tamen in id ipsum stimulos iterum Tibi, iterumque admoventos impellit Nos tot tamque praeclaris comprobatum documentis Divinae Providentiae decretum de invisa Sibi gente, uti sperare fas est, penitus delenda; neque enim dubitamus quin vehementius etiam hinc exciteris ad invicta arma Tua in eiusdem gentis excidium convertenda; et quidem ad id urgere Te praecipue debet madens adhuc innocuo Persarum sanguine Babylonis tellus iustam a Te tam opportuno tempore de immanissimo hoste ultionem expectans. Concipe itaque, potentissime rex, sensus magnitudine Tua dignos, strenuoque non interiturae gloriae occupandae aestu exardescens ad insignes de iniquissimis barbaris victorias reportandas alacri cursu contende.

Nos sane assiduus enixisque votis amplum triumphis Tuis iter sternere non omittemus, supremum Patrem luminum insuper rogaturi, ut lucis Suae radios Celsitudinis Tuae menti clementer infundet, quo perfectam veritatem assequi valeas.

Datum Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die vigesimo Julii 1686.

12.4.1687

Innocentii PP. XI. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 77, p. 152)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Innocentius PP. XI

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Cum Nobis innotuerit Armenos Catholicos, qui pastorali Archiepiscopi Naxivanensis curae subiecti sunt, speciali quodam regiae beneficentiae Tuae privilegio Tuo ipsius regimini, nullo intermedio, subesse, praetermittere non potuimus, quin ingens ea de re gaudium Nostrum testatum hisce Tibi

luculenter faceremus, a perspecta, totoque terrarum orbe celeberrima animi Tui magnitudine impense flagitantes, ut praedictum privilegium ab administris Tuis inviolate servari praecipias, iniungendo illis ut eosdem Catholicos a militum molestiis ac vexationibus tueri, et immunes reddere studeant. Quia vero non minus Nobis cordi sunt apostolici missionarii, qui aeternae praefatorum Catholicorum saluti excubant eos propterea supremae Celsitudinis Tuae tutelae maiorem in modum commendamus, non omissum Regem regum et Dominum dominantium enixe rogare, ut laetos Tibi, faustosque successus tribuat, inprimis autem perfectum veritatis Suae lumen ostendat.

Datum Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die 12 Aprilis 1687.

27.5.1690

Alexandri PP. VIII. Brev. (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 79, p. 180)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Alexander PP. VIII

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Cum ad Romanos Pontifices inprimis spectet demandatis pastoralis eorum curae Christifidelibus omni ope ac studio ubique terrarum praesto esse, Nos qui immerentes licet ad supremum Pontificatus gradum Divinae providentiae ordinatione evecti nuper sumus commissi Nobis muneris partes implendi praetermittere non possumus, quin a Celsitudine Tua etiam atque etiam petamus ut privilegia, quae Persarum rex inclytus parens Tuus Christianis in Armenia degentibus regia beneficentia indulsit, rata habere ac a vexationibus, quibus in praesens ad immanitatem usque iidem impetuntur, ipsos eripere velis, mandando Tuis ibidem administris praedictorum privilegiorum integram observantiam. Votis ubi Nostris annueris quemadmodum de magnitudine animi Tua, cuius praecleara accepimus testimonia, iure (et) merito confidimus, universos Christianos principes Celsitudini Tuae successus (ad) apprecandos praesertim vero ad perfectum verae fidei lumen, sine quo vana cuncta ac inania sunt, ac Deo implorandum magis magisque excitaveris.

Datum Romae die 27 Maii 1690.

7.6.1692

Innocentii PP. XII. Brev. (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 80, p. 186)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Innocentius Papa XII

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Inhaerentes sollicitudini qua praedecessores Nostri Romani pontifices, in quorum locum nullis Nostris praecedentibus meritis sed sola ordinatione Divinae providentiae suffecti, sumus, ab effusa Celsitudinis Tuae beneficentia impetrarunt, ut Christianos in Armenia maiori degentes regiae dominationi Tuae immediate subiiceret, ab eadem beneficentia impense Nos petimus, ut ipsismet Christianis ad extremam pene egestatem redactis, illud tantummodo solvere tributum indulgeas, quod retroactis temporibus iuxta vires solvere consueverunt praesentaneo exactore nimis illis invisio remoto, alioque magis accepto subrogato. Quia vero milites principis Naxivani acerbissimas praedictis Christianis inferunt molestias, ut a supra-memorata provincia eos discedere iubeas, vehementer optamus; nec incenso minus animo a latitudine cordis Celsitudinis Tuae obtinere contendimus, ne bonis exspoliari sinas Christianam religionem profitentes, ad commodum consanguineorum aliter sententium. Supremo etiam Celsitudinis Tuae patrocinio enixe commendamus venerabilem fratrem Joannem Baptistam ad hoc ut archiepiscopi Naxivanensis munus, quod ob virtutes, quibus abunde praeditus est, eidem contulimus, omni ex parte implere valeat. Rem quoque Nobis admodum gratam praestabis, ubi patrem Stephanum Ordinis Sancti Dominici una secum istuc proficiscentem ad provincialatus ministerium obeundum necnon eiusdem Ordinis professores ab impiorum hominum insidiis et insultibus tueri propositum habebis. Reliquum est ut praefatum archiepiscopum Naxivanensem, qui tenue quoddam benevolentiae Nostrae pignus Tibi tradet, perhumaniter excipias; dum Nos dominantium Dominum continenter rogare non omitemus, ut Celsitudini Tuae successus prosperos tribuat, ostendatque inprimis viam, quae ducit ad vitam.

Datum Romae . . . die vii Junii MDCLXXXII pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

28.1.1695

Innocentii PP. XII. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 81, p. 31)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Innocentius PP. XII

Illustris ac Potentissime Rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Inter eximias, magnoque rege dignas dotes, quibus insignitur Celsitudo Tua principem sibi vindicare locum clementiam, qua Catholicae fidei cultores respicis, satis superque notum, exploratumque habemus. Quia vero eiusdem fidei propagatio Nostrorum summa votorum est ab ipsamet clementia Tua enixe petimus, ut Patribus Carmelitis Discalceatis, ac praesertim venerabili fratri Eliae Aspahami celeberrimae regiae Tuae episcopo, quem summopere Tibi commendamus, liberam facultatem tribuas redeundi ad urbem uti vocant Jullam,¹ a qua instante archiepiscopo Armeno schismatico discedere coactos fuisse intelleximus, indicta illis gravi poena si reverterentur. Firmam autem in spem venientes assensurum Te petitioni Nostrae Celsitudini Tuae cum ad perfectam verae fidei agnitionem, tum ad omnem rerum secundarum faustitatem Dominum dominantium, qui in caelis habitat et a quo bona cuncta procedunt, propitium faventemque impense precamur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem die 28 Januarii 1695 pontificatus Nostri anno quarto.

30.4.1695

Innocentii PP. XII. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 81, p. 43)

Illust: ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Innocentius PP. XII

Illustris ac Potentissime Rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Exuberantis plane argumentum laetitiae hausimus intelligentes Celsitudinem Tuam hereditatis iure celeberrimi istius regni dominium suscepisse; eam enim inesse Tibi ad fortia quaeque gerenda animi magnitudinem extensa ubique fama testatum fecit, ut firmam in spem veniamus Te iunctis cum Christianorum Principum armis adversus immanissimam Turcarum gentem formidandis viribus Tuis ad illam delendam ut unanimiter conspires, ac ad restituendas provincias, quas inexplibili impiae dominationis libidine in dies magis amplificandae succensa hactenus usurpavit, strenue compellas. Nos quidem, pro muneris Nostri debito, validos in hunc scopum Celsitudinis Tuae stimulos admovemus, non omissuri impense rogare Illum, ad cuius nutum omnia moventur in terris, ut consiliis, quae pro Christianae reipublicae Tuique ipsius regni incrementis aggredi decreveris, successus prosperos tribuat, praesertim autem verae Fidei lumen, sine quo vana cuncta et inania sunt, clementer infundat.

Datum . . . Romae 30 Aprilis 1695. . .

26.1.1699

Innocentii PP. XII. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 82, p. 148)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Innocentius PP. XII

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Cum ad eam animi magnitudinem, qua Celsitudinem Tuam praestare multorum probatorumque hominum testimonio novimus, summopere pertineat ut omnes qui ad amplissimas ditiones Tuas properant ibique moram trahere peroptant ea pace ac securitate, quam sub aequi mitissimique principis regimine sperare fas est, fruantur, decet profecto ut voti huiusmodi compos fiat Ordo Fratrum Minorum Sancti Francisci Cappuccinorum nuncupatorum, utpote qui non ambitus gratia nec ullo

¹ Julfam properly.

terreni lucri desiderio, a quo se sponte ac solemniter abdicarunt, sed ut rectam viam, quae ducit ad Deum per Catholicae veritatis lucem in sinceritate ac humilitate cordis ostendant, spectatissimam istam orbis partem peragrandam susceperunt. Nos itaque, qui de spirituali animarum profectu pro ratione muneris Nostri solliciti admodum sumus et esse debemus, recte, ut par est, de perspecta Tua prudentia sentientes a Te etiam atque etiam petimus, ut praefatis Cappuccinis liberam in regionibus Tuae potentiae subiectis praecipue vero in Gangia et Georgia permanendi atque ibi ea omnia quae sacrum missionis ministerium respiciunt, in privatis eorum domibus, aut ecclesiis peragendi facultatem velis impertiri. Quo vero alacrius auctoritate Tua fulti officio suo vacent, enixe pariter a Te flagitamus ut nullo pacto eos aut quoscumque Christifideles ipsos pietatis causa adeuntes turbari aut quoquo modo a Tuis subditis divexari patiaris, sed immo indebitos huiusmodi conatus sub gravium poenarum interminatione compescas. Fusius autem sensus Nostros explicabit dilectus filius ex memorato Cappuccinorum Ordine Foelix Maria de Sellano, quem de Pontificia Nostra erga Te responsione disserentem ut perbenigne audias vehementer cupimus, dum Nos supremum Patrem luminum rogabimus ut lucis Suae radios menti Celsitudinis Tuae clementer infundat, quo perfectam veritatem assequi valeas.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem die 26 Januarii 1699.

20.4.1701

Clementis PP. XI. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 83, p. 107)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens Papa XI

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Cum ad amplificandam inclyti regis famam summopere pertineat liberaliter excipere et humaniter fovere eos, qui ab exteris atque remotis regionibus ad sua regna ditionesque honesto aliquo fine ducti properant, Nobis profecto pollicemur Celsitudinem Tuam gloriae sibi ducturam esse (nonnihil si velit) regium patrociniū impertiri dilectis filiis Religiosis viris Petro Martyre de Parma, Corradino de Valletellina, Archangelo a Brixia, Antonino Poschiavano, et Joseph Maria Armeno Ordinis Sancti Dominici congregationis Sanctae Sabinae de Urbe missionariis, qui non alio consilio aut proposito istuc adveniunt, quam ut Evangelicae Catholicae veritatis lumen volentibus atque optantibus ostendant. Quia tamen confidimus Te praecipuam etiam rationem habiturum esse huius Nostri officii atque commendationis a Te, quo maiori studio possumus, expetimus ut intuitu Nostro et ut gratam rem Nobis facias eosdem Religiosos viros libertate ac privilegiis, quibus antea actis temporibus gavisi sunt in praesens etiam uti ac frui permittas, ita ut nulla eisdem neque quoad personas neque quoad res inferatur molestia, et praeterea domum atque habitationem quam in suburbis Aspahami regiae Tuae civitatis antea possidebant retinere actuque possidere et pacifice inhabitare possint. Persuasum autem Tibi esse volumus Nos vicissim semper paratos fore Nostrae erga Te voluntatis praeclara testimonia deferre Celsitudini Tuae, quem ut Deus uberi temporalium bonorum copia augeat et spiritualium participem efficiat vehementer cupimus.

Datum Romae die 20 Aprilis 1701.

17.4.1703

Clementis PP. XI. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 83, A, p. 61)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens PP. XI

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Nihil est orbi universo tam exploratum, quam Celsitudinem Tuam in sublimi humanae dignitatis fastigio constitutam potentia atque opibus affluere et super populos atque nationes tum multas tum sane celebres et per ingentia locorum atque regionum spatia auctoritatem suam longe lateque protendere, et Nos quidem qui haec omnia novimus et quanti par est aestimamus multo tamen pluris

facimus praestantiam animi Tui, et egregiam erga Nos voluntatem, quam alias Nobis luculentis significationibus perspectam atque explicatam esse voluisti, sed illud in primis magnitudine Tua ac commendatione Nostra dignum in Te spectamus, quod cum ea sis aequitate ac benignitate ut velis nedum subiectos Tibi populos, sed externos etiam homines in istis partibus degentes publica tranquillitate ac regni Tui felicitate perfrui, peculiari etiam propensione Catholicos istuc adventantes, aut in Tuis ditionibus commorantes excipere tueri atque fovere non praetermittas. Confisi itaque grata Tibi fore officia profecta a Pontificia Nostra charitate tam profecto in Te inclinata quam praeclare de Te sentiente Celsitudini Tuae enixe commendamus venerabilem fratrem Stephanum Archiepiscopum Naxivaniensem Armenum probitate morum, et religione in Deum praestantem, vehementerque cupimus ut eum praesidio atque favore Tuo ita communias, ut nemo audeat ipsi molestias aut impedimentum inferre, quominus libere munus suum pro animarum salute obire valeat, imo eidem ac aliis Catholicis permittas dirutas multis in locis pristinas ecclesias sui cultus instaurare, ac illas praecipue quae sunt in Koscasce et Sciabiuniz; nam cum hae omnes aliud non sint quam domicilia quaedam pietatis, et sedes atque refugium fidelium assidue orantium Deum Optimum Maximum pro temporum felicitate ac pro incolumitate principum, quorum beneficio constabilitae sunt, destitui regia tua protectione non debent.

Pertinet praeterea ad Tuam Magnitudinem cavere, ne mercatores pariter Catholici, quorum notum est exiguas esse fortunas, novis tributis per Tui regni administros occasione ultimae censionis, sive numerationis praegraventur, cum ipsi antiquis oneribus ferendis impares prope esse noscantur. Quae eo confidentius a Te expostulamus, quo Nos eo sumus erga Te animo ut vehementer optemus Nobis dari opportunitates, quibus Celsitudini Tuae gratificari vicissim possimus, precantes interim humillime misericordiam Patrem bonorum omnium authorem, ut eandem diu sospitem esse velit et quod caput est, in viam verae et non interiturae salutis caelesti Suo lumine perducatur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die decima septima Aprilis 1703 pontificatus Nostri anno tertio.

17.2.1705

Clementis PP. XI. (*Epistolae et Brevia Selectiora*, Romae, 1724, p. 244, also *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 84, p. 155)

Illustri et Potentissimo Regi Persarum Sciah Sultan Haussein Clemens Papa XI

Illustris ac Potentissime Rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Literas quas Celsitudo Tua ad fel. rec. Innocentium Duodecimum praedecessorem Nostrum summa amoris ac egregiae suae voluntatis erga Romani Pontificis nomen ac dignitatem significatione refertas atque cumulas rescripserat, Nos qui in ejusdem locum, nullis licet meritis Nostris sed Dei ordinatione post ipsius decessum suffecti sumus, magna animi Nostri gratulatione excepiimus, et fideliter Nobis explicari curavimus. Ex ipsis itaque agnovimus, quibus humanitatis officiis intuitu praefati praedecessoris Nostri prosecutus sis bon. mem. Petrum Paulum olim archiepiscopum Ancyranum, cui Te favorabilem praeuisse testaris in his omnibus quae a Te pontificio nomine expostulavit; neque interim illi admodum laborandum fuisse, ut ad constabiliendas semper magis amicitias animorumque societatem et coniunctionem quae Tibi cum Christianis principibus ac regibus intercedit, Te hortaretur, cum id maxime omnium velis cupiasque praesertim supremi Ecclesiae Universalis antistitis benevolentiam demereri ac excolere. Quae Tua recta voluntas et animi magnitudo atque in Christianos omnes propensio grata praeter modum Nobis accidit. Sicuti enim videmus quanti Christianae reipublicae intersit Te regem dignitate, potentia, opibus, regnorum amplitudine ac populorum numero inter caeteros terrarum orbis principes sane praestantem cum eadem republica et cum iis, qui praecipuum in ea locum obtinent, voluntate conjungi, et peculiare studium erga beati Petri successores fovere, ita magnum Tuae gloriae incrementum in eo situm esse arbitramur, ut ultra ipsos late patentes Persici regni fines Tui nominis fama protendatur, et ab exteris nationibus dissitisque populis iure etiam foederis libentissime suscipiatur atque laudibus efferatur. Quod ad Nos attinet, persuasum Tibi esse volumus Nos mutuam et omnino propensam voluntatem erga Te gerere nihilque tam cupere quam ut author bonorum omnium Deus munerum Suorum largitate Te repleat, et apprehensa dextera Tua Te per semitas iustitiae ad solidam perpetuamque felicitatem deducat. Perspectae enim Nobis sunt et multorum testimonio comprobatae eximiae animi Tui dotes, praesertim vero iuncta cum summa prudentia aequitas illa vere regia, per quam

telligas oportere ut Christifideles, qui Tuas ditiones incolunt aut adeunt, tutela autoritatis Tuae periantur, quatenus vis nulla aut molestia eisdem palam vel occulte inferatur: quod ut diligenter cures, et fide efficias etiam atque etiam a Te petimus. Perferet autem ad Celsitudinem Tuam has Nostras literas venerabilis frater Elias episcopus Aspahami praesul Nobis valde ob fidem, doctrinam ac pietatem quibus ter paucos praeditus est probatus atque commendatus qui sicut non semel Nobiscum splendide, ut sciet, de Te locutus est, ita relatores Tibi ac testes fore confidimus, quo fervore apostolicae charitatis pro Tibi bona a Deo iugiter apprecemur. Opportunum vero esse duximus eundem ad suam resistentiam in praesens remittere, ut ibidem in omnibus, quae ad istorum Christianorum salutem, immunitatem et commodum spectant, permanentes adsint, suamque praeterea Nobis operam impendat exequendis mutuae inter Nos benevolentiae officiis, ac in negotiis, quae istic Nobis occurrunt tractandis. Cupimus propterea ut praefato episcopo similia acturo fides habeatur, tum etiam ut eum, necnon Christiani, qui spirituali ipsius directioni commissi sunt, regia Tua protectione continenter videant, eosque proinde iterato Tibi et enixe commendamus, quos tamen per eundem episcopum unitos volumus, ut salva in Deum fide caveant ne ab obsequio et obedientia auctoritati Tuae debita vel inimum quidem recedant. Munuscula quaedam exotica potius raritate quam pretio suo aestimanda ac occasione ad Te deferri mandamus quae ut, pensato unice amore Nostro, a quo proficiuntur, cunctanter excipias. Optamus et incolumitatem diuturnam ac inprimis lumen Divinae gratiae celsitudini Tuae ex animo auspicamur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die decima septima Februarii 1705 pontificatus Nostri anno quinto.

15-7-1705

Clementis PP. XI. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 84, p. 192)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Persarum Regi Clemens PP. XI

Illustri ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Decet sane ut quoniam Nos propensa sumus voluntate erga Celsitudinem Tuam, multique facimus raestantiam tuorum decorum et spectatas animi Tui dotes, mutua a Te referamus humanitatis officia orum commodo quos dignos Nostra apud Te commendatione censemus. Cum itaque dilectus filius israel Ory singulari qua praeditus est morum integritate atque honestate, fide quoque atque prudentia pontificiam Nostram charitatem peculiariter demeruerit, illum istuc proficiscentem hoc Nostro avorabili iudicio ac testimonio communire volumus, quo Tibi declaramus gratum prorsus Nobis fore, si eum intuitu Nostro libenter exceperis, benigne audiveris ac iuveris in his, quae aequitati ac rationi consona a Te expostulabit. Qua occasione facere non possumus quin Tibi aperte explicemus grave modum atque molestum Nobis ac caeteris Christianis principibus esse quod a nonnullis eorum qui tuo nomine praesunt provinciis amplissimi istius regni male habeantur indigenae incolaeque Christiani, quorum non exigua pars, cum se insidiis atque calumniis indesinenter appeti senserit, libertatem atque tranquillitatem rebus atque fortunis praeferre maluit, et a Tuo regno abscedens per fugium apud alios principes quaerere curavit. Quae res, praeterquam iuribus ac rationibus Tuis valde obest, nullo modo confert ad commendationem Tui nominis, animosque, ut diximus, principum ac regum, quibuscum veteres Tibi intercedunt amicitiae, a Te non parum avertit. Aegre enim ferunt contemnitic atque odio haberi illam ipsam religionem quam utpote unice Deo gratam, hominibusque salutarem psi profitentur.

Etsi autem Nos recte de Te sentientes persuasum habeamus haec omnia non modo iniussu Tuo, sed imo Te forte inscio aut saltem falsis adversus Christianos ipsos criminationibus praeoccupato acta fuisse (cur enim pateris plecti innocentem qui iusti, mitisque regis laudem appetit?); ad tuendam tamen Tuae aequitatis famam oportet ut palam compescas Tuorum licentiam ita ut omnibus innotescat, tutum esse in Tuis ditionibus commorari omnibus iis, qui iustis legibus obsequi parati sunt, cuiusmodi certe est Christianorum hominum institutum. Rati interim debitum pondus apud Te habitura esse consilia, quae ex pontificia charitate et sincero corde proficiuntur, iterum iterumque eundem Israellem, qui fusius sensus Nostros explicabit, Tibi commendantes; et Celsitudini Tuae ab Omnipotenti Deo veram salutem, quae sine Ipso esse non potest, apprecamur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem die xv Julii 1705.

2.3.1709

Clementis PP. XI. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 87, p. 33)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens PP. XI

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Cum Nostri muneris sit omnibus pontificiae ac paternae Nostrae charitatis officiis adesse Christianis Catholicis Romanae Ecclesiae adhaerentibus atque unitis, qui in diversis etsi remotis terrarum partibus commorantur, quatenus ipsis ope Nostra concilietur favor et gratia eorum principum, quorum illi ditiones continenter incolunt, aut frequenter adeunt, hoc ipsum inprimis curandum atque agendum Nobis esse duximus apud Celsitudinem Tuam tum propter perspectam Nobis Tuae dignitatis atque potentiae amplitudinem, tum quia Te aequo in omnes sed in Christifideles peculiariter propenso animo esse arbitramur, tum demum quia de egregia Tua et sincera in Nos voluntate plurimum Nobis pollicemur.

Complexi itaque libenter oblatam Nobis ante aliquot annos opportunitatem advenientis in istas partes Israelis Ory plurimorum testimonio Nobis commendati, literas eidem Nostras datas sub die quinta decima Julii anni millesimi septingentesimi quinti ad Te perferendas tradere voluimus, in quibus praeter officiosam, et quidem sedulam atque accuratam commendationem ipsius Israelis, quem Catholicorum rebus omni studio ac zelo, eaque fide qua se obstringebat affuturum esse confidebamus, illud expresse tanquam praecipuum earum literarum argumentum, ac votorum Nostrorum summam a Te expetebamus, ut Catholicos addictos Romanae Ecclesiae in Tuis regnis degentes, vel in partes istas quandoque commigrantes, ab administris Tuis humaniter haberi ac pertractari mandares, nec ullo modo sineres eos ullum vel in personis vel in facultatibus suis detrimentum iniuriose perpeti, neque vexari ab insidiis atque calumniis quorundam hominum qui, cum Nostrae Fidei desertores sint, nihil antiquius habent quam veros Catholicos acerrime insequi ac in extremas quasque calamitates atque angustias conjicere.

Hac itaque mente atque proposito ad Te arrepta ea opportunitate perscripsimus, sed non sine ingenti animi Nostri dolore subinde intelleximus memoratum Israelem Ory eodem officio Nostro temere abusum viam prorsus oppositam voluntati Nostrae istic iniisse, et praesidium Catholicis, quod se allaturum diserte affirmaverat, adeo nullum praestitisse ut imo ipsos magnopere perturbaverit atque contristaverit, et, quod iniquissimum est, desertores Nostrae Fidei supra ipsos Catholicos, atque ita errorem supra veritatem extulerit, ita demum se gesserit tanquam si istuc a Nobis immissus fuisset ad opprimendos veros filios Romanae Ecclesiae quorum salutem, libertatem, atque indemnitatem, si Deum iustum iudicem respexisset aut Nobis obsequi voluisset, promovere imprimis debebat. Quamobrem operae pretium esse duximus, ut a Nobis scires, neque ulla fide neque Tuis auspiciis neque ulla honoris significatione dignum esse Israelem Ory, sed imo autoritate Tua deterrendum esse ab iniquis attentatis contra Catholicos, qui cum Romana Ecclesia in Fidei unitate consentiunt, quibus quidem optamus, ut Te propitium in omnibus exhibeas, et vices a Nobis, ubi facultas erit, in his quae grata Tibi esse existimabimus uberrime referes.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die secunda Martii 1709 pontificatus Nostri anno nono.

15.6.1709

Clementis PP. XI. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 87, p. 64)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens PP. XI

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Gratum fore credimus Celsitudini Tuae per Nos excitari ad ea officia, quae facultatem Tibi praebeant explicandi non tam ingenitam animi Tui magnitudinem quam sinceram ac mutuam voluntatem, qua Te erga Nos esse arbitramur, et conciliandi Tibi cum praeclara nominis fama summum nedum apud populos Tuos, sed apud exterarum etiam nationes studium atque benevolentiam.

Cum itaque dilectum filium Petrum Martyrem a Parma Ordinis Praedicatorum Sancti Dominici

Actum Archiepiscopum ecclesiae Armenae Naxivaniensis propter integritatem prudentiam atque pietatem, qua singulariter praestat, Tuis auspiciis plane dignum esse existimemus eum Tibi has Nostras commendaturum, ac insuper Religiosos viros eiusdem Ordinis, caeterosque Catholicos Armenos in Tuis missionibus commorantes Celsitudini Tuae plurimum commendamus confisi Te intuitu Nostro effectum esse Tua autoritate, ut eisdem privilegiis et gratiis, quibus Tuorum antecessorum beneficio uti consueverunt, iis etiam et amplioribus in posterum per Te perfruantur, neque passurum esse quidquam aequum ac honestum ab ipso Archiepiscopo expeti, quod non Tua liberalitate consequatur. Et id quidem demereri et perpetuo vinculo animum Nostrum obstringere Celsitudini Tuae quam diu spitem et coelestium munerum ac luminum largitate auctam ac cumulatam esse peroptamus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die xv Junii 1709.

25.11.1713

Clementis PP. XI. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 90, p. 2)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens PP. XI

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Cum pro pastoralis officii Nostri ratione Nobis summopere cordi sit, ac esse debeat ut Apostolici missionarii ad annunciandam evangelicam veritatem Divinique verbi semen spargendum istis in partibus constituti regiae Tuae clementiae patrocinio fulciantur, cuius ope certam in spem adducimur re ut fructus uberrimus ab ipsis in horrea Domini congregetur, fidenti proinde animo a perspecta totius terrarum orbe celeberrima animi Tui magnitudine impense flagitamus, ut iisdem missionariis, quotiescumque res tulerit, benigne suffrageris eosque a calumniis, molestiis et vexationibus quibus eundem exagitari consueverunt autoritate praesidioque Tuo strenue tuearis, quatenus ubique pere et absque ullo impedimento versari, suique muneris functionibus operam dare possint. Catholicis insuper omnes in amplissimo regno Tuo degentes, quos etsi tam magno locorum intervallo a Nobis siunctos tamen ut praesentes in sinu gerimus Apostolicae charitatis, Celsitudini Tuae eodem plane studio ac prorsus ex animo commendamus. Quod si desiderio Nostro satisfaceris quemadmodum de te Nobis abunde pollicemur, voluntatem Nostram maiorem in modum Tibi obstringes, eos autem illa aetas arguet beneficiorum immemores, sed Tuae benignitatis praestantiam, quam assiduus auditibus prosequuntur, continenter extollent. Inprimis autem ipsi supplicationibus et sacrificiis ingraevam Tibi incolumitatem ac omne bonum a Domino dominantium precari nunquam cessabunt. Nos interim veram, solidamque felicitatem Tibi exoptantes, eundem Deum Optimum Maximum, qui dat salutem regibus, enixe rogamus ut Celsitudinem Tuam non solum terreno regno diutissime perfrui velit, sed gressus Tuos ad eam etiam semitam clementer dirigat, unde sedes paratur in sempiternae beatitudinis principatu.

Datum Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die 25 Novembris 1713 pontificatus nostri anno decimo quarto.

17.8.1714

Clementis PP. XI. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 90, p. 108)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens PP. XI

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Etsi pluribus aliis in simili forma scribis ad Celsitudinem Tuam datis literis Nostris regium Tuum patrocinium Catholicis ac Religiosis missionariis, qui in amplissima Tua dititione commorantur, pro pastoralis officii Nostri debito conciliare quam enixe studuerimus, nec profecto vereamur quin officia postulataque Nostra ea ipsa intuitui sincerique animi propensione, quae maiores Tuos inter ac praedecessores Nostros Romanos pontifices semper intercessit, exceperis, de eodem nihilominus argumento rursus ad Te perscribere cogimur nunc, quando multiplices et sane graves eorundem Catholicorum ac missionariorum ad

Nos deferuntur querelae quod ipsi assidue vexentur ab insidiis atque calumniis quorundam hominum, qui cum Nostrae fidei desertores sint, licet nulla offensione, nulla provocati iniuria non aliud tamen propositum constitutumque magis habent quam veros Catholicos acerbè insectari ac in extremas quasque calamitates et angustias conicere.

Petimus itaque vehementer, ac fidenti prorsus animo ab insigni aequitate qua praestare Te Tuis excedens finibus publica iam ubique fama vulgavit, ut impiorum eiusmodi hominum audaciam coercere digneris, Tuque autoritate efficias ut memoratis Catholicis ac missionariis necessaria tranquillitas quam primum omnino restituatur. Voluntatem Nostram hoc facto maiorem certe in modum demereberis arctissimoque ac perpetuo obstringes vinculo Celsitudini Tuae, cui interim a dominantium Domino prosperos rerum successus et diuturnam incolumitatem ex animo precamur.

Datum Romae die 17 Augusti 1714.

3 I. 1719

Clementis PP. XI. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epst. ad Princ.*, vol 94, p. 24)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens PP. XI

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Omnem verborum explicationem supergreditur animi sollicitudo atque molestia Nobis injecta, ubi ex literis istarum partium nuper audivimus injurias, contumelias et gravissima detrimenta quae Armeni Catholici Teflis in provincia Georgiae eorumque spiritualibus necessitatibus opitulantes Religiosi viri missionarii ex Ordine Fratrum Minorum Sancti Francisci Cappuccinorum nuncupatorum qui Celsitudinis Tuae permissu inibi commorantur, non ita pridem subire compulsi fuerunt.

Pessime siquidem, ut intelleximus, habiti, fustibus caesi, lethaliter sauciati, exuti bonis, omnique alio calamitatis genere afflicti sunt. Praeterea domus missionariorum expilata, barbarumque in morem cum aliqua ecclesiae parte funditus eversa, et solo aequata fuit. Haec autem omnia, ut pariter accepimus, contigerunt nefaria potissimum instigatione ac dolo schismatici Patriarchae Armeni de Eczmiazin et cuiusdam Minas Vartabiet, implacabilem orthodoxae religionis hostium, qui ad exitium eorundem Armenorum Catholicorum et missionariorum ea animi acerbitate conspirarunt, ut illorum impetum atque furorem cohibere ne quidem potuerit princeps loci, quamvis facinoris indignitate commotus ipsis quoad licuit obniti non praetermiserit. Pastoralis itaque officii Nostri impellente debito Celsitudinem Tuam impense rogamus ac obtestamur ut omnes quotquot fuerunt dirae hujus persecutionis auctores vel participes praesertim vero memoratos Patriarcham et Vartabiet insigni aliqua animadversione coerceri mandet, ac insuper curet omnia per eos quantocius sarciri damna, quae tum missionarii tum etiam alii Catholici praedicti immerito passi fuerunt. Illud autem in primis diligenter a Te petimus ut missionariorum domum et ecclesiam instaurari quam primum jubeas. Nam cum hae aliud non sint quam domicilia quaedam pietatis, et sedes atque refugium fidelium assidue orantium Deum Optimum Maximum pro temporum felicitate ac pro incolumitate principum, quorum beneficio constabilitae sunt, regio Tuo patrocinio destitui nequaquam debent. Illud insuper a Te etiam atque etiam flagitamus ut missionarios et Catholicos omnes Tua in ditione degentes quam maxime commendatos habeas, eorumque rationibus ope, praesidioque Tuo ita suffragaris, ut deinceps a schismaticis amplius exagitari atque vexari non possint, sed ea tranquillitate liberoque Catholicae religionis exercitio potiantur, quo Te rege Tuisque etiam majoribus benigne annuentibus huc usque potiti sunt. Majori tandem quo possumus animi studio a Celsitudine Tua postulamus ut privilegia omnia, quae inclyti progenitores Tui praefatis Catholicis et missionariis clementer indulserunt, rata habere velis, ac in primis eos eximas et prorsus liberes a gravissima vexatione quam modo patiuntur ab exactoribus Tuis ob insueta quaedam ac eorum vires excedentia tributa, jubeasque ab ipsis illud dumtaxat tributum exigi quod retroactis temporibus iuxta vires persolvere consueverunt. Erit id non tam animi Tui aequitate ac magnitudine apprimè dignum quam Nobis longe gratissimum, qui vicissim oblata occasione obsecundandi votis Tuis mutuam propensamque voluntatem erga Te Nostram palam explicare non omitemus, ac interim misericordiarum Patrem bonorum omnium authorem enixe precamur ut Celsitudinem Tuam diu sospitem, omnique felicitate florentem conservet et, quod caput est, in viam verae aeternaeque salutis caelesti Suo lumine perducere dignetur.

Datum Romae die tertia Januarii 1719.

18.2.1719

Clementis PP. XI. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 94, p. 81)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens PP. XI

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Praeter modum solliciti ut ad celsitudinem Tuam tuto perferantur literae, quas die tertia mox elapsi mensis Januarii in simili forma revis Tibi perscripsimus, consilium cepimus eas dirigendi ad venerabilem fratrem Barnabam episcopum Aspahamensem, a quo illae Tibi reddentur.

Hunc ipsum in scopum mittimus etiam eidem praesuli tres alias epistolas, quarum primam charissimus in Christo filius Noster Carolus in Romanorum Imperatorem electus, secundam dilecti filii nobiles iri Dux et Respublica Venetiarum, ac tertiam dilectus iudem filius nobilis vir Cosmus Etruriae sibi ubiectae Magnus Dux, eorum impellente pietate, Tibi conscribendas duxerunt. Ex omnibus praefatis literis abunde cognoscere quantopere non Nobis tantum, verum etiam sublimibus Christianae reipublicae principibus cordi sit, ut illata nuper Armenis Catholicis ac Religiosis viris missionariis ex Ordine Fratrum Minorum Sancti Francisci Cappuccinorum nuncupatorum Teflis in provincia Georgiae commorantibus gravissima injuria sarciaur, ejus authores nimirum schismaticus patriarcha Armenus de Eczmiazin et quidam Minas Vartabiet congrua animadversione plectantur, ac tandem idem Armeni Catholici et missionarii clementiae Tuae patrocinio ita gaudeant ut nulla de cetero contumelia a quoquam violari possint, et qua par est, libertate ac tranquillitate potiantur. Id porro ubi praestare digneris, quemadmodum Nos iterum a Te vehementer postulamus ac de perspecta animi Tui aequitate et magnitudine Nobis etiam certo pollicemur, rem sane facies Nobis ac memoratis principibus summopere acceptam, communemque Nostram voluntatem Tibi majorem in modum obstringes. Quod superest, Te impense rogamus, ut praedicto Barnabae episcopo his de rebus disserenti pronas benignasque aures praebere velis, dum Nos Divinam bonitatem enixis votis obsecrare non desinemus ut Celsitudinem Tuam diu incolumem servet omnique felicitate florentem.

Datum Romae die 18 Februarii 1719.

22.3.1720

Clementis PP. XI. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 94, p. 510)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens PP. XI

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Novissimis ex provincia Georgiae huc allatis literis admonemur schismaticum patriarcham Armenum de Eczmiazin, de quo alias cum Celsitudine Tua graviter conquesti sumus, cum ipse praecipuus saevae illius persecutionis author extiterit, quae Catholicos in civitate Teflis degentes vehementer afflixit, missionariis autem Apostolicis ac universae missioni illic ab antiquis temporibus institutae summam perniciem importavit, postquam iudicium principis Erivan, Celsitudine Tua mandante, subire compulsus fuerat, ipsomet principe aliisque majoribus officialibus pecunia corruptis, poenam declinasse quam ob conscientiam sceleris merito formidabat. Unde factum est ut eidem patriarchae adhaerentes in superbiam elati orthodoxae religioni extremum exitium palam impudentissime minitari non dubitent. Quantopere ex enormi hoc facto non modo Nos verum etiam sublimes Christianae reipublicae principes commoti fuerint, et quam impense perspectam aequitatem Tuam requirant ac obtentur ut memorati patriarchae ac ejus fautorum temeritatem insigni aliqua animadversione coerceas, praefatosque Catholicos et missionarios regio Tuo patrocinio ab iniuriis eripere ac benigne fovere digneris, ex eorundem principum literis deprehendes quae una cum praesentibus ad Te perferentur. Ejusmodi postulatis Nos officia Nostra apud Celsitudinem Tuam in praesens eo libentius adjungimus, quo ex pastoralis muneris debito commissaque Nobis omnium ecclesiarum solitudine arctius obstringimur diligenter curare ut compressa schismaticorum audacia quicumque Catholicam religionem Tua in ditone profitentur, et praedicant, ea securitate ac tranquillitate gaudere pergant, quam majores Tui Tuque ipse illis hactenus perhumaniter indulstis. Beneficium itaque Tuum ut

constanter tueri velis quemadmodum ipsa regii Tui animi magnitudo a Te postulat, non modo vehementer petimus, sed etiam firmiter expectamus a Celsitudine Tua cui diuturnam interim solidamque felicitatem a Deo Optimo Maximo enixis votis apprecamur.

Datum Romae die 22 Martii 1720.

2.3.1722

Innocentii PP. XIII Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 95, p. 130; also vol 97, p. 329)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Innocentius PP. XIII

Illustris et potentissime rex Persarum salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae. Insignis justitiae zelus et inprimis erga missionarios aliosque religionis Nostrae cultores benigna ac vere regia Celsitudinis Tuae mens efficit ut eximiae voluntatis propensionem tam praeclaris Tuis dotibus impendamus atque omnimodam Tibi felicitatem cum caelestis luminis illustratione ab Omnipotenti Deo sedulo precemur. Quare cum paterna charitas, qua eosdem missionarios et Catholicos omnes istarum partium ex muneris Nostri debito complectimur, nunc impellat Nos ad deputandum et constituendum in Archiepiscopum Naxivaniensem dilectum filium Religiosum virum Archangelum Ferri Brixianum ex Ordine Fratrum Praedicatorum missionarium in Persia viginti abhinc annis laudabiliter agentem, quemadmodum re ipsa deputavimus et constituimus postquam excessit e vita venerabilis frater Petrus Martyr illius climatis olim Archiepiscopus, praetermittere noluimus quin has ad Te literas benevolentiae Nostrae indices daremus. Quibus insuper excelsi animi Tui aequitatem atque magnitudinem requirimus, obtestamurque ut regio patrocinio Tuo non solum ipsum una cum ejusdem instituti Religiosis viris, qui in Armenia degunt, verum etiam Catholicos omnes quotquot permissu Celsitudinis Tuae terras, oppida et quaecumque loca incolunt, quae spirituali illius curae obnoxia sunt, fovere velis ac protegere, eorumque rationibus suffragari. Sicuti autem satis compertum habemus maximi apud Te ponderis fuisse alias felicitis recordationis Clementis XI praedecessoris Nostri literas, ita pariter egregiam in spem erigimur haud absimili ratione officia abs Te Nostra acceptum iri, quibus more praedecessorum Nostrorum in hanc gravissimam curam unice intendimus, ut felici, tuto ac tranquillo sanctae religionis Nostrae statu fruantur qui in Tuis amplissimis regnis illam profitentur et praecipuo Celsitudinis Tuae praesidio dignissimi sunt ob incorruptam morum ac doctrinae integritatem. Quod itaque sponte Tua, ut confidimus, praestiturus fuisses, id petentibus nunc enixe Nobis tribuas etiam atque etiam a Te poscimus, et de spectata liberalitatis atque clementiae Tuae fama praestolamur. Nos profecto et Catholici omnes magis magisque pro Celsitudine Tua preces et sacrificia Deo Optimo Maximo jugiter offerre Ejusque misericordiam et opem cunctis rebus Tuis propitiis ac faventem implorare usque satagemus ut diu incolumem Te servet, omnique felicitate florentem.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Majorem sub annulo Piscatoris die secunda Martii 1722.

16.7.1731

Clementis PP. XII. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 104, pars 2a, ann. 2, p. 1)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens PP. XII

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem ac lumen Divinae gratiae.

Inter praeclarissimas animi dotes, quibus, largiente Dei Omnipotentis clementia, florentissimi regni opes et dignitatem ornas et auges, eminere singularem humanitatem erga ministros praesertim Christianae religionis omnium sermone et grato eorumdem ministrorum praeconio ad Nos perlatum est. Itaque muneris Nostri esse ducimus gratias agere Celsitudini Tuae quam possumus maximas et sua sponte (Te) ad patrocinium ministerii salutaris incumbentem Nostris etiam officiis excitare. Rogaturus propterea Celsitudinem Tuam et vehementer poscimus ut dilectos filios Religiosos viros ex Ordine

armellarum Excalceatorum, qui in Tua ista amplissima ditione operam missionibus profitentur, regia qua soles benignitate foveas ac tuearis, iisque pro instituti officiique sui necessitatibus opem tuae potestatis accommodes. Nihil profecto esse poterit nomini Tuo illustrius quo animum Tibi nostrum amplius demerearis, Tuique nomine laudes tam apud subjectos Tibi populos quam apud ceteras nationes latius amplifies. Minime autem Tibi defuturam curabimus, ubi rerum opportunitas mererit, vicem studiosae Nostrae voluntatis qua diuturnam Celsitudini Tuae incolumitatem, veramque e caelestis gratiae munere felicitatem precamur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Majorem sub annulo Piscatoris die xvi Julii 1731 pontificatus Nostri anno secundo

18.7.1737

Clementis PP. XII. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 106, p. 417)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Sak Nadir Regi Persarum Clemens PP. XII

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Quamquam ea fuit in inclyto Persarum regno perturbatio omnium rerum ut mirandum non sit plura ibi contigisse quae tranquilla republica nequaquam eventum fuisse censi possint, id tamen atque ad excusandam acceptam calamitatem quidpiam momenti habeat, ad leniendam nil aliud quam Celsitudinis Tuae beneficentia valere potest. Ad hanc igitur aufugiunt orthodoxi religiosissimae Dominicanae familiae sodales, qui Tuo sub imperio Armeniam incolunt. Quam atrociter superioribus annis saeviente istic armorum turbine vexati fuerint fortasse Celsitudinem Tuam non latet. Aliqui ipsorum fame, alii ferro absumpti, reliqui incensis domibus, dirutis expilatisque templis dispersi profugi errantes vitam omni morte duriorum vivunt: una Christiana caritate istic detenti ne Catholici Armeni, quos rerum sacrarum cultu instruere consueverunt, ope sua penitus destituantur. Verum cum adeo miserrima vivendi ratione diutius uti nequeant, et Nos pro Nostra universae Christianae gentis suprema cura ingens teneat sollicitudo, ut libere susceptum iamdiu munus explere possint, illos tutelae Tuae quam maxime commendamus atque obtestamur ut sodales ipsos ac praesertim eorumdem praesidem Alexium Alexii, ejusdem socium Petrum Joannis regio potentissimo patrocinio Tuo recreare velis jubeasque ne ullo officiantur incommodo neve prohibeantur aedes suas templaque instaurare, nullo denique in posterum onerari debeant tributo, quod in capite conferri solet. Id eis Te libenter daturum spem Nobis facit humanissima qua celebraris indoles quam natura insitam cultissimis Tuis populis ipse prae caeteris obtines ac mirifice foves, gloriosissimos reges majores Tuos aemulatus, quibus in more fuit, Catholicos Nostros humanitate praeclarisque beneficiis complecti supremique Christianorum Pontificis precibus faciles praebere aures ac dictis obsequi. Et sane sodales ipsi quidpiam habent, quo ad clementiam erga se Tuam aditum sibi muniant. Tot enim aerumnas ab Tuis hostibus accepisse visi sunt ob servatam Tibi fidem Tuas partes egregio studio prosequuti, nec unquam pro Tua felicitate immortalis Deo nuncupare vota cessarunt. Tua modo liberalitate in pristinam libertatem ac decus restituti preces pro Te suas vehementius urgebunt. Quas et Nos utique prosequemur, hoc iisdem praestito beneficio Celsitudini Tuae quamplurimum obstricti Tuaeque prosperitati pacatque regni praeter modum cupidi studiosique.

Datum Romae die 18 Julii 1737.

23.9.1737

Clementis PP. XII. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 106, p. 456)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Regi Persarum Clemens PP. XII

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Cum inter praeclarissimas regii animi Celsitudinis Tuae dotes eximia humanitas, qua luculentissimis regum antecessorum Tuorum vestigiis insistens ministrosque Christianae religionis Nostramque

Catholicam gentem prae caeteris per amplissimas florentissimi regni Tui ditiones commorantem prosequi complectique satagis, maxime emineat, Nos certe adjunctis ministerio Nostro partibus deesse videremur, si praedecessorum Nostrorum exempla minime imitantes opportunitatem ad grati animi Nostri significationes Celsitudini Tuae declarandas Nobis oblatam elabi pateremur.

Itaque gratias Celsitudini Tuae quam possumus maximas singularibus verbis agimus atque a Deo Optimo Maximo vicem pro tanta benignitate repensum iri exposcimus. Praeterea Celsitudinem Tuam majorem in modum petimus ac rogamus, ut maximopere commendatum habeas venerabilem fratrem Dominicum Salvinum a Laude Pompeja Ordinis Praedicatorum Sancti Dominici Archiepiscopum Naxivanensem, qui ut Catholicis in Majori Armenia degentibus suae curae commissis opem spiritualis alimoniae ferat eorumque necessitatibus provideat, pastorale munus suum, quod iamdiu propter armorum strepitus obire non potuit, modo tranquillitate restituta se praeclare sub felicissimis auspiciis Tuis administraturum esse pro certo habens illuc curaturus accedit. Nihil sane esse poterit inclyto nomini Tuo illustrius ad Nostram Tibi amplius demerendam voluntatem, clarior- emque apud exterarum quoque nationes laudem comparandam, quam ut eundem venerabilem fratrem antistitem Naxivanensem egregiis virtutibus insignem, clementiaeque Tuae studio dignum, aliosque Religiosos viros sacris missionibus operam navantes, et Catholicos omnes patrocinio praesidioque Tuo foveas ac tuearis, neque patiaris quidquam molestiae iisdem in Catholica religione libere colenda unquam inferri. Nos vero, ubicumque sese opportuna rerum occasio dederit, nunquam omittemus omnia studiosissimae voluntatis Nostrae officia desiderari a Celsitudine Tua, ac perennem incolumitatem veramque de caelestis gratiae munere felicitatem precamur.

Datum Romae die 23 Septembris 1737.

30.6.1742

Benedicti PP. XIV. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 109, p. 709)

Illustri ac Potentissimo Thamas Kuli Kam Persarum Regi Benedictus PP. XIV

Illustris ac potentissime rex salutem et lumen Divinae gratiae.

Fama jucundissimis collecta nuntiis ad Nos pervenit Celsitudinem Tuam non minus militari virtute atque invicto armorum robore fregisse Turcarum ferociam, quam lenitudine placidaeque agendi ratione sibi conciliasse populorum amorem fidem atque obedientiam. Quo quidem felici eventu magnam laetitiam habuimus rati hostes illos Christianis aequae ac Persis infensissimos abs Te depressos parum deinceps Nobis graves molestosque futuros; simul autem Te severiter regnante Catholicos per amplissimam Tuam ditionem degentes commodam honestamque vivendi conditionem habituros. Itaque acceptum a Nobis de rebus ita abs Te prospere ac sapienter gestis gaudium renuntiare Celsitudini Tuae constituimus ut, cum audieris favere Nos, ac plaudere felicitati gloriaeque Tuae libentius regia Tua clementia prosequaris Nostrae religionis cives imperio Tuo subjectos quos pro certo habere debes Nobiscum laetari hac Tua insigni laude, Tuaque illectos mansuetudine magis autem Christianae legis instituto in fide atque obsequio erga Te suo firmiter permanere. Quod cum penitus persuasum Tibi esse reputemus, fidentius imploramus beneficentiam Tuam pro Capuccinis Fratribus in Georgiae regno missionariis eo a Romana Sede ablegatis, ut quotquot ibi sunt Catholici nominis ad pietatem exerceant. Hactenus enim tributo immunes nunc eo graviter onerati in summas angustias adducti sunt, quippe qui ex sui Ordinis instituto pauperrimi non habeant unde sibi ad solvendum pecunia suppetat. Hoc satis esset ad commovendam generosi animi Tui miserationem, verum et illud additur ipsos patriam deservisse nullo rerum humanarum praemio proposito, sed unice studiosos bene de vestra gente merendi, cui certum ad aeternam felicitatem iter monstrare cupidi se ideo periculis offerunt, nec parcunt labori suo, qua caritate nihil validius ad comparandam magnanimitatem principis gratiam. Ad haec si diligenter adjicias animum non dubitamus quin benevole Capuccinos ipsos hospitia, quae habent Filiis [sic, Tiflis] Gori, et Gangiae omni onere soluta ac libera sis dimissurus. Quo quidem collato in eis beneficio obligabis Tibi penitus animum Nostrum et nihil perficies unde melius Nostra de regia Tua beneficentia opinio confirmari queat. Qua de re Celsitudinem Tuam etiam atque etiam obsecramus, obtestamurque Deum Optimum Maximum ut invicem Te quotidie magis victoriae compotem reddat adversus hostem et lumen Suae gratiae prosperaque valetudine impertiat.

Datum Romae, etc., 30 Junii 1742.

4.2.1605

Clementis PP. VIII Brev. (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 56, p. 423—formerly 430)

Dilectis filiis Antonio de Govea et Christophoro Hieronymoque a Cruce Ordinis
Heremitarum Sancti Augustini in Persia degentibus Clemens Papa VIII

Dilecti filii salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Quae de vestra christiana pietate ad Nos tunc deferuntur omnium sermone, ea Nos tanto afficiunt gaudio spirituali, ut nihil sit hoc tempore, quo delectemur in Domino magis, magisque pertinet ad paternae charitatis nostrae viscera omnia. Benedictus Deus, pro cuius gloria tot ut sustinetis labores, atque ad tam remotas adiistis regiones, vobis nomini nova ut aedificetis templa, quorum fastigia pertingant ad caelum. Vobis Nos, filii dilecti, adsumus semper mutua, quae nos invicem connectit, charitate, vestrique ministerii memores unus usque nostris in sacrificiis, quae vestris quoque precibus cupimus adiuvari. Latissimum habetis tempus, in quo velut in sancto stadio desudetis. Quapropter eniti et contendere debetis quam maxime et vincatis; neque enim vobis propositum est unius diei praemium, quod simul ac hominum sermo conticescat evanescat illico, sed perpetua corona, qua coronantur qui legitime certaverint. Verum superioris iam messis, cum spes magna ostendatur, etsi pauci admodum sitis operarii, necessarium esse iudicamus novos vobis addere socios, qui vobiscum una plantent, serant, metant, atque expectatissimos fructus offerant Domino in Spiritus unitate. Cum igitur miserimus istuc superioribus diebus pios et doctos viros Carmelitani Ordinis, Paulum Simonem, Joannem Thadaeum et Vincentium una cum vobis, vos hortamur per viscera misericordiae Dei nostri, qui redimit nos in sanguine Filii Sui Jesu Christi, ut una concordique voluntate catholicae religionis causam istuc agatis, elaboretisque, ut in hoc potissimum cognoscant omnes, quia discipuli estis Christi, si dilectionem habueritis ad invicem. Qui diligit fratrem suum in lumine manet, et scandalum in eo non est; quae duo, si curentur recte, non dubium est quin, favente Deo, possitis quam plurimos ab impia superstitione ad Christianae vitae usum sanctamque rationem traducere. In mutua ergo animorum vestrorum coniunctione cum sit vestra et populorum istius Regni maxime collocata salus, efficite vestra ne pereat discordia vestra quod facile potestis servare concordia; mementoteque ministros vos esse aeterni iudicis, quem nihil latet, sed omnia nuda et aperta sunt oculis Eius. Coniunctos vos inter vos licet speremus fore, tamen quo sitis coniunctiores in Domino, Apostolica Nostra benedictione invicem vos colligimus, et ne quid de sancto hoc vinculo charitatis relaxetur, ut ad eius custodiam aequae advigiletis omnes, vobis omnibus in virtute debitae Nobis obedientiae praecipimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die iv Februarii MDCV (= 4.2.1605) Pontificatus Nostri anno decimo tertio.

20.7.1605

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 1, p. 50—formerly 39)

Dilectis filiis Paulo Simoni, Joanni Thadaeo et Vincentio Fratribus Carmelitanis
Paulus Papa Quintus

Dilecti filii salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Renunciavit Nobis dilectus filius Petrus cognomento Matris Dei ex vestra Carmelitanorum familia, quam alacri animo longissimam, difficillimam, atque periculis refertam peregrinationem in Persidem suscepitis, mandato praedecessoris Nostri Clementis Papae Octavi cuius memoria in benedictione est, ut exsequamini Domini praeceptum, quo reversurus ad Patrem iussit Sanctis Apostolis suis, ut euntes per mundum universum praedicarent Evangelium omni creaturae. Et quidem, dilecti filii, provinciam aggressi estis dignam pietate vestra atque institutione sanctioris vitae, quam profitemini, in qua talentum charitatis quod a Domino accepistis cum multo faenore negotiari poteritis. Sane Nobis rem gratiorem facere non potestis, quod nihil Nobis magis cordi sit, quam salus animarum, et amplificatio gloriae Divini nominis. Itaque volumus scribere ad vos, ut intelligeretis, quam grata, quam iucunda sit Nobis vestra haec spiritualis negotiatio, atque ut vos hortaremur ad institutum iter celerius perficiendum et ad hoc sanctum Apostolicum ministerium summa fortitudine, diligentia et charitate adimplendum, ut quam primum

Ecclesia Dei uberes fructus capiat ex tot tantisque vestris laboribus. Et ut facilius atque libentius progrediamini, primum quidem largimur vobis nostram Apostolicam benedictionem; deinde omnia et singula privilegia, facultates, gratias, indulgentias, quae a Summis Pontificibus hactenus concessa sunt aut concedi solent iis, qui ad convertendas infidelium animas ad Jesu Christi Redemptoris nostri fidem mittuntur ab Apostolica Sede; et praecipue fratribus Dominicanis tenore praesentium, auctoritate nostra Apostolica vobis largimur, concedimus et impartimur: ac etiam, ut hanc vestram laudabilem peregrinationem aliqua peculiari gratia prosequamur, ut eo magis conicere possitis Nostram in vos paternam voluntatem. Concedimus vobis, ut unicuique vestrum tibi videlicet, Paulo Simoni Joanni Thadaeo et Vincentio liceat eligere tria millia coronarum sive rosariorum, totidemque cruces, imagines, sive pictura, sive aere metallove signato expressae sint, quibus omnibus easdem indulgentias et benedictiones et gratias damus et concedimus, quas hactenus concessimus coronis, imaginibus, crucibusque, quas benediximus ad preces dilecti filii nobilis viri Marchionis de Vigliena oratoris apud Nos charissimi filii nostri, Regis Catholici. Pergite igitur, in nomine Domini cum exultatione et gaudio spirituali, ut fructum afferatis et fructus vester maneat ad Omnipotentis Dei gloriam et Ecclesiae Sanctae incrementum, atque mercedem laborum accipiatis ab aeterno patrefamilias, qui dives est in misericordia, et laborantibus in vinea Sua retribuit affluenter. Nos interea Nostris precibus cuncta vobis prospera ac secunda precabimur ab unigenito Dei Filio, qui e sinu Patris in terram peregrinatus est, ut genus humanum ab iniquitate peccati redimeret, et haereditatis aeternae particeps faceret.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Marcum sub annulo Piscatoris xiii Kalendas Augusti MDCV (= 20.7.1605) pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

21.7.1605

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 1, p. 51—formerly 40)

Dilectis filiis Fratribus Ordinis Heremitarum Sancti Augustini, apud Regem Persarum commorantibus Paulus Papa Quintus

Dilecti filii salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Mandavimus Paulo Simoni, Ioanni Thadaeo et Vincentio sacerdotibus ex Carmelitanorum familia, qui praedecessoris Nostri iussu Clementis Papae VIII (cuius memoria in benedictione sit) veniebant in Persidem ut institutum iter maturarent, quod intelligimus messem quidem parari multam, sed paucos esse operarios. Itaque venientes ad vos fratres, volumus primum, ut iuxta Domini praeceptum fraterna charitate excipiatis, deinde quibuscumque rebus opus fuerit, consilio, opera, auctoritate et gratia talenti Dominici negotiatoribus istis opitulemini. Hac ratione officio vestro functi eritis, ac simul Nobis rem apprime gratam feceritis, et a Deo Patre misericordiarum mercedem affluenter accipietis. Quod ut facilius adipiscamini, Nostra vobis benedicimus Apostolica benedictione.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Marcum sub annulo Piscatoris duodecimo Kalendas Augusti MDCV (= 21.7.1605) pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

13.10.1608

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 4, p. 79 (No. 170))

Dilectis filiis Joanni et Vincentio fratribus Carmelitanis discalceatis in Perside commorantibus Paulus Papa Quintus

Dilecti filii salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Dedimus dilectis filiis Redempto et Benigno fratribus Ordinis vestri Carmelitani ad vos literas Persarum regi reddendas, quibus respondemus iis, quas ad Nos ab eodem rege detulit dilectus filius Paulus Simon frater vester Carmelitanus. Dabitur igitur operam ut quam primum illas regi reddatis, quem de Nostro in eum singulari amore certiore diligenter facietis. Pergrata Nobis fuerunt quae de conversatione vestra in istis partibus accepimus.

Pergite in nomine Domini atque curate ut, cum hactenus bonus odor Christi fueritis, suavius semper oleatis ut quam plures excitetis ad currendum in odorem unguentorum dilectissimae sponsae Domini nostri Ecclesiae Sanctae cui servitis. Quod ut commodius facere possitis mittimus Vobis per eosdem dilectos filios Redemptum atque Benignum Nostram apostolicam benedictionem, memores quidem vestri in Nostris orationibus.

Datum ut supra (i.e. Romae, apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris iii Idus Octobris MDCVIII pontificatus Nostri anno quarto).

9.12.1608

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 4, p. 80)

Dilectis Filiis Augustinianis in Perside commorantibus

Dilecti filii salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Magnam consolationem accepimus in Domino quod ex vestris literis et ex dilecto filio Paulo Simone, fratre Ordinis Carmelitani discalceatorum, qui ea Nobis reddidit, cognovimus charitatem vere Christianam qua excepistis ipsum Paulum Simonem et eius fratres venientes in Persidem. Cupimus quemadmodum de virtute ac probitate vestra Nobis pollicemur eadem fraternae benevolentiae significatione pergatis ut exemplo conversationis vestrae Persarum animos ad Nostrorum charitatem excitetis. Et ut hoc commodius praestare possitis benedicimus vobis in nomine Domini.

Datum ut supra (i.e. apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris quinto Idus Decembris MDCVIII pontificatus Nostri anno quarto).

22.6.1610

(*vide* MSS. *Hist. Miss.*, Arch. O.C.D. 285-6, part 2, book 1, chap. 24)

Presbyteris, Clero et Populo Ecclesiae Sanctissimae Genetricis Dei Aspahami in Perside
Paulus Papa V

Dilecti Filij, etc. Literas vestras accepimus quas dilectus filius, pius sacerdos, Dei servus Vincentius Sancti Francisci, frater carmelitanus discalceatus ad Nos detulit. Multum quidem in Domino laetati sumus, fidem et charitatem vestram audientes, et quod in spe gratiae filiorum Dei ambulatis, disciplinam profitentes, quam a sanctis apostolis Jesu Christi, Domini nostri, Bartolomeo et Thadaeo et subinde a beatissimo Ecclesiae Sanctae Romanae summo pontifice ac doctore Gregorio Magno, praedecessore Nostro, patres vestri acceperunt. Nos quidem vos ex corde diligimus et in visceribus Nostrae charitatis semper gerimus, vestri memores in orationibus Nostris, Deum assidue precantes ut in vobis augeat dona Suae sanctae gratiae, fidem spem et charitatem vestram confirmet, ut constantes in vestris tribulationibus pro Sanctissimi Ejus Nominis gloria mereamini accipere repromissionem aeternam. Gaudemus praeterea exstitisse vobis gratum adventum dilectorum filiorum nostrorum Fratrum Carmelitarum, quos ad vestram consolationem misimus in Persidem, statim sub Nostri pontificatus initio, sicut in Divina bonitate confisi, speramus quotidie magis utilem fore vobis eorum consuetudinem. Nam servi Dei probati sunt et Ejus gloriam et proximorum salutem cupiunt ac magno zelo, summaque charitate quaerunt; ad quos in omnibus necessitatibus pro animae vestrae salute ut confugiatis vos enixe hortamur.

Magnum praeterea solatium accepimus de ecclesia a vobis nuper istic aedificata in honorem sanctissimae Virginis Mariae Matris Dei et Divinae bonitati gratias agimus quod spirituali hac consolatione vos recreavit, ut Ei alacrius servire possitis. Precamur autem unigenitum Dei Filium, Dominum ac Redemptorem nostrum, Jesum Christum, ut quotidie vos magis consoletur incremento Suae sanctae gratiae. Et cum potentissimus rex Persarum, Scia Abahas, satis propensum in Christianos se ostendat ac vos praecipue humaniter tractaturum se esse Nobis polliceatur, hanc ejus propensionem officii amoris atque benevolentiae quantum cum Domino poterimus confirmare nitimur, ut majori tranquillitate ac quiete piis operibus vacare possitis. Vos etiam ex altera parte curate exemplis Christianae

virtutis, mansuetudinis, charitatis, simplicitatis et integritatis non solum regis benevolentiam verum etiam Persarum omnium animos vobis conciliare, ut nomen Dei glorificetur in vobis et hominum corda Divini amoris ardore succendantur. Quod per Suam ineffabilem misericordiam vobis concedat Is, Qui pro nimia charitate qua servos Suos dilexit, unigenitum Ejus Filium morti tradidit, et benedictionem Nostram apostolicam, quam a Nobis postulatis, cum omni charitatis affectu impartimur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum x Kalend. Julii 1610 pontificatus Nostri anno vi (= 22.6.1610).

28.4.1612 (4 Kalendas Maii)

Pauli PP. V. Brev.. (Arch. Vat., Arm XLV, vol. 7, p. 142 (151), No. 361)

Venerabili Fratri Melchisedech Patriarchae Armeniae

. . . Ideo animo perlibenti te et Armenorum nationem universam Scia Abbahas potentissimo Persarum regi diligentius commendavimus sicut desiderare Nobis significavit dilectus filius Zacharias praedicator. . . .

. . . Peramanter accepimus pulcherrimum munus tuo nomine Nobis oblatum a dilecto filio Zacharia praedicatore, per quem Nos quoque fraternitati tuae mittimus particulam sacratissimi ligni sanctissimae Crucis Domini nostri aurea cruce parvula inclusam, quam haberes a Nobis volumus loco coronae capiti Nostro tuis literis tributae. Ex eodem etiam accipies quasdam sacerdotales vestes ad Divina mysteria aliaque officia sacra peragenda dono tibi a Nobis datas de Sancti Petri benedictionibus ut amor tuus erga beatissimum Apostolorum Principem magis semper augeatur. . . .

. . . Horum autem errorum, cum fuerint omnes mandato Nostro eidem Zachariae praedicatori tuo expositi, duos tantum reperiri in ecclesia vestra est ingenue fassus; coeteros omnino pernegavit. Primus est quod aquam in sanctum calicem cum vino non infunditis, praeter omnium ecclesiarum occidentalium et orientalium ritum atque consuetudinem. Sancti Patres indubitanter tenuerunt, modicum aquae admiscendum esse vino in oblatione tremendi sacrificii, quia Dominus vinum aquae mixtum discipulis Suis distribuendum consecraverit, ut affirmant Sanctus Jacobus Apostolus in liturgia Justinus Martyr Irenaeus Cyprianus atque Basilius, et quia hoc maxime convenit Dominicae passionis repraesentationi. Inquit enim Beatus Alexander quintus a Beato Petro 'In sacramentorum oblationibus quae intra missarum solemnias Domino offeruntur, panis tantum et vinum aqua permixtum in sacrificium offerantur. Non enim debet in calicem Domini aut vinum solum aut aqua sola offerri sed utrunque permixtum, quia utrunque, id est sanguis et aqua ex latere Christi profluxisse legitur: tum etiam quia convenit ad significandum huius sacramenti effectum, qui est unio populi Christiani ad Christum. Aqua enim populum significat, secundum illud Apocalypsis—"Aquae multae populi multi." Et Julius Secundus Papa post Beatum Silvestrum ait: "Calix Dominicus iuxta canonum praeceptum vino et aqua permixtus debet offerri, quia videmus in aqua populum intelligi, in vino vero ostendi sanguinem Christi. Ergo cum in calicem vinum et aqua miscetur, Christo populus adunatur et fidelium plebs Ei in quem credit copulatur et iungitur." Itaque, venerabilis frater, errorem hunc corrigas necesse est: nam a Nobis admonitus, nisi cum universali ecclesia te conformares aquam vino admiscens in consecratione, graviter peccares. Nullo igitur modo permittes ut in Armenorum ecclesia vinum sine aqua amplius in sacro mysterio offeratur.

Secundus error, isque gravior erat, quod sacro Trisagij hymno adiungitis QUI CRUCIFIXUS ES, ob quem additionem Petrus Cnappdaeus episcopus Antiochenus universaliter Romae atque Constantinopoli synodice damnatus fuit, quia omnium haeticorum impietates atque gentilium de deorum multiplicitate errores in eo contineantur ut diserte Foelix Papa et Acacius Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus synodalibus eorum epistolis ad ipsum Petrum scriptis declaraverunt, Huius hymni origo, ut ex eisdem epistolis et ex aliis scriptoribus ecclesiasticis habetur, haec fuit. Quatiebatur regia civitas continuis terrae motibus ita ut Theodosius Imperator et Proclus Patriarcha cum populo universo quia ab aedificiorum ruina timendum esset extra Urbem morarentur assiduis ad Deum precibus intenti. Quodam autem die cum vehementius terra concuti inciperet, et propterea litanias magna cum lachrymarum effusione clerus atque populus celebraret, repente puerulus omnibus spectantibus Divina quadam vi ad coelum usque raptus est, qui deinde in terram reversus Patriarchae et Imperatori omni multitudinem Divinam misericordiam assidue imploranti renunciavit se Angelos canentes in hunc modum audivisse "Sanctus Deus Sanctus fortis Sanctus immortalis, miserere nobis." Quae verba

statim ac populus Patriarcha iubente concinuit, terrae motus cessavit. Ut igitur nulla in hoc sacro hymno fit mentio humanae naturae assumptae a Divino Verbo, sic totus pariter in laudem divinitatis Trium Personarum ab ecclesia concinitur: nec in eo mentio crucis fieri potest quin passibilitas Divinitatis inferatur: etiamsi, ut non minus callide quam impie ad latenter Eutychis damnatam haeresim renovandam excogitavit Petrus Antiochenus, unus tantum de Sanctissima Trinitate diceretur crucifixus. Immo vero Sancti Patres ex hoc tanto magis Petri errorem redarguerant quod sic aut Divinam naturam cruci subijceret, aut consubstantialem solveret. . . . Haec omnia ex detestabili additione Trisagio facta ab impio Petro Antiocheno deduxerunt Sancti Patres . . . et additionem illam "qui crucifixus es" a Trisagio omnino removendam statuerunt. . . .

23.2.1623

Gregorii PP. XV. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 21, p. 8)

Venerabili Fratri Melchisedech Patriarchae Armeniae

. . . Cum enim Nobis obedientiam etiam tam pia obsequentis animi demissione deferas et Pontificem aeternum atque Apostolorum Principem in Romana Sede una cum populis tuis adores, non levia Nobis praebes argumenta laetitiae. . . . Quare Nos quibus curandum est ut haereditates etiam dissipatas Christo Domino vindicemus Catholicos Armenos pontificiae charitatis brachiis amantissime complectimur atque apostolicae benedictionis thesauros super ecclesias istas liberaliter effundimus. Porro autem hortamur atque monemus vos si qui in mentes vestras schismaticorum haereticorum contagione errores irrepserint, eos quam primum ex Romanae Sedis praescripto corrigatis. . . .

3 11.1612

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 8, p. 61)

Dilectis filiis . . . Praeposito et Fratribus Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum Aspani
commorantibus Paulus Papa V

Dilecti filii salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Gavisus plurimum in Domino sumus quod ut accepimus labores vestri in vinea Domini, sicuti sperabamus, valde proficiunt.

Ex literis siquidem Hermetis Sacerdotis Praepositi atque Custodis Assyriorum Jacobitarum Aspahani, quas dilectus filius Georgius Criger [?] Grigor] Nobis reddidit, cognovimus cum ipsum, tum populum commissum eius curae rediisse vestra opera ad gremium Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae Catholicae et Apostolicae, damnatis primum ac anathematizatis Dioscoro et Severo aliisque perversis haeresiarchis Deo Omnipotenti gratias agimus, qui piis vestris conatibus coelesti gratia benignus aspiravit, et diligentiam atque studium vestrum in repurgatione atque cultura illarum animarum summo opere laudamus, et ut pergatis vos etiam atque etiam hortamur.

Quia vero idem dilectus filius Georgius Nobis significavit ipsos dilectos filios Assyrios Jacobitas ad Catholicam ecclesiam per vos conversos multis ac gravibus divexationibus a ministris regiis oppressos esse, potissimum in tributorum exactione, Nos ut cognoscere poteritis ex literarum Nostrarum exemplo illos Persarum Regi diligentissime commendamus. Verum Nostras ei literas reddi tantum a vobis volumus, ac si opportunum existimaveritis; *quod si hoc iudicaveritis opportunum*,¹ tunc illas subsequemini efficacissima commendatione; nam vehementer desideramus, ut dilecti filii Assyrii experiantur in utroque homine utilitatem suae conversionis.

Augeat Dominus in vobis gratiam et virtutem, ut melius semper Eius bonitati inservire possitis, et Nos benedictionem Nostram apostolicam vobis permanenter impartimur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris tertio Nonas Novembris 1612 pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

(N.B.—In his *Hist. Miss.* pt. II, book 3, p. 5. Fr. Eusebius ab Omn. Sanctis has here "si autem reddendas iudicaveritis. . . .")

29.11.1612

Summarium

(ex Bullario Ord. Carm., vol. III, pp. 428-9)

Nostros missionarios in Persia commorantes ab Episcopi Cyrenensis jurisdictione declarat exemptos
Paulus Papa V

Ad futuram rei memoriam. Alias Nos venerabilem fratrem Antonium Episcopum tunc electum Cyrenensem, de cuius persona Nobis, et fratribus Nostris ob suorum exigentiam meritorum accepta Ecclesiae Cyrenensi in partibus infidelium consistenti, et certo tunc expresso modo vacanti provideramus, ex tunc, prout postquam munus consecrationis suscepisset in regno Persarum, illiusque provinciis, ac terris, et locis temporali dominio regis Persarum subiectis Nostrum, et Sedis apostolicae Visitatorem apostolica auctoritate ad Nostrum et Sedis praedictae beneplacitum fecimus, constituimus, et deputavimus, illisque inter caeteras a Nobis tunc sibi concessas facultates, ut quoscumque tam saeculares, quam regulares in dicto regno eiusque provinciis existentes fideles, eorumque loca, et domos, etiam quocumque privilegio, immunitate, et exemptione suffultos, et suffulta, ac Nobis et apostolicae Sedi immediate subiecta (Fratribus Carmelitanis Discalceatis dumtaxat exceptis) quoties expediens esse iudicasset, auctoritate Nostra apostolica visitare, ac tam in capite, quam in membris reformare, aliaque tunc expressa facere, gerere, ordinare, et exequi posset concessimus et indulgimus; et alias prout in aliis Nostris litteris plenius continetur.

Licet autem in dictis litteris Fratres Carmelitanos Discalceatos inibi degentes ab omni jurisdictione et superioritate dicti Episcopi, specialiter exemptos esse voluerimus et declaraverimus, tamen, ne de voluntate et declaratione Nostris huiusmodi a quoquam ambigi possit, sed illae firmiter subsistant, et ab omnibus, ad quos spectat, exactius observetur, omnes et singulos fratres Carmelitanos Discalceatos in regno Persarum, et illius provinciis, ac terris et locis temporali dominio regis Persarum subiectis nunc, et in futurum pro tempore existentes, eorum ecclesias, et domos, et bona, ac personas universas ab omni et quacumque jurisdictione, et superioritate dicti Antonii Episcopi penitus et omnino, apostolica auctoritate, tenore praesentium eximimus et liberamus, ac exemptos, et liberatos semper fuisse et esse volumus et declaramus; sicque per quoscumque iudices ordinarios et delegatos etiam causarum Palatii Auditores judicari, et definiri debere, ac irritum et inane quicquid secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attemptari, decernimus.

Non obstantibus praemissis, et constitutionibus, et ordinationibus apostolicis, caeterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die 29 Novembris 1612, Pontificatus Nostri anno viii.

1.12.1612

Paulus PP. V. Brev.: (Arm. XLV, vol. 8)

Dilectis filiis Redempto a Cruce

Leandro ab Annuntiatione

Benigno a Sancto Michaeli

Bartholomaeo a Sancto Francisco et

Ludovico Francisco a Matre Dei

Ordinem Fratrum Carmelitarum Discalceatorum professis, in partibus regni Persarum constitutis
Paulus Papa V

Dilecti filii salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ut regni Persarum Christifideles salubrius et foelicius in Catholica religione dirigantur, et conserventur expedire dignoscimur, ut Nos et apostolica sedes erga illos reddamur ad gratiam liberales, et eorum infantia lacte nutriatur, ut Divina gratia ad cibos reddantur idonei solidiores. Quamobrem vobis et vestrum cuilibet, qui sicut accepimus, Christianae religioni in iis partibus propagandae sedulo operam datis, ut cum praedictis regni Persarum populis tam ad fidem iam conversis, quam de coetere convertendis super quibuscumque, praeterquam in primo, in linea transversali, et quocumque inter ascendentes et descendentes, consanguinitatis vel

affinitatis gradibus, quibus inter se coniuncti, aut attinentes fuerint, ita ut impedimentis huiusmodi non obstantibus, matrimonium inter se publice, servata forma Concilii Tridentini contrahere et in facie Ecclesiae solemnizare et in eo postmodum remanere, ita tamen, ut cum prima, quam duxerint, uxore remanere teneantur, libere et licite possitis et valeatis dispensare. Insuper ut pro ecclesiarum praedicti regni tantum necessitate et commoditate altaria et calices ex oleo ab episcopo Catholico benedicto, et dum ab episcopo Catholico duas dietas distantes fueritis benedicere et consecrare necnon, ubi necessitas ita exegerit, chrismate veteri uti libere similiter et licite possitis et valeatis apostolica auctoritate tenore praesentium facultatem concedimus et impartimur. Non obstantibus apostolicis ac in universalibus, provincialibusque et synodalibus conciliis aeditis generalibus vel specialibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus, caeterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Volumus autem ut si vos occasione dispensationum per vos rigore praesentium concedendarum aliquid a personis praedictis petieritis, seu sponte oblatum receperitis, excommunicationis maioris latae sententiae poenam a qua non nisi a Nobis aut Romano Pontifice pro tempore existente et in mortis articulo absolvi nequeatis, eo ipso incurritis.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die primo Decembris 1612 pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

29.5.1618

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 15, p. 322 (331))

Venerabili fratri Matthaeo Erasmo Archiepiscopo Naxivani Paulus Papa Quintus

Venerabilis frater salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Reddidit Nobis dilectus filius Augustinus Ordinis Sancti Dominici professor literas fraternitatis tuae multaque exposuit, quae Nos varie affecerunt. Laetati sumus intelligentes fraternitatis tuae pietatem et valetudinem et in agro isto Domini tribulis et spinis referto excolendo vigilantiam, multo etiam cum gaudio spirituali accepimus zelum et sollicitudinem dilecti filii Pauli Mariae Cittadini Vicarii Generalis in istis partibus fratrum Sancti Dominici, et quantum sua doctrina et vitae sanctitate proficiat: quem non dubitamus fraternitati tuae propterea carum esse, eiusque in ista ecclesia regenda consilio et opera uti, quod ut facere non omittas hortamur fraternitatem tuam ut fruaris bono consilii eius in expediendis negociis cum scriptum sit ne innitaris prudentiae tuae. Doluimus vero fraternitatis tuae et istius ecclesiae universae afflictiones et angustias et quod ob locorum tantum intervallum et alia impedimenta vobis Nostram paternam charitatem impendere re ipsa non possumus. Quod vero opera non possumus orationibus praestabimus et aliis officiis, quae in Domino exhibere conceditur. Hortamur etiam fraternitatem tuam ad sustinendum pro Christo labores istos, et calamitates, modicum enim (in saeculo doloris) et aeternae gloriae mercedem in coelis accipiet, cui non sunt condignae passionis huius saeculi. Interim vigilare non omittas ut facis supra gregem tibi commissum, Nostramque apostolicam benedictionem tibi et universo gregi tuo impartimur. Coetera ab Augustino accipies.

Datum Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die vigesima nona Maii millesimo sexcentesimo decimo octavo pontificatus Nostri anno tertio decimo.

(Also letters, pp. 321 (330) and 322 (331), to "Paulo Mariae Cittadino Vicario Generali fratrum Sancti Dominici in Armenia Maiori commorantium" ("mittimus tibi aliquid eleemosynae Goae vel Ormutii eidem Augustino Nostro nomine solvendum . . ."), and to the Archbishop of Goa on behalf of these missions.)

16.7.1620

(Arch. Secr. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 14, p. 250—formerly 141)

Paulus Papa V

Dilectis filiis fratribus Carmelitis discalceatis Haspahami in Perside, Sindi, et Ormutii commorantibus

Dilecti filii salutem, etc. Amor fraternitatis, quo omnes vestri ordinis religiosi, arcto inter se nexu iunguntur in uno corpore, facit, ut fratres vestri, qui in hac Nostra Urbe degunt, licet longissimo

terrarum intervallo disiuncti, aliquem interdum ex suis istuc mittant, qui vos benevole invisat, prae-sensque statum vestrum cognoscat, atque de vestro profecto omnium nomine vobis gratuletur. Cum vero hoc tempore id praestet dilectus filius frater Vincentius a Sancto Francisco Prior Seminarii Sancti Pauli Missionis Romanae, vir Christiana prudentia et zelo Dei praeditus, iisque de causis Nobis valde gratus, postulat Noster paternus, quo vos in visceribus Christi complectimur affectus, ut hac oblata occasione vos amanter per litteras salutamus, Nostramque apostolicam benedictionem tribuamus; ut autem simul Nostrae universalis ecclesiae sollicitudini satisficiamus, vos in Domino hortari et efficaciter requirere volumus, quamquam vestra sponte id vos sedulo facere persuasum habemus, ut magno animi ardore coeptum opus conversionis infidelium, propagationis atque conservationis fidei catholicae prosequamini; praecipue vero haereticis ad ecclesiam reducendis, maxime Anglis mercatoribus, qui Haspahami negotiantur, omni contentione studeatis: qui vero sunt inter vos catholici occulti, doctrina atque frequenti Sacramentorum administratione confirmetis. Sic enim traditum vobis talentum a coelesti Patrefamilias probe negotiabimini; et magna ista Domini seges, a vobis, licet paucis operariis diligenter exculta uberem procul dubio fructum ipsi Domino reddet; vobisque copiosam atque aeternam in coelis mercedem promerebit.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem, etc., 16 Julii 1620, etc., anno xvi.

9.3.1624

Urbani PP. VIII. Brev. (*Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 38, p. 28—formerly 357)

Dilectis filiis religiosis viris Carmelitanis Discalceatis in Perside commorantibus
Urbanus Papa VIII

Dilecti filii salutem, etc. Cum ubique militia sit vita hominis super terram, magni videtur fecisse virtutem vestram Imperator aeternus, quam in castris habere maluit, quam in deliciis. In iis regionibus stipendia facitis Christo, ubi Mohometicae superstitionis vexilla dominantur, neque vobis ad ullius voluntatem aditus patet, quem pietatis vi et caeli auxilio expugnare prius non debeatis. O vos felices quos ad illuminandum habitantem in umbra mortis Orientem in remotissimas provincias ipse Sol Iustitiae allegavit, ut in conspectu potentium admirabiles nomen Domini portetis coram gentibus. At enim Apostolorum vestigiis insistentes, arma lucis inter filios tenebrarum deponere nunquam debetis. Ea vero esse compertum est, pietatis artes, quibus potest ministerium Domini in vobis honorari et orationis exercitamenta, qua facile arcessuntur auxilia caelestis exercitus. Id autem cum vos diligenter curare accipiamus, vix dici potest, quantum pontificiae sollicitudini solatium sitis, per quos efficitur, ut extero regi Christiana Respublica beneficium debeat. Propagatores Christiani Imperii et caelestis Regni defensores nuncupabimini, si gratia Dei in vobis vacua non fuerit. Tantum autem vobis decus exoptantes, pontificium vobis patrociniū pollicemur, et apostolicam benedictionem impartimur. Ite dilecti filii et magnorum exercituum animos gerite, sub vexillum Crucis Christi subiugate populos non credentes, ambulate super aspides et basiliscos, nihil aequè optandum in hac vita existimantes, quam pretiosae illius mortis triumphum, quae martyres proprio sanguine purpuratos Conciliis inserit dominantium in beatitudine sempiterna. Quod ut alacrius facere possitis, privilegia omnia et indulgentias quae pontificia charitas hactenus concessit iis, qui ad infideles convertendos ab Apostolica Sede mittuntur, vobis auctoritate Nostra largimur et confirmamus. Hortamur autem ut in tam ardua peregrinatione, Patronos vobis adoptetis sanctissimos Apostolos Simonem, Judam et Thomam, ut vos igneis illis linguis fulminare doceant, quae e caelo delapsae tela Spiritus Sancti fuerunt, et gladii ancipites ad orbem terrarum edomandum et tyrannorum spiritus infringendos. Ut autem vobis Pontificiam charitatem non hortationis modo sed etiam beneficia declarent, thesauros Ecclesiae pia liberalitate recludimus. Proin plenariam indulgentiam omnibus et singulis concedimus qui ecclesias in istis regionibus extructas aut extruendas rite adierint iis diebus, quibus trium illorum Apostolorum natalem diem Romana Ecclesia solemniter colit. Complectimur vox Apostolicae charitatis brachiis, dilecti filii, et misericordiarum Patrem oramus, ut pietatis vestrae felicitate nationes barbaricas sospitem et Christianam Rempublicam consoletur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, die ix Martii MDCXXIII (— 9.3.1624) Pontificatus Nostri primo.

27.4.1624

Urbani PP. VIII. Brev. : (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 38, p. 104 (439), No. 501)

Dilectis filiis Carmelitis Discalceatis in Arabiam proficiscentibus Urbanus PP. VIII

Dilecti filii salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Barbaricae superstitionis parens Arabia terribili periculorum facie Christianos sacerdotes hac etiam tempestate deterret. Vos tamen genus electum et gladio salutis armatum qui alios fugare posset ipse terror invitat, ut fides vestra coelestes oculos oblectet inventa pretiosior auro, quod aestuantis fornacis ignis exploravit. Nos igitur qui vobis Angelorum Custodientium comitatum accuratissimis precibus conciliare conamur Apostolicarum etiam literarum alloquio consolari decrevimus. Ite igitur, milites Christi, portantes nomen Domini coram gentibus, tonate eloquio, pugnatè charitate, ut in vestris moribus et sermonibus Divinitatis praesentiam barbarus etiam hostis agnoscat. Qui duodecim viros selegit ad debellandum orbem terrarum non philosophorum sapientia instructos, non legionum robore munitos sed ob paupertatem contemptibiles et crucis ignominia gloriantes potens est per vos Arabicas nationes sub Apostolica auctoritatis imperium redigere. Omnipotens dextera e quibus periculis eximere possit haereditatem Suam, ipsi Arabicum litus abluentes Erytraei fluctus testantur. Si ergo consistant adversus vos impietatis ferocientis castra, ne obliviscamini turrem fortitudinis esse nomen Domini, et posse in istis regionibus Pharaonis naufragia et Aegyptiorum cladem renovari. Quid autem, si ipsius vitae discrimine fidei constantiam testari opus fuerit? Nulla certe illustrior purpura quam sanguis pro religione fusus. Vulnera corporis cruciati fiunt sydera regni coelestis et gemmae triumphatoris aeterni. Ite, igitur, Apostolica benedictione muniti, ostendite populis in umbra mortis habitantibus solem veritatis orientem ex alto. Docete orbem terrarum non minorem incense vim in Christianis sacerdotibus ad Evangelium propagandum, quam in Saracenis sophistis ad defendenda Alcorani desipientis portenta. Id autem vos facilius consecuturos arbitramur si in tam periculosa peregrinatione patronos vobis adoptabitis sanctissimos Apostolos Thomam, Simonem et Judam, quorum fides inter orientales nationes triumphavit. Privilegia autem et beneficia, quae vobis longum istud iter suscipientibus pontificia charitas concedit, ex Nostro diplomate et praesulum vestrorum literis cognoscere poteritis.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xxvii Aprilis MDCXXIII pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

9.1.1633

Urbani PP. VIII. Brev. : (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 47, p. 67 (53), No. 74)

Venerabilibus fratribus (*hole in manuscript*) . . . Patriarchae Armenorum (*hole in manuscript*)¹
 . . . Ciulphae et dilecto filio Versabiet Aristachio Urbanus PP. VIII

Venerabiles fratres et dilecti filii salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Qua charitate universam Armenorum nationem Romani Pontifices decessores Nostri olim sint amplexi, quantoque studio aeternae ipsius saluti operam dederint, non modo ea testantur quae de Sanctorum Silvestri Papae et Gregorii Armeniae archiepiscopi mutuo amore et consiliorum communicatione fraternitati vestrae exposuerunt, sed etiam plurimorum ab elapsis retro seculis petita exempla, quae ii commemorabunt, qui has vobis litteras reddent, satis aperte docent: nihil tamen id magis palam facit quam Armenorum cum Romana Ecclesia diversis temporibus saepius antehac repetitae instaurataeque conciliationes atque illa in primis, quae ingenti omnium nationum approbatione Eugenio IV Pontifice in Florentino Concilio constituta et confirmata est. Eius apud Nos tria extant monumenta, de quorum fide dubitatio suboriri nulla potest. Ipsi nimirum Eugenii bulla, in qua et concordiae enumerantur capita et omnia quae ad illam pertinent [*two words disappear in a hole in the manuscript*] auctoritate decernuntur cuius [*words lost in a hole*] accurate descriptum iisdem, qui has ferunt litteras ad vos, dedimus. Praeterea Ecclesiae sacramentorum pro Armenis episcopis ac sacerdotibus explicatio eodem tempore confecta quo illi in re tanti momenti a Catholicae Ecclesiae consuetudine [*word disappeared in a hole, ? et usu*] ipsiusque Generalis Concilii decretis non discrepant. Cuius etiam exemplum vobis mittimus, huius denique concordiae historia aëneis signis Romae in foribus basilicae Principis Apostolorum est ab eodem Pontifice expressa, ubi Armeni praesules, qui ea de causa ad Concilium convenerunt

¹ Moses III, for whom the Brief was perhaps meant, had died in 1632: Philip became Patriarch in 1633.

eodem oris habitu, iisdem vestibus, quibus uti consueverant, hodieque spectantur. Hanc ipsam cum vestra natione concordiam, ut in Florentina Synodo stabilita est, cum caeteri subsequentes Romani Pontifices tum Clemens VIII et Paulus V integram atque inviolatam servari voluerunt ex quibus duo postremo Carmelitis patribus ad vos missis, sedis Apostolicae in pietate vestra fovenda, charitatem palam testatam fecerunt. Eorum Nos exemplum sequuti Dominicum, Matthaeum, Eugenium atque Epiphanium eiusdem Ordinis patres vobis allegavimus, qui apud te confirmarent Nos neque erga nationem Armenam benevolentia neque iuvandi studio ulli ex decessoribus Nostris concedere. Quoniam vero summopere cupimus eam conciliationem atque concordiam a vobis confirmari, atque si quid longinqui temporis spatio detrimenti ac mutationis passa est, pristinae integritati restitui de venerabilium fratrum Nostrorum Cardinalium sententia patrem Joannem Thadaeum, quem iure optimo summopere diligitis, episcopali regiae civitatis Aspaham dignitate decoratum, ad vos iterum mittimus, eique Patrem Timotheum ut affectae illius aetati subsidio sit, adiutorem adiungimus quem etiam eam ob causam civitatis Bagdat Episcopum creavimus. Hi nostro nomine de concordia inter Romanam Ecclesiam ac vestram nationem in Florentino Concilio olim inita vos uberius docebunt, illiusque exemplum diligentius considerandum offerent, ut omnibus rite perspectis, atque accurate expensis, eidem assensum praebeatis. Quod ut in caeteris fieri par est, ita in iis, quae ad Christianae fidei dogmata pertinent, ac praesertim ubi de duabus in Christo naturis agitur, salva Catholica veritate ab ea dissentire nemini licet. Si enim Sacrae Scripturae testimonia, si Patrum consensus, si Conciliorum decreta, si denique veram ecclesiae fidem sequi volumus duas in Christo naturas omnino impermistas, non tamen a se invicem separabiles fateri necesse est; id quod ex bullae exemplo in quo singula, quae hac de re a Nobis creduntur, atque ab omnibus credenda sunt, enucleate explicantur facile percipietis.

Quae vero ad dies festos ac ieiunia spectant ea diligenter persequitur liber vestro idiomate conscriptus, ac Romae Gregorii XIII iussu in lucem editus, quem vobis iidem episcopi exhibebunt. Ex eo et Pascha semper a Nobis iuxta Niceni Concilii praescriptum et ab iis qui veteri kalendario utuntur alieno tempore saepe celebrari cognoscetis.

Quod autem quidam Armeni coenobitae et mercatores, qui Romam venerunt, se male acceptos fuisse conquesti sunt, id pro eo ac decuit graviter admodum ac moleste tulimus, quippe qui exteros omnes humaniter tractari semper accurate praecepimus. Miramur autem qui id contingere potuerit cum Armeni in domibus quas una cum ecclesia sibi peculiariter destinatas habent Nostro iussu comiter ac benevole excipi soleant: id quod Joannes Constantinopolitanus olim archiepiscopus, cui a Nobis omnia ad initium necessaria suppeditantur diserte testari poterit. Quod si eorum, qui Armenis iniuriam intulerunt, notitia ad Nos pervenerit efficiemus ut sentiant illos impune laesos non fuisse; atque ut nullus in posterum haec audeat diligenter cavebimus. Quae pro vestrae nationis utilitate decrevimus iidem Episcopi verbis et scripto vos docebunt. Eos maiorem in modum vestrae fidei ac tutelae commendamus, petimusque ut omnia in eos conferatis, quae ipsorum muneri usui futura cognoscetis, quaeque ad eorundem defensionem ac dignitatem fateri existimabitis. Iis porro, quae vobis Nostro nomine exponent, non secus ac Nobis ipsis fidem adhiberi volumus. Fraternalitibus vestris Apostolicam benedictionem impertimur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die ix Januarii 1633 anno pontificatus Nostri decimo.

(On p. 69 (No. 75) and p. 70 (No. 76) Briefs of 9.1.1633 to)

Proregi Babiloniae

(petit ab eo Joanni Thadeo et Timotheo publicae fidei litteras det, quibus commode et tuto iter conficere possint),

and (No. 76)

Proregi Babiloniae

(petit ut publicae fidei litteras det Timotheo Episcopo Bagdat quibus tuto ex ea civitate Aspaham cum opus fuerit commeari possit).

6.9.1632

Urbani PP. VIII: (Arch. Vat., Secr. Brev., vol. 966, p. 707)

Urbanus, etc. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Pro excellenti praeceminentia Sedis apostolicae, in qua post Beatum Petrum Apostolorum Principem, quamquam imparibus meritis, pari tamen

auctoritate constituti sumus, dignum quin potius debitum arbitramur in irriguo militantis Ecclesiae agro novas episcopales Sedes, Ecclesiasque plantare, ut per huiusmodi novas plantationes populorum devotio augeatur, divinus cultus efflorescat, subsequatur animarum salus, et loca etiam sublimia dignioribus titulis illustrentur, et ut id felicius et facilius eveniat, tales ecclesiis sic noviter plantatis in Pastores praeficere, qui populum suae curae creditum sciant non solum doctrina verbi, sed exemplo boni operis informare: commissasque sibi ecclesias in statu pacifico et tranquillo velint et valeant auctore Domino salubriter regere, et foeliciter gubernare. Sane postquam Nos, ad quorum notitiam fide dignarum relatione personarum antea de venerat in Regio oppido, seu in Regia Urbe Aspahamensi in provincia Persici, nunc Arach, antiquitus vero Parthia nuncupata sito seu sita, Ecclesiam sub invocatione seu in honorem Sanctorum Joannis Baptistae et Gregorii Armenorum Archiepiscopi propediem aedificandam et ritu latino consecrandam esse, iustis et rationabilibus causis adducti, in Congregatione de Propaganda Fide coram Nobis, die 26 Junii proxime praeteriti habita, oppidum seu urbem Aspahamen huiusmodi civitatis nomine, titulo et honore decorari; Ecclesiamque huiusmodi in Cathedrali erigi, illique sic erectae de persona infrascripti Joannis Thadei provideri posse decreveramus, animo revolventes ex huiusmodi Nostri decreti effectuatione quam plurimas animas in illis partibus diabolica coecitate deceptas ad verae fidei luminis cognitionem revocandas, ac divinum cultum, et ministrorum ecclesiasticorum numerum augendum, Sedisque apostolicae auctoritatem dilatandam et promovendam procul dubio fore de huiusmodi decreti ad debitum finem perductione Nobis satagendum esse censuimus; habita igitur super hoc Ven. fratribus Nostis S.R.E. Cardinalibus deliberatione matura, ac oppidi seu urbis Aspahamensis huiusmodi, et locorum illi subiectorum situationes, latitudines, longitudines, nuncupationes, vocabula, denominationes, aliaque requisita necessaria praesentibus pro expressis habentes, oppidum seu urbem Aspahamen, huiusmodi, si tamen vel postquam in eo seu ea Ecclesiam praedictam aedificatam et consecratam, ut praefertur, in eaque debitum ministrorum ecclesiasticorum numerus institutus fuerit ex nunc prout ex tunc, et e contra, ad Omnipotentis Dei laudem, et gloriosissimae Eius genitricis Virginis Mariae, et totius triumphantis ecclesiae gloriam, et eorundem Sanctorum Joannis Baptistae et Gregorii honorem, orthodoxaeque fidei propagationem et exaltationem, nomine, titulo, et honore civitatis, quatenus opus sit, iuxta decretum huiusmodi, apostolica auctoritate, tenore praesentium, dictorumque fratrum consilio, perpetuo decoramus: illudque seu illam in civitate Aspahamensi nuncupanda, ecclesiamque praedictam ex nunc prout ex tunc, postquam aedificata et consecrata, et in ea debitum ministrorum ecclesiasticorum numerus institutus respective fuerit, ut praefertur, in cathedrali Aspahamensi nuncupanda, pro uno episcopo Aspahamensi etiam nuncupando, qui eidem Ecclesiae Aspahamensi praesideat, ac iurisdictionem episcopalem, omniaque et singula alia, quae ordinis et iurisdictionis ac cuiuscumque alterius muneris Episcopalis sunt, habeat et exerceat, consilio et auctoritate similibus, etiam perpetuo erigimus et instituimus, illique sic erectae et institutae a primaeva illius erectione et institutione huiusmodi vacaturae, de persona dilecti filii Joannis Thadei a Sancto Eliseo electi Aspahamensis, ordinem fratrum Carmelitarum discalceatarum nuncupatorum expresse professi, ex legitimo matrimonio, et Catholicis, honestisque parentibus in civitate Calaguritana nati, et in 60 circiter suae aetatis anno, et iamdiu in presbyteratus ordine constituti, sacrisque doctrinis sufficienter imbuti, et fidem catholicam iuxta articulos pridem ab eadem Sede propositos expresse professi, et apud Nos de religionis zelo, vitae munditia, honestate morum, spiritualium providentia, et temporalium circumspectione, aliisque multiplicum virtutum donis multipliciter commendatis Nobis et eisdem fratribus ob suorum exigentiam meritorum accepti, ipsum a quibusvis excommunicationis, *etc.*, eisdem consilio et auctoritate etiam ex nunc prout ex tunc et e contra providimus, ipsumque Joannem Thadeum illic in Episcopum praeficimus et pastorem, curam, regimen, et administrationem ipsius Ecclesiae illi in spiritualibus et, temporalibus plenarie committendo, Non obstantibus praemissis, ac quatenus opus sit, in Lateranensi, aliisque etiam in Synodalibus, provincialibus, et generalibus Conciliis aeditis et aedendis, specialibus vel generalibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, necnon dicti Ordinis etiam iuramento, confirmatione apostolica, vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, statutis, et consuetudinibus, privilegiis quosque indultis et litteris apostolicis quibusvis locis et personis, sub quibuscumque tenoribus et formis, et cum quibusvis etiam derogatoriis derogatoriis, aliisque efficacioribus, efficacissimis et insolitis clausulis irritantibus, et aliis decretis in genere vel specie, ac alias in contrarium quomodolibet etiam pluries et iteratis vicibus concessis, confirmatis et innovatis. Quibus omnibus etiamsi aliter per illos sufficienti derogatione de illis, eorumque tenoribus speciali, specifica, expressa, et individua ac de verbo ad verbum; non autem per clausulas generales idem importantes, mentio, seu quaevis alia exquiritur forma ad hoc servanda foret, eorum tenores ac si de verbo ad verbum exprimerentur et insererentur, eisdem praesentibus etiam pro plene et sufficienter expressis habentes, illis alias in suo robore permansuris, hac vice duntaxat harum serie specialiter et expresse motu proprio derogamus;

caeterisque contrariis quibuscumque; firma spe, fiduciaque conceptis, quod dirigente Domino Episcopi Joannis Thadei electi actus, praedicta ecclesia sub suo foelici regimini regetur utiliter et prospere dirigetur, ac grata in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus suscipiet incrementa. Quocirca eidem Joanni Thadeo electo, per apostolica scripta mandamus quibus [*sic*] jugum Domini suis impositum humeris prompta devotione suscipiens, curam et administrationem praedictas sic exercere studeat sollicitè, fideliter, et prudenter, quod Ecclesia ipsa Gubernatori provido et fructuoso administratori gaudeat se commissam, ipseque Joannes Thadeus electus, praeter aeternae retributionis premium, nostram et dictae Sedis benedictionem et gratiam exinde uberius consequi mereatur. ac dilectis filiis capitulo et Vassallis dictae Ecclesiae, ac clero et populo civitatis et dioecesis Aspahamensis per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus Capitulum eidem Joanni Thadeo electo tamquam patri et animarum suarum pastori humiliter intendentes, exhibeant ipsi obedientiam et reverentiam debitas et devotas; ac Clerus te pro nostra et dictae Sedis reverentia benigne recipientes, et honorifice pertractantes, tua salubria monita et mandata suscipiant humiliter, et efficaciter adimplere procurent. Populus vero te, tamquam Patrem et Pastorem animarum suarum devote suscipientes, et debita honorificentia pertractantes, tuis monitis et mandatis salubribus humiliter intendant; ita quod ipse Joannes Thadeus electus in eos devotionis filios, et ipsi in illum per consequens Patrem benivolum invenisse gaudeant; Vassalli autem praedicti eundem electum debito honore prosequentes, tibi fidelitatem solitam et consueta servitia et iura sibi ab eis debita integre exhibere studeant, alioquin sententiam sive poenam, quam rite tulerit seu statuerit in rebelles, ratam habebimus, et faciemus auctore Domino, usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter observare. Nos enim cum eodem Joanne Thadeo electo, licet graduatus non sit, quia tamen ad alios docendum aptus est, ut eidem Ecclesia, illa aedificata et consecrata, ac debito ministrorum ecclesiasticorum numero instituta, muntaque, ut praefertur, in Episcopum praefici, illique praeesse libere et licite valeat, defectu gradus, quem suae Religionis instituto id prohibente assequi non potuit, ac voto eiusdem ordinis de non petendo dignitatem ecclesiasticam per eum emisso; necnon constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, ac ut praefertur roboratis statutis et consuetudinibus, caeterisque contrariis nequaquam obstantibus, apostolica auctoritate praedicta, eodem tenore praesentium de specialis dono gratiae dispensamus. Nulli, *etc.*, nostrae erectionis, institutionis, absolutionis, provisionis, praefectionis, commissionis, mandati, derogationis, dispensationis et decreti infringere, *etc.*

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Mariam Maiorem 1632 octavo idus Septembris, pontificatus Nostri anno decimo.

E. Datarius,

Visa de Curia A. Vrandus.

(N.B.—This Bull has been copied with all its evident errors.)

5.8.1662

Alexandri PP. VII. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 64, p. 255 (226))

Venerabili fratri Jacobo totius Nationis Armeniae Maioris Patriarchae Alexander Papa VII

Venerabilis frater salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Variis profecto motibus animum pontificium affecerunt literae fraternitatis tuae die 29 septembris anni praeteriti datae, quibus accessit venerabilis fratris Archiepiscopi Nackivani pii ac Religiosi Tuique et Armenorum nationis amantissimi viri, qui eas reddidit, oratio ac testimonium. Nam ingentis molestiae sensum inexit commemoratio praegravium calamitatum, quibus florentissima quondam et Sanctae Sedis huius obsequentissima gens Armenorum tamdiu misere conflictatur eoque magis indolemus, quo nimirum eas depellendi aut etiam leniendi ratio difficilior apparet adeo ut a Nobis peramatis eximie filiis commiserationis pene solius officium impertiri posse videamur, nec aliud opis propemodum afferre quam enixarum ad Altissimum precum ex intimo certe caritatis benevolentissimae affectu porrectarum. Quibus tamen si partes vestras adiungere, conversis vere cordibus, ad Dominum serio volueritis, nihil erit quod sperare non possimus ab Eo qui non minus dives est in misericordia quam potens in operibus. Sed omnino mentibus vestris illud unice propositum atque fixum esse debet ut sanctae huic Apostolicae cathedrae quam ecclesiarum omnium caput et magistrum a vobis agnoscere plane testaris utque constanter adhaerere studeatis nec ab huius petrae soliditate

deinceps abduci ullo modo patiamini. Verum hic literae tuae non mediocris laetitiae causam Nobis praebuerunt; vidimus enim quanto pietatis et religiosae devotionis ardore tu quidem, vir egregius, ac tot populorum et sacrorum antistitum late praesul debitam obedientiam et obsequium Ecclesiae Romanae profitearis Apostolorum Principem in humilitatis Nostrae persona venereris et ex hisce salvationis fontibus qui apud Nos sunt aquas in aeternam vitam salientes tibi tuisque deposcas. Cum igitur a pia matris ubere ductuque descivisse malorum omnium quae in vos irruerunt origo et radix prima fuerit, existimare par est ad eandem reditu miserias, quibus obsessi nunc estis, averti benedicente Deo plane posse. Quamobrem in hanc adeo salutarem unionis perfectae curam, venerabilis frater, toto pectore diligenter incumbere filios universos tuos hortari, monere, confirmare; ne desine ut illis et ipsi tibi perennem in coelo gloriam et, si placuerit Domino, tranquilliores et pacatiores huius quoque vitae degendae rationem aliquam impetrare queas. Nos eidem nec Nostrorum officiorum et auctoritatis adiumenta, quae opportune, fructuoseque poterunt, impendere numquam omitemus. Sed omnia planius ex venerabilium fratrum Nostrorum S.R.C. Cardinalium Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide literis intelliges. Porro fraternitati Tuae totique nationi Armenorum tuorum propitium et aspirantem Deum omnipotentem exposcimus Apostolicamque benedictionem ex omni paterno corde profectam elargimur.

Datum Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die 5 Augusti 1662 Pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

(The Pope had also received a letter dated September 15, 1661, from the Armenian Patriarch of Cilicia, to which he replied on 17.5.1663 (*vide* in vol. 64, p. 273), and in it is this phrase: “. . . caeterum officia pro dilecti filii *Francisci Piquet* ad istas Orientis partes reditu non praetermisimus et opportune proseguere non desinemus. . . .”)

3.5.1698

Innocentii PP. XII. Brev. (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 82, p. 89)

Venerabili Fratri Nahabiet totius nationis Armenorum Patriarchae Innocentius PP. XII

Venerabilis frater salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Graves etsi non insuetos maiores ingerit animo pontificio frequens recordatio maximarum calamitatum quibus florentissima olim et huic Sanctae Sedi obsequentissima gens Armenorum tamdiu misere conflictatur, illos tamen non parum lenire potuerunt fraternitatis tuae literae ad Nos datae, quibus tu quidem, vir egregius ac tot populorum et sacrorum antistitum late praesul, eximiam tuam in Nos et eandem sedem observantiam luculenter significas. Romanam Ecclesiam, cui Nos licet immeriti praesidemus, Matrem appellas, ac ex hisce salvationis fontibus, qui apud Nos sunt, aquas in aeternam vitam salientes tibi, tuisque deposcis. Quare fraternitatem tuam ac quod Domini Nostri Jesu Christi vicario in humilitatis Nostrae persona religiose exhibes obsequium praecipuo charitatis affectu complectimur, Pontificium patrocinium, quod nunc benevolentissime pollicemur, in omnibus quae se offerent occasionibus plane repraesentaturi. Etsi enim longis terrarum mariumque spatiis a regionibus istis absumus, vigilibus tamen curis paternae dilectionis, qua inclytam nationem vestram prosequimur, rebus vestris praesto esse non praetermittimus. Hinc quoties Armenos episcopos devotionis ergo debitumque obedientiae tributum Apostolorum principi ac Nobis humiliter persolvendi causa ad hanc almam Urbem accedere contingit, eos hic perbenigne excipi et congrue ali curamus, quinimo nec quibusvis aliis ejusdem nationis hominibus Apostolicae charitatis argumenta deesse patimur, quibus scilicet non modo in temporali Nostra ditione quamcumque molestiam inferri districte prohibemus, sed eos inibi praesertim vero in Urbe praefata, in qua Romani Pontifices praedecessores Nostri, gentis vestrae commodis ac pietati consulentes, hospitium insimul et ecclesiam, in qua vestri ritus sacra Catholico more libere ac decenter perageretis, designarunt, amanter recipi et debita humanitate foveri omnino volumus. Illustria profecto haec sunt pontificii amoris in Armenam nationem testimonia a qua proinde illud vicissim Nobis optandum superest, ut sanctae huic Apostolicae Cathedrae constanter adhaerere studeat nec ab huius petrae soliditate deinceps abduci ullo modo patiatur, adeo ut ecclesia vestra omnino consentiat cum ecclesia Latina in professione Catholicae Fidei, in ea scilicet professione quam sanctae memoriae Silvester Papa praedecessor Noster per manus Beati Patris Gregorii Illuminatoris tunc Romae degentis

ad Armenos caeterosque orientales populos deferri pro solitudine curavit, quae sane professionis forma mirifice congruit traditionibus ac doctrinae praeclarorum veterum scriptorum qui in regionibus istis antehac eximie floruerunt.

Confidimus autem te a Divinae gratiae ineffabili lumine illustratum iri, ita ut, reiectis falsis quae a nonnullis contra Apostolicam Sedem isthic vulgantur opinionibus, atque inspecta prout decet venerabilem prudentiam tuam rerum veritate, exciteris ad inquirendam et assequendam perfectam cum capite unionem, ut ita Nos invicem te in unitate Spiritus quemadmodum praetitorum Pontificum praecipue vero memorati Silvestri exemplo vehementer cupimus in paternum sinum excipiamus. In hanc itaque adeo salutarem unionis perfectae curam, venerabilis frater, toto pectore diligenter incumbere; fratres et universos filios in Christo tuos hortari monere, confirmare, ne desinas, ut illis et ipsi tibi perennem in coelo gloriam, et, si placuerit Domino, tranquilliores et paratiores huius quoque vitae dirigendae rationem aliquam impetrare queas; cum enim a pia Matris ubere ductaque descivisse malorum omnium, quae in vos irruerunt, origo et radix prima fuerit, existimare par est ad eandem reditu miserias, quibus obstricti nunc estis averti benedicente Domino plane posse.

Interim scire te volumus Nos ex animo gavisos fuisse ubi intelleximus saevam in te excitatam tempestatem, imperante Domino ventis, iam resedisse, teque feliciter ac magna tui nominis gloria inimicorum insidias evasisse; nec dubitamus si pia mens atque voluntas, quam ostendisti, firma tibi et stabilis permanserit quin misericordiarum Pater Deus, qui facit mirabilia magna solus, nova adhuc et uberiora gaudia Nobis de rebus tum spiritualibus tum temporalibus vestris in melius conversis benigne praebiturus sit, quod ab Eius infinita clementia summis precibus postulamus. Coeterum ut paternae Nostrae in te voluntatis luculentiora habeas argumenta, mittimus ad te pietatis non minus quam doctrinae laude praestantem virum dilectum filium Cacciaturum Arachiel presbyterum Armenum, qui sensus tibi Nostros imo potius Romanae ecclesiae, in cuius sinu educatus fuit, uberius explicabit. Interea vero tanquam praedictae voluntatis quaecumque pignus, munuscula quaedam ad te perferri curavimus. Ac fraternitati tuae totique nationi Armenorum tuorum propitium et aspirantem Deum Omnipotentem exposcimus; Apostolicamque benedictionem ex omni cordis affectu peramanter impertimur.

Datum Romae die tertia Maii 1698.

20.4.1701

Clementis PP. XI Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 83, p. 108)

Venerabili fratri Nahabiet totius nationis Armenorum Patriarchae Clemens PP. XI

Venerabilis frater. Opportunam explicandae singularis illius erga hanc Sanctam Sedem observantiae, quam fraternitas tua uberi significatione alias testata est, occasionem tibi in praesens exhibebunt dilecti filii Religiosi viri Petrus Martyr de Parma, Corradinus de Valletelina, Archangelus a Brixia, Antoninus Poschiavanus et Joseph Maria Armenus ex Ordine Sancti Dominici Congregationis Sanctae Sabinae, qui in Persiam a Nobis non alio fine allegantur quam ut nationi Armenae quae Nobis apprimae cordi est spiritualia deferant praesidia. Confidimus itaque te pro egregia tua in Nos voluntate libenter esse excepturum praefatos evangelicae veritatis praecones ac Dominici agri operarios, quos tibi etiam atque etiam commendatos esse volumus, quatenus eos fovere et omni prorsus charitate ubi res exposcet intuitu Nostro tueri velis. Erit id plane Nobis gratum tibi quoque perpetuo conciliabit benevolentiam Nostram, quam ubi suppetent occasiones explicare non omitemus tum tibi ipsi peculiaribus documentis, tum iis omnibus ex ista illatione qui Romam forte advenient, quos certe paterno amore quod huc usque fecimus semper recipimus, nam praeter illam animi propensionem quam pridem erga ipsos gessimus peculiaris in praesens ratio eiusdem perferendae Nobis incumbit ex quo licet immerentes praesidemus ecclesiae Dei, piissimae videlicet Matri quae cum libenter excipiat omnes ad se accurrentes, tum maxime nationis vestrae populos laetanter complectitur, quos memorat sedente piae memoriae Beato Silvestro evangelici lactis ubertate fuisse potatos per ea foelicia tempora quibus in fronte regum lucere coepit crux Redemptoris. Accedit ad paternae Nostrae pietatis excitementum tum consideratio malorum, quae tot iam seculis eandem nationem premunt, a quibus ut ipsa relevari aliquando possit, enixe cupimus. Vota autem Nostra in eo inprimis versantur, ut singuli eiusdem nationis, qui Christiano nomine censentur, ad antiquam unitatem cum Romana

ecclesia omnium magistra ac parente revertantur, te praesertim adlaborante, cui pignus pontificiae dilectionis apostolicam benedictionem peramanter impertimur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum die vigesima Aprilis 1701.

15.3.1710

Clementis PP. XI Brev. : (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 87, p. 194)

Venerabili fratri Alexandro totius nationis Armenorum Patriarchae Clemens PP. XI

Venerabilis frater salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Magna charitate perlegimus fraternitatis tuae literas, in quibus praeter disertam ac officiosam tuae in Nos voluntatis explicationem visum est Nobis elucere cum peculiari tuo studio erga Christianam religionem laudabile quoddam propositum scrutandae ac inquirendae veritatis ex sacris scripturis et Patrum testimoniis ex quibus certe fontibus, si modo incorrupti sint, elici ea maxime potest.

Gratum itaque habuimus hoc non vulgare specimen tuae bonae mentis; et quia compertum Nobis est quo loco sis, et quanto in honore habearis apud inclytam Armenorum nationem, flagravimus cor Nostrum desiderio demerendi animum tuum adiecta etiam spe, quod tu explorata demum veritate particeps futurus sollicitudinis Nostrae in promovenda aeterna tuorum salute, et quod curaturus sis deducere oves, quae te sequuntur, ad Christi ovile per tutam illam semitam, extra quam qui incedit prorsus aberrat, quatenus ipsae tecum per veram fidem ad Divinam gratiam, et per hanc ad perennem in caelis gloriam conscendant. Illud etiam iucundum Nobis fuit ex eisdem tuis literis intelligere quod supremam hanc Sancti Petri Apostolorum principis cathedram reverearis, exemplo praeclari antistitis antecessoris tui diu Gregorii Illuminatoris; quem tamen si vere aemulari cupis, quemadmodum te cupere credimus, oportet ut illam ipsam Catholicam Fidem recipias, quam tenet Sancta Romana Ecclesia omnium per universum orbem ecclesiarum vera et unica mater ac magistra. Nam etsi ista, quae tibi tanquam patriarchae obsequitur, Armenorum natio Christianam Fidem profiteatur, et eiusdem fidei pleraque mysteria agnoscat, veramque doctrinam in pluribus recipiat, ab illa tamen integra et illibata Fidei regula quam ipso Ecclesiae nascentis exordio sancti patres atque doctores firmiter tenuerunt, lapsu temporum sensim deflexit et in quibusdam articulis dissensit, et actu modo dissentit. Quod sine summo animi Nostri dolore commemorare non possumus ob maximum animarum Christi sanguine redemptarum detrimentum omnimodamque perniciem, quae inde indies contingit. Certum est enim, quod sine vera ac pura fide impossibile est placere Deo: non est autem vera ac pura fides quae ex parte aliqua contradicit; cum scriptum sit, quod qui in uno offenderit factus est omnium reus. Si itaque Deus Nostris et fidelium precibus exoratus tam misericorditer tecum egerit ut constituas abrupto divisionis laqueo conformare omnino teipsum, tuosque in cultu Fidei huic Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae ac ita, ut oportet, agnoscere caput et pastorem universalem omnium fidelium Romanum scilicet Pontificem Christi vicarium, ac successorem Sancti Petri, cui dictum fuit 'Pasce oves meas', Nos magna in Domino laetitia perfusi te et eos omnes, qui tecum ita sentient, paterno corde complectemur. Ut autem tibi pateat via, qua benedicente Domino id demum perficere possis, adiungimus his Nostris formulam typis impressam in qua Sanctae ac Catholicae Fidei articuli continentur, quae non alia est ab ea, quam Sanctus Petrus et Apostoli docuerunt et Romana Ecclesia fidelibus omnibus servandam usque ab initio proposuit. Hortamur autem te et summa charitate obtestamur ut si tuam tuorumque salutem amas ac serio quaeris, ne cuncteris tuam subscriptionem non tam quidem calamo quam corde exaratam huic formulae adjicere; utque eandem sic subsignatam ad Nos statim remittas, atque ut deinceps veritatis in ea contentae praeco et magister populis istis esse velis, quo in studio operam tibi suam libenter adiungent missionarii, et quidem ea, qua par est, humilitate omnique erga te reverentia. Compertum est enim ipsis optari a Nobis ut Catholicae religionis cultus in istis partibus nulla tuae dignitatis imminutione augeatur. Caeterum grato, libentique animo audivimus a dilecto filio Religioso viro Jacobo Villot a Societate Jesu, qui cum oratore Christianissimi regis istinc pridem discessit, te non praetermisisse autoritate tua confovere mutuum amorem inter Armenos et missionarios Europae, ob quae officia plurimum tibi debemus, Deumque multo vehementius precamur ut quod in te coepit perficiat, et super caput tuum gratiae Suae dona liberaliter diffundat, qua spe Apostolicam benedictionem fraternitati tuae peramanter impertimur.

Datum Romae die xv Martii 1710.

6.9.1515

Leonis PP. X: (Arch. Vat., Brev. Min., 1515-23, Arm. XL, 4, No. 95, p. 57)

Char^{mo} in X^{ro} filio N^o Sigismundo Poloniae Regi ill. . . .

. . . hac praesertim oblata temporis opportunitate quippe ex Magni Magistri Rhodi litteris nuper admoniti fuimus Persarum Regem Sophium concepto iamdiu in Turcarum Tyrannum odio nuntium ad eum destinasse quo Christianos omnes et reges et principes summo studio nuntiaret¹ et (?) incitaretque ad arma contra eundem Turcam ex partibus nostris viriliter atque animositer capienda. Quod si Nos ad haec similiter paratos atque armatos intellexerit pollicetur sponte ex partibus item suis illum infesti armis odoriturum² ac oppida omnia quae Christianorum quondam fuerunt Christianis ipsis acquirenda ac possidenda ad . . .³ aturum. . . .

. . . Datum Romae vi Septembris 1515 anno tertio.

4.9.1600

Clementis PP. VIII. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLIV, vol. 44, p. 231 (222), No. 243)

Charissimo in Christo filio Nostro Philippo Hispaniarum Regi Catholico Clemens PP. VIII

. . . Audivimus saepe quod et Maiestatem Tuam audisse arbitramur regem Persarum multis ac non obscuris indiciis prae se ferri animo sane propenso esse erga Christianam religionem; sed nuper id multo certius cognovimus ex Lusitano sacerdote Francisco Costa, qui ex India per Persidem Romam venit, quem vir nobilis Dux Suessa orator Tuus ad Nos introduxit. Is mira quaedam et quae vias Domini cogitanti lacrymas prae gaudio elicere possint de rege illo narrat, habere eum apud se aulicos et viros primarios complures Christianos, quos ipsemet palam per occasionem Christianos esse cum multa voluptate indicat, sacerdotes et presbyteros a Nobis et a Romana ecclesia valde expetere, eius rei causa certam ad Nos legationem misisse, seque etiam amoris et amicitiae Nostrae fervidum ostendere, ecclesiam praeterea aedificari iussisse, ut ibi Christiano ritu Deo serviatur. Quae et alia complura cum attentius consideraremus, adhibitis etiam in consilium dilectis filiis Cardinalibus Congregationi Fidei Propagandae a Nobis praefectis, non minus piis quam prudentibus, memores a Christo Domino dictum esse Beato Petro et Nobis in eo: 'Duc in altum et laxate retia vestra in capturam', et denique scientes nullum verbum esse impossibile apud Deum statuimus tantam occasionem divinitus oblatam nullo modo esse praetermittendam, sed litteras ad regem Persarum dare ita accurate scriptas, quemadmodum tanti negotii gravitas requirit, ac, licet eiusdem regis legati nondum ad Nos pervenerint, ac propter viae longinquitatem et varia pericula valde incertum sit, an et quando sint venturi; placet ad eum nihilominus celeriter praesbyteros mittere ne quae in Nobis mora sit, quominus semen Divinae gratiae in magni illius regis corde per Evangelii praedicationem ipso Deo dante incrementum coalescat, et populis illis qui in tenebris et umbra mortis sunt vita et veritas, si Deo Omnipotenti placuerit, illucescat et denique cum tam potenti et Turcarum tyranno tam infenso principe ea amicitia et benevolentia concilietur quae Christianae reipublicae universae et Tuae Maiestati atque inclytae domui Vestrae Austriacae, ut Tu optime intelligis, multiplices utilitates est allatura. Cum igitur de presbyteris idoneis mittendis cogitaremus, statim oculos coniecimus in Societatem Jesu, quae veluti perpetuum seminarium est fortium et fidelium operariorum vineae Domini, quique huic muneri ex Nostra et Apostolicae Sedi obedientia praecipue addicti in ipso potissimum Oriente atque India magnam evangelicae praedicationis laudem sunt consecuti. Itaque mandavimus dilecto filio Claudio, eiusdem Societatis Praeposito Generali, ut ex ipsa India Orientali atque ex ea provincia quae Persarum regno propinquior est, aliquot presbyteros et operarios mittat ad regem, qui Spiritu Sancto auctore regis ipsius et populorum illorum corda veluti agros ratione praeditos Evangelico aratro proscindant, et sementem verbi Dei faciant. Potens est autem Dominus eorum animos sic praeparare . . . summam enim quoad fieri poterit celeritatem adhiberi cupimus

¹ Doubtful reading—possibly adunaret.² Illegible, probably meaning 'relicturum' or 'concessurum'.³ Drafter's error—odoriturum for adoriturum.

ne antiquus humani generis hostis Satanas . . . difficultates aliquas interponat et opus Dei impediatur. Quo magis Maiestatem Tuam hortamur et efficacissime in Domino requirimus ut ad Vice Regem Indiae atque ad Capitaneam Ormuzii regias Tuas des litteras quam diligentissime scriptas, eisque serio mandes ut huius missionis (ad opera) promovenda (curam) omnem et cogitationem suscipiant, et quae in navigiis parandis et ad iter et navigationem expediendam opportuna aut necessaria erunt omni alacritate et celeritate curent, ut operarii illi quos dilectus filius Provincialis Societatis in India ex sui Generalis praescripto delegerit, ut in Persidem profiscantur, ipsius Vice Regis et Capitanei consilio subleventur ut nave quam primum conscensa Ormuzium petant, et deinde recta in Persidem atque adeo ad ipsius regis aulam tuto, commode et expedite quantum licuerit pergant, cum multum omnino in celeritate sit positum. Postremo sic eos accedat Maiestas Tua ut in re gravissima quae ad Dei gloriam tantopere pertinet se Catholici regis Catholicos ministros vere esse ostendant. Mandavimus autem Venerabili fratri Archiepiscopo Sipontino Nostro apostolico nuntio ut de pluribus litteris eodem exemplo conscribendis et ad Nos omni cum festinatione transmittendis et demum cum Maiestate Tua sic agat ut de re quae Nobis cordi est maxima. . . .

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die 4 Septembris anno Jubilaei 1600 pontificatus Nostri anno nono.

25.5.1601

Clementis PP. VIII. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLIV, vol. 45, p. 128 (No. 144))

Dilecto filio nobili viro Regio Capitaneo Ormutii Clemens Papa VIII

Dilecte fili nobilis vir salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Venerunt ad Nos his proximis superioribus diebus dilectus filius Antonius Scierleius Anglus vir nobilis, et Cusein Ali Bechius Persa, qui se a potentissimo rege Persarum ad Nos missos esse dixerunt amicitiae conciliandae causa, eiusdemque regis nomine litteras Nobis reddiderunt. Nos illos benigne excepimus omnique humanitate prosecuti sumus, eisque litteras ad regem dedimus, benevole scriptas, ut omni diligentia hoc quidquid est seminis, quantum cum Domino possumus, foveamus, si quo modo benedicente Domino fructus afferat Christianae reipublicae salutare et carissimi etiam in Christo filii Nostri Philippi Hispaniarum regis Catholici propriis rationibus opportunos. Nunc idem Antonius a Nobis omni cum benevolentiae significatione dimissus dicit se in Persidem reverti et Ormutium Deo duce perventurum, ut tanto celerius iter peragat. . . . Quod si in Persidem pervenerit, praeclara multa ad Christianae reipublicae utilitatem pollicetur; libenter autem petenti assensi sumus, ut eum tibi per litteras commendaremus. Quare pergratum Nobis erit, si illi ad iter expediendum adiumento fueris, ut tuto ac celeriter ad regem Persarum perveniat. Denique huic toti negotio tua ope et opera suffrageris, quod de te ut tua virtute et loco dignum est facile Nobis persuademus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctos Apostolos sub annulo Piscatoris die 25 Maii 1601 pontificatus Nostri anno decimo.

16.10.1608

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 4, p. 81 (No. 174))

Charissimo in Christi filio Nostro Philippo Hispaniarum Regi Catholico Paulus Papa Quintus

Charissime in Christo fili Noster salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Retulit Nobis multa mandato regis Persarum, ad quem sub Nostri pontificatus initio illum cum Nostri literis miseramus, dilectus filius pius sacerdos Paulus Simon Carmelitanus discalceatus, qui Maiestati Tuae Nostras has reddet, quae sane ad communem Christianae reipublicae propriam Tuam utilitatem plurimum referre videntur. Propterea voluimus ut in Hispaniam veniret ad Maiestatem Tuam ut ex eo commodius ac manifestius cuncta cognoscere posses. Quantopere conducat non solum pauperibus illis filiis Nostri Christianis sub imperio regis Persarum degentibus, verum etiam rebus Maiestatis Tuae in illis partibus illius regis amicitiae atque benevolentiae pro singulari prudentia, qua praeditus es, procul dubio intelligis, sed ipse Paulus Simon, qui nuper illinc rediit, uberius adhuc Tibi demonstrabit. Plane pollicemur Nobis daturum Te esse operam ut haec concordia

mutuo augeatur opportunaque remedia ubi opus sit adhibiturum. Idque ut agas a Maiestate Tua etiam atque etiam postulamus, quemadmodum ex eodem Paulo Simone fusius intelliges, cui integram fidem adhibeas in his, quae de hoc negotio Tibi renunciabit, desideramus: et benedictionem apostolicam ex intimis Nostri cordis visceribus Maiestati Tuae impartimur.

Datum Tusculi sub annulo Piscatoris xvii Kal. Novembris mdcviii pontificatus Nostri anno quarto.

(Other similar letters of recommendation of the same dates to the Cardinal Archbishop Bernard of Toledo: to the Duque de Lerma; and to the General and Definitors of the Discalced Carmelite Order.)

On the 5th Kalends October 1608 another Brief had been sent by Pope Paul V to the king of Spain regarding the dispatch of Fr. Paul Simon to him.

24.3.1609

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 4, p. 159 (No. 372))

Dilecto filio Antonio Comiti Serleyo Paulus Papa Quintus

Dilecte fili salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Magnam in Domino consolationem cepimus ex Tuis literis: agnovimus enim in ipsis quantam fecerit tecum Deus misericordiam non solum deducens te ex tenebris aeternae mortis ad lumen coelestis vitae verum etiam illud studium, quo antea Sanctam Ecclesiam persequeris, convertens in zelum propagationis Catholicae religionis. Cum iucunditate itaque legimus quae Nobis scripsisti de pio desiderio tuo atque itidem quae fratri perscripsisti de administratione legationis quam Persarum rex ad Nos et ad charissimos filios Nostros, Imperatorem electum et Hispaniarum regem illi demandavit Prudenter quidem, ac religiose illum admonuisti. Nos vero in omnibus, quae cum Domino poterimus fratri tuo favebimus et Nostri, atque huius Sanctae Sedis ministri diligenter illi opitulabuntur in his, quae ad Dei gloriam Christianae Fidei incrementum pertinebunt, et cum ad Urbem pervenerit laetissimo animo ipsum excipiemus. Te autem, dilecti fili, hortamur ut gratus ac memor accepti a Deo beneficii studeas quotidie magis Divinam gratiam tibi conciliare. Ipse namque eduxit te de lacu miseriae, de profundo videlicet caligine impietatis et statuit supra petram, hoc est, super fidei Catholicae firmitates pedes tuos, ut ambulans cum Divino timore in via immaculata pervenire possis ad illam requiem quam ut adipiscamur fortiter ac constanter laborare semper debemus. Nostrum quidem paternum amorem valde tibi devinxisti studio, sollicitudine atque diligentia qua satagis resarcire usuras anteactae vitae. Omnipotens ac misericors Dominus cogitationes et opera tua in beneplacito Suo dirigat et Nos tibi paternam Nostram charitatem promptam ac paratam ex animo exhibemus et apostolicam benedictionem peramanter impartimur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris nono Kalendas Aprilis mdcix pontificatus Nostri anno quarto.

(In Arm. XLV, vol. 6 (Paul V, 5th year), p. 34 (42), Nos. 80, 81, 82, are three Briefs addressed to:

Rudolph, king of Hungary and Bohemia, Emperor-elect,

Philip, king of the Spains,

Cosmo Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany,

dated 5th Kalends August 1610 (28.7.1610) recommending to them "Safar Azaria, the Armenian, who had come to deal with business of the king of Persia.")

22.6.1610

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 6, p. 18 (No. 41))

Venerabili fratri Archiepiscopo Goensi in Indiis Orientalibus Paulus Papa Quintus

Venerabilis frater salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Excepti fuerunt a Persarum rege potentissimo Sciah Abbahas in civitate regia Haspahami dilecti filii servi Dei fideles ac charitatis zelo

ferventes fratres Ordinis Carmelitani discalceati, et quidem cum magna fidelium in illis partibus consolatione et cum incremento etiam Christianae fidei. Quare quantum cum Domino possumus officio Nostro pastoralis satisfacere cupientes fratres discalceatos adjuvare studemus. Quia vero dilectus filius Vincentius Sancti Francisci eiusdem Ordinis frater in Persidem reversurus erat, unde superioribus mensibus ad Nos venerat, de omnibus quae hactenus ab ipsis fratribus in illis partibus acta sunt Nos certiores facturus, cum ipse Nobis significaverit magno adiumento fratribus suis fraternitatem Tuam esse posse, ipsum et Ordinis sui fratres, qui in Persidem commorantur, tibi commendare diligenter volumus. Pro tua in Deum pietate atque in Nos observantia petimus a te ut fratres praedictos discalceatos commendatos habeas, et pijs labores atque conatus eorum ad Dei gloriam Ecclesiae Catholicae exaltationem animarumque salutem efficaciter adjuves et fraternitati tuae peramenter benedicimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Marcum sub annulo Piscatoris decimo Kalendas Julii MDCX pontificatus Nostri anno sexto.

22.6.1610

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 6, p. 20 (28), No. 44)

Dilecto filio nobili viro Viceregi Indiarum Orientalium Goae commoranti
Paulus Papa Quintus

Dilecte fili nobilis vir salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Accipies a dilecto filio pio et religioso viro Dei servo Vincentio Sancti Francisci fratre Carmelitano discalceato has Nostras literas simul cum benedictione Apostolica, quam nobilitati tuae mittimus. Et quia ut ipse tibi renunciabit plurimum te prodesse confidimus fratribus Ordinis Discalceatorum qui monasterium nuper aedificarunt in regia civitate Persarum Haspahami ibique cum magno animarum emolumento vineam Domini colunt praedictos fratres et monasterium nobilitati tuae efficaciter commendamus. Scia Abbas Persarum rex illustris hos Dei servos benigne excepit et humaniter tractat. Convenit igitur viros principes Christifideles tanto magis illis favere ut acrius regius animus inflammetur nostrorum amore exemplo Christianae pietatis atque charitatis excitatus. Ex hac Nostra commendatione cognoscere potes quantam fiduciam in tua virtute ac religione habeamus. Confirmabis opinionem quam de te egregiam concepimus si quemadmodum cupimus, zelus tuus in protegendis auxiliandisque his Dei servis Nobis summopere dilectis eluxerit, ac nobilitati tuae iterum benedicimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Marcum sub annulo Piscatoris x Kalendas Julii MDCX pontificatus Nostri anno sexto.

(Similar Briefs of recommendation of Fr. Vincent of S. Francis and the Carmelites were addressed on the same date to the:

“Praefecto Classis Catholici Regis in Sinu Persico” (The Commander of the Fleet of the Catholic king in the Persian Gulf), and to the “Bailo Venetorum Alepij commoranti” (Nos. 45 and 46, pp. 20 and 29).)

12.9.1611

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 7, p. 46 (55), No. 113)

Anghes Beio Regis Persarum oratori honoratissimo

“Redditae Nobis fuerunt literae tuae a dilecto filio nobili viro Comite de Castro . . . qui literas “quoque Nobis reddidit ab illustri potentissimoque rege tuo ad Nos datas . . .”

12.9.1611

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 7, p. 47 (56), No. 114)

Charissimo in Christo filio Nostro Philippo Hispaniarum Regi Catholico Paulus Papa Quintus

Charissime in Christo fili Noster salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Persarum regis literas et quae in mandatis oratori Tuo ad Nos dederas accepimus a dilecto filio nobili viro Francisco Comite de Castro Maiestatis Tuae oratore, qui accurate Nobis cuncta renunciavit; ex eodem quoque sicuti ex literis Tuis intelleximus quam opportunum existimares ut cum mittendus esset in Persidem aliquis praelatus ecclesiasticus demandaremus hoc dilecto filio Antonio de Govea fratri Ordinis Sancti Augustini quod tam praeclaro virtutum eius testimonio a Maiestate Tua confirmatum fuit, ut minime dubitaverimus tantam ei provinciam committere. Et propterea illum creavimus Episcopum Cyrenensem ut maiori cum dignitate et auctoritate Divinum cultum et Christifidelium salutem curare posset, et necessarias facultates sicuti expedire iudicavimus iuxta formam in Nostris ad eum literis hac de causa datis, illi concessimus, confisi potissimum fore ut Maiestatis Tuae auxilium gratia ac praesidium ei semper adsit. Quod ad Dei gloriam et Christianae Fidei incrementum vehementer desideramus. Coetera vero, quae ad totum Persicum negotium et ad conservandam regis illius benevolentiam necessaria existimamus, orator Tuus, cum quo abunde de his egimus, diligenter Tibi significabit. Omnipotens ac misericors Deus Maiestatem Tuam continua protectione custodiat et Tibi cum omni Nostri cordis affectu benedictionem apostolicam impartitur.

Datum ut supra (i.e. Romae . . . pridie Idus Septembris MDCXI. . .)

12.9.1611

Pauli PP. V. Brev.. (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 7, p. 47 (56), No. 115)

Venerabili fratri Antonio Episcopo Cyrenensi Paulus Papa Quintus

Venerabilis frater salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Legimus literas tuas, sed libentius te allocuti essemus si pervenire ad Nos potuisses. Etsi diligenter et accurate scripsisti ad Nos compluraque etiam tuo nomine dilectus filius nobilis vir Franciscus Comes de Castro Nobis renunciavit, sciscitati fortasse ex te adhuc fuisset non pauca. Nam paterna charitas Nos sollicitos habet de salute filiorum Nostrorum, qui in Perside commorantur, et de conservatione benevolentiae potentissimi regis Persarum, cum tam multa et tam praeclara acceperimus de eius in Christifideles humanitate. Hac de causa quo breviores erunt hac Nostrae literae, quove minus multa tibi praescribemus ut facias pro salute illarum animarum procuranda . . . et ipsius regis amicitia conservanda, eo magis tibi persuadeas volumus Nos tibi mandare ut omni vigilantia atque sollicitudine utrunque cures. Confisi in tua pietate, prudentia atque dexteritate nihil speciatim a te petimus quia cuncta quae necessaria erunt ut per te assequamur, et quod ad Dei gloriam cupimus, Nobis de tuo religionis zelo pollicemur. Et propterea cum discernere deberemus aliquem praelatum ecclesiasticum qui curam animarum Christifidelium in Perside haberet, te potissimum delegimus et episcopum Cyrenensem creavimus firma spe freti, quod pie prudenterque ministerium tibi commissum iuxta formam aliarum Nostrarum literarum, quas misimus ad Te, adimplere studebis sicuti desideramus, et benevolentiam regis Persarum in Nostros quibuscumque officiis cum Domino poteris confirmare et augere curabis. Quam ut certiolem facias de Nostra in eum peramanti voluntate summopere desideramus. Valde enim dolemus facultatem gratificandi eius Celsitudini in omnibus quae a Nobis postulavit desiderio Nostro hactenus non respondisse quod ut illi diligentissime significes volumus. Omnipotens ac misericors Deus qui per humilitatem Nostram vocavit te ad culturam vineae Suae in tam ampla regione incrementum Suae sanctae gratiae tibi tribuat ut post labores ac vigilias tuas merearis audire 'Euge serve bone, quia fuisti fidelis, intra in gaudium Domini tui'. Quod ut commodius assequi valeas Nostram apostolicam benedictionem tibi peramanter impartitur.

Datum ut supra (i.e. Romae apud Sanctum Petrum pridie Idus Septembris MDCXI pontificatus Nostri anno septimo.)

25.3.1614 (8 Kalendas Aprilis MDCXIII)

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 9, p. 92 (101), No. 281)

Venerabili fratri Eliae Patriarchae Babylonis

(A very long Brief by which were acknowledged

“literae quas a fraternitate Tua Nobis reddidit dilectus filius Adam Archidiaconus et monachorum
“Archimandrita, quem ad Nos misisti. Laetabamur quidem summopere ex reverentia ac devo-
“tione quam profiteris summam erga sanctam Beatissimi Petri Principis Apostolorum sedem . . .”

and then pointing out the various points of Nestorian heresy.)

25.3.1614 (8 Kalendas Aprilis MDCXIII)

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 9, p. 96 (105), No. 282)

Venerabilibus fratribus Eliae Patriarchae Babylonis Gabrieli Archiepiscopo Castelli Lapidis, Eliae Archiepiscopo Amed et Sagrad, Jacobo Archiepiscopo Nisibi et Mardin, Chnoni Jesu Archiepiscopo Assyriae, Joseph Archiepiscopo Insulae, Jesus-dedit Archiepiscopo Persiae

Cum immensa animi Nostri iucunditate literas a fraternitatibus vestris dilecto filio viro pio zelo Dei pleno Adae monachorum Chaldaeorum Archimandritae patriarchalis camerae Archidiacono ad Nos datas accepimus. Nam ex illis et ex his quae idem Archidiaconus Nobis renunciavit cognovimus vestrae pietatis eximium affectum et ardentem animi devotionem qua beati Petri Principis Apostolorum sedem colitis, qua de re vehementer in Domino laetati sumus misericordiarum Patri Deo gratias agentes qui corda vestra charitatis Suae igne inflammavit. . . . Nunc autem eundem filium Adam Archidiaconum ad vos cum benedictione Nostra remittimus, a quo abunde intelligetis quae hic acta sunt et quanta charitate vos omnes in Domino prosequamur, cuius ut aliquod pignus ac memoriale apud vos haberetis unicuique vestrum, fratres venerabiles ac dilectissimi, mittimus ex benedictionibus Sancti Petri librum unum Sanctorum Evangeliorum characteribus Arabicis typis impressum, quo in vestris ecclesiis uti possitis ipsumque ex manibus eiusdem Adae Archidiaconi tanquam ex Nobis accipietis . . .

(This Adam, the Pope told the Patriarch of Antioch of the Maronites in a separate letter,

“Post diuturnam disputationem anni nempe unius et amplius habitum ab eo modeste . . . cum
“viris doctrina Nobis probatis . . . errores quibus hactenus Chaldaeorum ecclesia implicata fuit
“cognovit, ac detestatus est eosque coram dilecto filio Magistro Commissario Officii Sanctae
“Inquisitionis alacri animo abiuravit. . . .”)

(On the same date, 25.3.1614, 8 Kalendas Aprilis MDCXIII, another Brief, No. 282, Arm. XLV, vol. 9, p. 93 (106), was sent to ‘Venerabili fratri Eliae Archiepiscopo Amed in Mesopotamia’.)

In Arm. XLV, vol. 11, p. 57 (69) there is another Brief to ‘Venerabili fratri Eliae Patriarchae Babylonis’ (the Patriarch had evidently written acknowledging receipt of the Pope’s letters by Archdeacon Adam): and in Arm. XLV, vol. 12, p. 20 (35), No. 68, on 3rd Kal. Julii 1617 the Pope addresses another Brief to ‘Venerabili Fratri Eliae Patriarchae Babylonis’ regarding Fr. Thomas of Novara, O.F.M., having been present at the Chaldaean synod, and he adds a form of Profession of Faith for the Patriarch and others to subscribe. There are similar letters of same date (3 Kal. Julii 1617) to Gabriel archbishop; of Elias archbp. of Seert in Mesopotamia: to Timothy archbp. of Amid (i.e. Diarbakr) in Mesopotamia; to Simon patriarch of “Assyriorum Orientalium” the Pope acknowledges a letter sent by him through Timothy, archbp. of Seert.

Also there is a Brief to Fr. Thomas of Novara.

3.7.1614

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 15, p. 386 (395))

Venerabili fratri moderno Archiepiscopo Goano Paulus Papa Quintus

Venerabilis frater salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quantum Catholicae Fidei prosint dilecti filij fratres Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum in istis partibus fraternitati tuae ita cognitum esse confidimus ut verbis explicare opus non sit. Quamobrem cum tua protectione et favore assidue indigere verisimile sit, et ij maxime qui Ormutii commorantur, sicut accepimus, indigeant, fraternitati tuae eos magnopere commendamus ut per te quantum in Domino poteris facilius et commodius ministerium suum exerceant, et in vinea Domini cum fructu laborent. Quod pro tua pietate te facturum tua sponte non dubitamus. nihilominus pro muneris Nostri debito Nostrum officium eis deesse nullum volumus. Itaque Nobis gratissimum erit quicquid eorum causa feceris.

Datum Romae apud S. Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die tertia Julii millesimo sexcentesimo decimo octavo pontificatus Nostri anno quartodecimo.

28.4.1618

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 15, p. 319 (328))

Charissimo in Christo filio Nostro Philippo Hispaniarum Regi Catholico Paulus Papa Quintus

Charissime in Christo fili Noster salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ex literis et nuntijs venerabilis fratris Matthaei Archiepiscopi Naxivani in Armenia Maiori, et dilecti filij Pauli Mariae Cittadini, Vicarii Generalis fratrum Ordinis Sancti Dominici in illis partibus cognovimus multum eorum calamitatibus opitulari posse Maiestatem Tuam, si literis ad regem Persarum, sub cuius ditione vivunt, et ad ministros Tuos in Indiis Orientalibus et Ormutio eam ecclesiam Archiepiscopum et fratres Sancti Dominici eorumque res et necessitates commendaveris. Quamobrem Maiestatem Tuam in Domino rogamus, ut hos Christifideles in tantis angustiis et calamitatibus Domino servientes et vitam pane doloris sustentantes, iis commendare nec vulgariter velis: erit enim Tuae eximiae pietatis opus Domino maxime acceptum, et Nobis supra quam dici potest gratia.

Datum ut supra (Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris die vigesima octava Aprilis millesimo sexcentesimo decimo octavo pontificatus Nostri anno tertidecimo.)

16.7.1620

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Sec. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 14, p. 143 (256))

Dilecto filio Gubernatori Ormutii Paulus Papa Quintus

Dilecte fili salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Ex hac Urbe proficiscitur in Orientem dilectus filius frater Vincentius a S. Francisco Carmelita discalceatus Prior Sancti Pauli missionis Romanae missus cum munere visitandi suae Religionis monasteria, quae sunt in istis regionibus, fratresque animandi ad Dei gloriam summo studio procurandam in conversione infidelium. Licet autem hunc Religiosum virum et zelo Dei praeditum pietati tuae magnopere commendatum fore persuasum habeamus, quia tamen Nos illum atque universam Discalceatorum Carmelitarum familiam praecipue caritate complectimur, et huius (istuc) . . . professionis consilium maxime probamus, operae pretium esse duximus ipsum Nostris literis commendatum ad te venire. Quamobrem a te petimus ut hominem non quae sua sunt sed solum quae Jesu Christi querentem tuo patrocínio ubique protegere, et quibus poteris officiis prosequi studeas. Erit

id quidem tuae pietati et Nostro desiderio admodum consentaneum, ad Dei vero gratiam promerendum quod unum potissimum spectari debet, valde accommodatum

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam 16 Julii 1620 ann. 16.

16.7 1620

Pauli PP. V. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 14, p. 144 (257))

Venerabili fratri Archiepiscopo Goensi in Indiis Orientalibus Paulus Papa Quintus

Dilectus filius Religiosus ac pius vir Frater Vincentius a Sancto Francisco Carmelita Discalceatus Prior Seminarii Sancti Pauli missionis Romanae venit in Orientem sui Ordinis conventus visitaturus. Is fraternitatem tuam adiens non dubitamus quin a te libenter benevoleque excipietur, quemadmodum ipsius virtus et tuum erga Christi servos propensum studium requirit; praesertim cum negotio ad quod agendum mittitur ad Dei gloriam et animarum salutem pertinet. Qui igitur tot nominibus commendatus ad fraternitatem tuam proficiscitur Nostra commendatione apud te non egere existimamus. Placuit tamen cum Nostris ad te literis comitari, ut Nobis gratum fore quidquid ei officij exhibueris testaremur ac simul hac opportuna oblata occasione fraternitati tuae quam paterna benevolentia in Domino complectimur, Nostram apostolicam benedictionem, quemadmodum nunc ex intimo corde facimus, impartimur. Datum Romae apud S. Mariam 16 Julij 1620.

27.10.1621

Gregorii PP. XV. Brev.: (Arch. Vat., Arm. XLV, vol. 19, p. 158 (169), No. 278)

“De foedere inter Christianos Principes iungendo contra Turcarum conatus”
Regi Catholico (Hispaniarum)

Extracts

. . . Sane quam insigni temeritate sit novus hic Turcarum tyrannus, populorumque nostrorum formido docet: ei enim regno bellum infert, quod maiores sui quamvis victoriis nostrarumque gentium calamitatibus insignes armis tamen aggredi nunquam hactenus ausi sunt. Nunc gentes multitudine innumerabiles, immanitate barbarae, cum in eos Christiani principatus fines impetum faciant, quos quidem nullae arces communiunt quamvis Polonorum militum pectora manusque iis pro firmissimo munimento hactenus fuerint, valde tamen timendum est ne armata illa hostilium nationum colluvies effractis aggeribus patentes illico Poloniae tractus obviat, sibi que ad Germaniam expugnandum aditum latissime patefaciat. . . . Si enim Poloni primos hostium impetus non sustinuerint quid porro reliqui est, nisi ut Turcae foelicitate ebrii et scelere furentes Occidentale Imperium Orientali adiungant? . . . Non longinqua meticolosi excidia canimus, neque querelis senilibus fictos terrores, ac mentita proelia lamentamur. Prudentiae suae oculos Maestas Tua in tumultuantis Germaniae, finitimarumque provinciarum perturbationes convertat. Sane verendum est ne nimis sero sapere videamur et ad pericula propulsanda tunc excitemur, cum eorum magnitudo per desidiā neglecta spem fere Nobis salutis ademit. . . . Turcae extremas illas regiones armis exterrent, haeretici in visceribus sunt, atque cor ipsum Imperii infensis animis, funestisque armis continenter petunt; tum quod peius est eo res demum redigitur ut ipsi cum Turcis communibus quondam hostibus foedera amicitiasque jungant, eorumque copias praemiisque in nostram perniciem eliciant. Neque Graccorum miseriae eos satis edocent, quam certum sibi ipsis ruinae periculum struant: illi enim dum intestinis dissidiis laborantes Ottomanos ex Asia in Thraciam alteri contra alteros avocarunt, iisdem armis brevi oppressi sunt quibus se muniri crediderunt. . . . Quare omnino confidimus fore ut ad id foedus quam celerrime sanciendum omni ope incumbere velis. Speramus enim ita coetorum principum animis persuasum iri, ut cum Te ipsum tantae gloriae non solum modo, sed authorem praedicari cupiamus. . . . Id Te ex animo in visceribus Jesu Christi hortamur, charissime fili, id a potentia Tua vetus illa Austriacorum principum parens Germania suppliciter postulare videtur, id

Poloniae principes arcta Tibi affinitate coniuncti exorant; tum Christiana respublica suam hac in re salutem dignitatemque agi clamat; Tibi vero Christus Ille exercituum Deus, Cui principes omnes vectigales sunt, id pontificia voce iubere videtur. . . . Hac de re Tecum distinctius disserent Nostro nomine venerabiles fratres Patriarcha Alexandrinus et Archiepiscopus Thebanus, Nuntii Nostri Apostolici. . . .

(On 22.1.1622—Arm. XLV, vol. 19, Pope Gregory XV was congratulating Bishop Martin of Cracow on the "Victoriam quam Polonus exercitus de Turcis reportavit. . . .")

9.3.1624

Urbani PP. VIII Brev.. (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 38, p. 29 (358), No. 414)

Venerabili Fratri Archiepiscopo Goae Indiarum Primati Urbanus PP. VIII

Venerabilis frater salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Non Oceani minae, non itinerum pericula Nos deterrent quominus in Indias pontificia impulsu charitate navigemus. Solvunt ex Europae litoribus navigia, ac per iter terroribus plenum istuc convolant ut Orientis divitias devehant in orbem Nostrum: turpe foret si rerum humanarum tutelam suscipientes isthuc identidem non perveniremus, quo mentem ipsius facile deducit cogitationis vis, ut animas Christo lucremur. Animae enim thesauri sunt quos tanti fecit ipse dominantium Dominus ut formam servi accipiens e coelo in terras commigraret, eas proprii sanguinis pretio redempturus. Hanc fraternitati tuae sollicitudinem Apostolicis literis significare volumus, ut scias labores tuos pontificiis oculis patere, et cum coelestes coronas quaeritis id etiam tibi solatium parari, quod laudantis pontificis benevolentia parit. Campum habes qui cultoris vel diligentis continuam fatigare potest industriam. Vineam isthuc fuit, cuius uva fel draconum et venenum aspidum insanabile fructus vitae isthinc colligere dum volumus venenatas stirpes evellere, foeliciores inserere evangelici agricolae debent, et Divinae gratiae rorem novalibus istis assidua prece postulare ut Indici deserti speciosa pinguescant. Id autem cum a te curari accipiamus eo alacrius istuc pastoralis cogitatione divertimus. Neque enim solum curarum segetem te laborante ex istis agris percipimus, sed etiam solatiis. Cum autem plerumque alienis opibus virtus indigeat ad difficultates expugnandas gaudemus cum tanti a te fieri Religiosos sacerdotes accipimus, qui in consortium laboris et sollicitudinis asciti pro animarum salute contra daemonum legiones propugnant familiam vero Carmelitarum Discalceatorum Nobis gratissimam Ecclesiaeque salutarem cupimus praecipue muniri patrocinio fraternitatis tuae. Quamobrem sicut nova imperia crebris aggerum propugnaculis et assiduus militum excubiis sapienter bellica disciplina tuetur, ita in istis regionibus, quae non ita pridem sub orthodoxae fidei ditionem Spiritus Sanctus redegit, frequenter extrui decet Religiosorum virorum sodalitia. Ea enim arces sunt, ubi arma lucis conflantur, quibus longe foelicius quam ferro potest tyrannorum temeritas infringi, et universae terrae amplitudo expugnari. Scito ergo gratissimum Nobis fore si operam dederis, ut in pluribus istius regionis coenobiis Carmelitana ea familia commoretur. Si enim illa isthuc sedem figere poterit, non deerunt, ut speramus, indices populis Christianarum exempla virtutum. Quod a te solatium expectantes Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter impartimur fraternitati tuae, cui coelestia beneficia cupimus ab Orientalibus regnis deberi. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die ix Martii MDCXXIV pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

(Undated, ? 1644-5)

Innocentii PP. X Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 54, p. 69 (65))

Christianis Universis S. Joannis Innocentius PP. X

Dilecti filii salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Filiorum quos Christo genuit amantissima parens Ecclesia iisdemque perpetuo vel in remotissimis regionibus Divina caritate praesens recta illos institutione ac doctrina alere non desinit et materno sinu complexa ad vitam ac salutem informat, praesidioque munit, quo sese contra adversantium impetus tueantur ac tegant. Hoc Nobis ad supremum

ipsius Ecclesiae regimen Divina bonitate vocatis tam alte ac firmiter insedit animo ut ad vos quamquam tot intervallis distractos pontificia benevolentia accurrentes partam vobis e coelo felicitatem gratulemur Nostramque exinde laetitiam explicemus, quod vos ad sacrosanctum Romanae Ecclesiae gremium tanquam ad tutissimum salutis portum cernimus advolasse. Hic enimvero ingenitam veritatis lucem, hic Christianae Fidei constantissimam sedem esse voluit Christus Dominus, in Petri Apostolorum Principis successorumque eius doctrinae soliditate firmatam: nihil sacrum nihil cum religione ac pietate consentiens aestimari possit quod inconcussum Romanae Sedis iudicium Dei semper Spiritus ductus non comprobavit. Quamobrem effusissimo paterni amoris sensu vos in Domino hortamur ut acceptam ab hac Sancta Sede doctrinam retinentes in ea constanter permaneat, digneque ambuletis vocatione, qua vocati estis, solliciti servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis. Viros sane religiosos quos ad vos misimus vestrae salutis tam sancte invigilantes diligite impense ac colite: ab iis Dei verbum hauritis tanquam Nostro ore prolatum cum omni — atque obedientia excipite: ad eos siquidem perscripsimus ut vos paterne instruant et quae ad salutem necessaria atque opportuna esse noverint amantissime doceant. Nec minus Nos omni cura praestituros confidite, quae vobis esse commodo scierimus, vestraeque securitati ac tranquillitati tam Nostra quam Christianorum principum ope conducere arbitramur. Vobis interim iter quod ingressi estis alacriter insistentibus aderit a coelo Dei virtus et Nos Nostram ac Sanctae huius Sedis benevolentiam deesse nullo pacto sinemus eademque nunc apostolicam vobis benedictionem quam largissime impertimur.

Datum Romae apud S (missing in register).

25.10.1683

Innocentii PP. XI Brev.: (Arch. Vat., *Epist. ad Princ.*, vol. 76, p. 20)

Venerabili fratri Iosepho Patriarchae Chaldaeorum Innocentius PP. XI

Venerabilis frater salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Ex literis fraternitatis Tuae et ex documentis ipsis a probato multaque predito virtute viro Bonaventura Ordinis Capuccinorum ad Urbem allatis magno cum animi Nostri gaudio cognovimus misisse te Catholicae Fidei professionem atque huic Sanctae Sedi ecclesiarum omnium matri ac magistrac obedientiam praestitisse; eam enim de pietate zeloque tuo opinionem gerimus, ut uberem Deo bene iuvante istis in regionibus messem, plane Nobis polliceamur. Illud vero persuasum habebis, nihil Nos praetermissuros quod ad pastorales conatus tuos iuvandos promovendosque conducere posse existimabimus. Age itaque, venerabilis frater, dignos ministerio, quod suscepisti, sensus indue, nec te deterreat certamen laborum quos subire necesse est, memor non esse repromissam in coelis coronam gloriae nisi legitime certantibus. Fraternitati interim tuae benevolentiae Nostrae testem Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter impertimur.

Datum Romae die 25 Octobris 1683.

18.2.1705

Dilecto Filio nobili viro Cosimo Etruriae sibi subiectae Magno Duci Clemens Papa XI

Dilecte Fili, nobilis vir, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quae de Aspahamensis ecclesiae statu sane luctuoso ac nefariis haereticorum praecipue vero Armenorum conatibus ad orthodoxam religionem in Perside penitus subvertendam Nobis pridem renunciavit venerabilis frater Elias episcopus Aspahamensis magnam profecto, ut par erat, in animum Nostrum sollicitudinem induxerunt. Illi propterea ea omnia subsidia ac officia quae reparandis Fidei damnis reique Christianae in illis partibus conservandae augendaeque consentanea visa sunt, quantum praesentium temporum calamitas tulit, benigne tribuimus, eumque modo ad ecclesiam suam revertentem Persarum Regi, cuius literas dudum ipse Nobis attulerat, amantissime commendavimus. Cum autem idem venerabilis frater plurimam fiduciam et iure quidem optimo in Nobilitatis Tuae pietate repositam habeat, etiam atque etiam a Te petimus ut cum ad Te venientem pro insita Tibi humanitate suscipias, illique ea omnia libenter praestes quae spectata prudentia Tua tum eidem antistiti, tum Catholicis in ea regione versantibus

profutura cognoverit, sperantes Nostra causa eo studiosius et effusius Te facturum, quod solius etiam religionis amore et charitatis stimulo certe fecisses. Et apostolicam benedictionem Nobilitati Tuae peramanter impertimur.

Datum Romae apud S^{um} Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die decima octava Februarii 1705 pontificatus Nostri anno quinto.

8.8.1670

Arch. Secr. Vat., Misc. Arm I, 17, p 343

Copia¹ epistolae Regis Angliae ad Regem Persiae

Carolus Dei gratia Magnae Britanniae Franciae et Hiberniae Rex, fidei Defensor serenissimo et potentissimo principi domino Soltan Sciah Abbas Han Persarum Medorum Armeniaeque Regi fratri et amico Nostro charissimo salutem et omnis prosperitatis incrementum.

Serenissime et potentissime princeps frater et amice charissime. Cum plurimi Europae monarchae in harum latore reverendo admirabili viro Arachiele archiepiscopo Armeniae summam prudentiae religionisque Nostrae Christianae studium singulare deprehenderint piaeque ejus conamina pro Ecclesia ritus sui in civitate Erivan dicanda litteris Serenitatem Vostram scriptis promovere sategerint, Nos operi tam laudabili bonoque publico deesse nolentes et Nostram quoque intercessionem apud Serenitatem Vostram haud parum ponderis habituram esse confisi praedictum spectabilem virum Serenitatis Vostrae favorem grate agnoscendi subditorum Nostrorum commercia in Serenitatis Vostrae dominiis habita ansam haud infrequentem Nobis sunt praebitura Nosque oblatas de Serenitate Vostra bene merendi occasiones cupide arripiemus. De cetero Serenitatem Vostram Dei opt. max. tutelae ex animo commendamus. Datum in Palatio Nostro de Whitehall octavo die Augusti 1670.

Serenitatis Vostrae

Bonus frater et amicus,

CAROLUS R.

¹ Copy corrupt

APPENDIX B

PERSIAN LETTERS FROM SHAHS OF PERSIA TO THE POPES

THE CORRESPONDENCE was by no means one-sided; but of these letters and replies from Persia only five have been traced in the present search in the Vatican Archives: they have been reproduced in facsimile in this book, and for the use of orientalists typewritten copies in Persian script have been made and are attached to this appendix.

Order of sequence year of in date issue	(i)	For translation or reference in this work see page
2 1603.	Shah 'Abbas I to Pope Clement VIII, undated, but presumably (seeing that the Pope's Brief of 24.2.1601 is stated to have reached Isfahan, and having regard to the persons named therein) to be assigned to about the end of 1603, or early in 1604—it concerns Fr. Costa and Miranda, and the arrival of the Augustinians, and mentions that it was being dispatched by Miranda and Bastam Quli Baig to Rome: in his Brief of 8.10.1605 Pope Paul V wrote of the receipt of this letter.	94
3 1603.	Shah 'Abbas I to Pope Clement VIII, undated, but presumably also to belong to 1603 or early 1604, as it also mentions the Portuguese Miranda. . . .	95
3a 1615.	Sept. Shah 'Abbas I's 'Farman' or Rescript for Fr. Redempt of the Cross to accompany Sir Robert Sherley on his second embassy to Pope Paul V and Spain, dated Ramazan 1024 A.H.	217
18 1673.	Shah Sulaiman to Pope Clement X, undated, but (from its mention of Fr. Franc. Piskop, O.P., having delivered the Brief to which it replied) presumably to be dated 1673 (Arch. Secr. Vat., A.A. Arm. I-XVIII, No. 761)	415
19 1684. or 1685 (?)	Shah Sulaiman to Pope Innocent XI, undated, but (from its mention of Archbishop Knab having delivered the Brief to which it replied) presumably to be dated 1684 or 1685: it cannot have been earlier than the date on the Persian seal, which is equivalent to 19.6.1683 (Arch. Vat., A.A. Arm. I-XVIII, No. 1737)	422
20 1685 (?)	Shah Sulaiman to Pope Innocent XI, undated, but perhaps also issued in 1684 or 1685, the Persian seal bearing a date equivalent to 19.6.1683; and it was in reply to the Pope's Brief of 26.8.1684 (Arch. Secr. Vat., A.A. Arm. I-XVIII, No. 1737a)	424

(ii)

Numerous other letters from the Shahs to the Popes are, however, indicated in correspondence cited in this book to have been issued, or to have reached Persia, but remain to be traced (if they still exist): it is surmised that they passed into the hands of various Cardinals, or were sought by orientalists of the time, and dilettanti. Including those extant (as above), they may be numbered in chronological order of issue:

1 1599.	Shah 'Abbas I had written to Pope Clement VIII: the Pope's reply of 2.5.1601 mentioned the receipt in Rome of a letter brought by Sir A. Sherley (who left Persia about March 1599) or Husain Ali Baig	82
4 1607 (in, or about).	Shah 'Abbas I wrote to Pope Paul V. In his Brief of 11.3.1608 the latter mentioned a letter from the Shah carried off by robbers from the Shah's messenger, John of Avila	134

Order of Probable
sequence year of
in date issue

For translation or
reference in this
work see page

- 5 1608 (January A.H. 1016). Shah 'Abbas wrote to Pope Paul V, who mentioned in his Brief of 16.10.1608 having received the Shah's letter brought by Fr. Paul Simon (who left Isfahan in February 1608): an Italian version exists . . . 131
- 6 1608 (in or about February-March). 'Abbas I gave a letter of credence for his envoy, Robert Sherley; an Italian version is given in Fondo Borghese, Ser. IV, n. 52 153
- 7 1609, July (two). Shah 'Abbas I to Pope Paul V. The latter's Brief of 22.6.1610 mentioned receipt of two letters from the Shah, brought by Fr. Vincent of S. Francis (issued in Persia about 23.7.1609) . . . 193
- 8 1609 (or early 1610). Shah 'Abbas I to Pope Paul V, who in his reply of 9.7.1610 mentioned a letter received in Rome brought by Khwajeh Safar of Julfa . . . 1287
- 9 1610. Shah 'Abbas I to Pope Paul V, who in his Brief in reply dated 12.9.1611 mentioned a letter received in Rome through the Spanish ambassador, forwarded from Portugal by the Shah's envoy, Jangiz Baig, who had brought it from Persia 203
- 10 1611 (January or February). Shah 'Abbas I to Pope Paul V, when dispatching as his envoy to Muscovy and European princes Fr. John Thadeus, who, however, did not get beyond Astrakhan, where he was detained three years: whether the Shah's letters were forwarded by some other hands from Astrakhan is not clear . . . 195
- 11 1613. Shah 'Abbas I sent to Pope Paul V by Fr. Benignus a 'bezoar' stone as a gift for the Pope (receipt of which was mentioned in the Pope's Brief of 16.7.1620, as well as "several letters" from the Shah) . . . 1292
- 11a. 1615 (c. September). In his Brief of 25.7.1619 Pope Paul V referred to a letter from Shah 'Abbas brought by Fr. Redempt, who left Isfahan September 1615 . . . 224
- 12 1618-9. Shah 'Abbas I to Pope Paul V. At an audience on 5.6.1621 Fr. Vincent of S. Francis, who had sailed from Italy in September 1620, presented Briefs from the Pope, *one in reply* to a letter which the Shah had written . . . 249
- 13 1622-3. Shah 'Abbas I to Pope Gregory XV, who in his Brief of 10.6.1623 referred to the envoy from the Shah who had already reached Rome and had handed a letter from 'Abbas I . . . 269
- 14 1627-8. Shah 'Abbas I to Pope Urban VIII, who in his Brief of 9.1.1633 mentioned a letter from 'Abbas I received in Rome, brought by Fr. John Thadeus (who had left Isfahan 2.11.1628) and who apparently went to see the Shah after May 1627 . . . 301
- 15 1629 (before August). Shah Safi to Pope Urban VIII. Fr. Dimas, writing 20.7.1629, mentioned he was forwarding to the Order a copy of the new Shah's letter in reply to that of Pope Urban of 9.3.1624 (which had been brought to Isfahan only in December 1628): in his Brief of 9.1.1633 Pope Urban also referred to "polite letters" written after the arrival of Frs. Dominic and Matthew in Isfahan, i.e. December 1628 . . . 309
- 16 1647 (after August). Shah 'Abbas II to Pope Innocent X. Fr. Ferdinand Gioerida, who had been sent to Persia with the Pope's Brief of 30.1.1646, took back a reply from 'Abbas II and presented it to the Pope (see letter in *S.R.*, vol. 135, p. 261). Perhaps this or a later missive is indicated in Pope Alexander VII's Brief of 19.11.1661: "that letter which not many years ago . . . you wrote 'to Innocent X. . .'" . . . 357
- 17 1670. Shah Sulaiman to Pope Clement IX—a letter mentioned in a Brief of Clement X dated 25.10.1672 as having been addressed to his predecessor (Clement IX died at the end of 1669, though the Persian Court may not have had the news by July 1670). It is probably that mentioned by the Carmelite Prior of Isfahan in a letter of 5.7.1670: "Fr. Antonio companion of the archbishop of 'Nakhchiwan is leaving at once for Rome and France with the replies of the 'king of Persia to His Holiness and the king of France, to the letters brought to the king of Persia by Monseigneur" (no doubt including that Brief of 26.5.1668). The archbishop was at Tabriz about to go to see the Shah in Isfahan, 7.11.1669. So Shah Sulaiman's letter would have been issued between the end of 1669 and June 1670 . . . 419

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For translation or
reference in this
work see page

- c. 1697. July. Shah Sultan Husain to Pope Innocent XII, in reply to that Pope's Brief of 28.1.1695, mentioned as being taken to Rome by Fr. Conrad, who left Isfahan in July 1697 483
1699. Shah Sultan Husain to Pope Innocent XII. The Shah's replies to the Papal Brief brought, and matters discussed by the Archbishop of Ancyra in Isfahan 1699, were carried to Rome by Bishop Elias of Isfahan, who left there in October 1699 and arrived in Rome, April 1702 501-3
1720. Shah Sultan Husain to Pope Clement XI. Bishop Fedeli of Isfahan wrote 1721. "Five months ago I handed to . . . the replies of the Shah which I received at Qazwin": and the Carmelite Fr. Faustin wrote, 20.5.1721, that the replies from the king (for His Holiness) had been lying in the Bishop's hands for more than a year. The Carmelite lay-brother who took them died in the desert of Arabia, but the letters were recovered and reached Rome safely: i.e. this letter from the Shah was issued probably early in 1720, if not earlier 557
- 1722 (January). Shah Sultan Husain to Pope Innocent XIII. Bishop Fedeli of Isfahan wrote 10.1.1722, describing how on 6.1.1722 in an audience a letter for the Sovereign Pontiff, and one for the Emperor were handed over to him. This reply was entrusted by the Bishop to a Polish Jesuit Father, who, however, did not actually leave Persia till 1725, and had not reached Leghorn by May 1727. This letter may never have reached Rome, for a Capuchin wrote (*S.N.R.*, III, p. 571) that three letters from the king of Persia—for the Pope, Emperor and king of France sent via Astrakhan near Moscow had been taken away from the messenger by order of the Senate 560
- 1739 (before June). Nadir Shah Afshar's son and viceroy during his campaign in India sent a reply to Pope Clement XII's Brief of 23.9.1737 627

SHAH 'ABBAS I TO POPE CLEMENT VIII, undated, but probably of 1603-4

(Vatican Library: on exhibition in the Sistine Gallery)

(Typewritten copy from the photograph of the original, which see p. 94)

حضرت روم پاپا

همیشه مسند سلطنت و دارای تخت سعادت بخت هدایت فرمان روائی ممالک
 فرنگستان بوجود کثیر الجود حضرت عالی رتبت رفیع منزلت سپهر مرتبت گیوان رفعت
 مشتری سعادت ناهید بهجت بهرام صولت فریدون خدمت سکندر صلاحت غصنف
 مهتاب پادشاه عالیجاه جوهرشید کلاه سهاره سهاره سرور سلاطین شوکت آئین عیسوی
 سلطان الفضلاء والرهابین والمسیحیه مسند نشین شریع عیسوی صاحب تکبیر سریر
 ملت نصاری مزین اورنگ عظمت و اقبال شایسته سریر فضل کمال مفسر آیات زیور و انجیل
 سزاوار شرایع معظم و تجلیل پادشاه ذی شوکت عالیشان فرمان فرمای ممالک فرنگستان
 مزین و محلی یاد بعد از تمهید قواعد محبت و دوستی و اظهار کمال مصادقت
 و یگانگی مروج رأی آفتاب انجلا و مشهود ضمیر منیر قمر اعتلا میگرداند که در این اوقات
 خجسته ساعات مکتوب محبت نشان و صحیفه مصادقت بنیان که بحسب ایلچیان
 فرخنده بیان اعلی فضیلت شمار عده الفضلاء المسیحیه فرنیس کوسه کشیش و سعادت
 عزت آثار دیاگو نرند بد پنجانب ارسال بودند در افر فرمان واسعد اران وارد گشته
 مضامین مودت ترین آن که مشعر بر اظهار محبت و دوستی ووداد و ناکید مراسیم
 خصوصیت و الفت و اتحاد بود خاطر نشان اشرف گشت و از فحوائی کتاب شریف و تفریر
 دلپذیر ایلچیان فصیح البیان چنین هلم گشت که دوستی و محبت ما در دل ایشان اثر
 کرده و اظهار این هنی که در مراسله نایب و صحیفه گرامی شده محض صدق و صدق
 محض است بر ضمیر منیر ظاهر است که در زمان پیش هرگز ماهه پادشاهان ایران و سلاطین
 فرنگستان طریقه بارگشت نبوده و باید یکر الفت و آشنائی ننموده اند بجهت آنکه
 دوستی ایشان در دل ما اثر کرده بود پیش از آنکه از جانب ایشان چاشمار شود و اظهار
 محبت و دوستی نمایند ثواب همایون ما باعث و بادی این امر شده فتح ابواب مراسله
 و دوستی کرده ایلچی بخند مت شریف فرستادیم حالا که ایشان از دل و جان دوست
 و مستند ما شده اظهار دوستی و محبت کرده اند ما نیز بیشتر از پیشتر دوست ایشانم
 و میخواهیم که همیشه میانه ما و حضرات پادشاهان فرنگیه قواعد الفت و آشنائی و روابط
 خصوصی و دوستی مری و مسلولک بوده باشد و روز بروز دوستی ما و ایشان زیاده گردد
 و همواره ابواب آید شد طبقه مسیحیه باین د یار هفتج بوده باشد و اینصنی بر ما ظاهر
 است که آن پادشاه عالیجاه بزرگ و سرور جمیع سلاطین مسیحیه اند بجهت فضل و کمال
 و شوکت و بزرگی که در میانه سلاطین فرنگیه دارند همگی پادشاهان مسیحیه آن سلطان
 مسند شریعت عیسوی را دوست میدارند و اطاعت مینمایند ما نیز بیشتر از ایشان آنحضرت
 را بزرگ میدانم و دوست اویم و اصلا از رضا و صلاح آنحضرت تجاوزی نذاریم و در اعزاز و احترام
 جماعت کمرستان و رعایت و مراقبت طبقه مسیحیه که بممالک محروسه تردد و آمد شد مینمایند
 دقیقه فروگذاشت نمیفرمایم و جماعت کمرستان که در بنوالات اند همگی بفرانغت خاطر در رساید

- ۲ -

خود بطاعت و عبادت حضرت پروردگار عالمیان مشغول اند و حرمت و عزت ایشان بیشتر از مردم خود مبادیم بحتمل که حقیقت این حال از تعارض و متروک بین فرنگیه بمنسج شریف رسیده باشد و ایلچی ایشان نیز که سلازمت عالی میرسد مهر و خن خواهد داشت که نواب همایون ما چه مقدار رعایت جانب مسیحیه میفرمائیم و در این اوقات کس به پادریان عظام اعتی قدوسی ارباب الملوك و الراهبین فرنونی و فرکلینو و فرج ران از جانب اعلیحضرت والا رتبت پادشاه جمجاه حورشید کلاه گردون بارگاه انجم سبها به بدینجانب آمده بودند مقدم ایشانرا عزیز و گرامی داشته آنچه لازمه اعزاز و احترام بود نسبت بدیشان سجای آوردیم و الحق ایشان بغایت سنجیده و سلوک ایشان پسندیده بود و آنچه قاعده و طریق دین و آداب کیش و آئین ایشان بود بنمای آورده در مراسم طاعت و عبادت بسیار مجد و ساعی در کمال رهد و بنداری و غایست صلاح و تقوی و پرهیزکاری بودند و چون از دنیا گذشته بودند هر چند تکلیف اسباب وجهبات دینائی بدیشان نمودیم و آنچه بایشان شفقت میکردیم اصلا قبول نکردند و فرنونی پادری را بارگور داند نزد امارت و شجاعت شمار سلطان البحار ابو زره حاکم گوره فرستادیم و فرکلینو و فرج ران در خدمت نواب همایون ما و منظور انظار شفقت و عاطفت اند چون قبل ازین ایلچی بخدمت شریف فرستاده ایم و شرح حالات اینجائی و قرار داد خاطر محبت تأثیر همایون ما و محبت و دوستی که با پادشاهان عظیم ایشان فرنگستان بخصیص آن پادشاه عالمجاه رفیع الشان داریم مصحوب ایلچی مذکور خدمت شریف اعلا نموده ایم و در زمانه محبت آئین انحضرت قلمی شده بود که هنوز ایلچی ما بخدمت ایشان نرسیده لهذا درینولا سعادت و عزت قلیب دیا رگو مرند را با اتفاق سمسادات امام بسطام قلی بیک که از ملازمان اعتمادی نواب همایونی ما است روانه ملازمت سامی گردانیدیم و مودة الفضلای فرنسیس کوسته کشیش در خدمت اشرف توقف دارد انشاء الله تعالی چون ایلچی ما که قبل از این فرستاده ایم معاودت نماید آنچه مصحوب او قلمی فرموده باشند و سفارش شده باشد بعمل آورده بعد از اطلاع برگاهای حالات و اوضاع انجائی و قرار داد خواطر حضرات سلاطین فرنگیه آنچه در هر باب مصلحت بوده باشد چنان فرموده کشیش مذکور را روانه خدمت شریف خواهیم فرمود مطلقا از رضا و صلاح ایشان تجاویز نداریم چون غرض مختصر بود زیاده اطناب نرفت عواید امرشان بخیر و خوی

دان فیلیپ
پادشاه
اسپانیه

SHAH 'ABBAS I TO POPE CLEMENT VIII, undated, but probably of 1603-4

(Vatican Library: on exhibition in the Sistine Gallery)

(Typewritten copy from the photograph of the original, which see p. 96)

هو الله سبحانه و تعالی

حضرت ریم پاپا

همیشه مسند رفیع سلطنت و کامکاری و سرپر عرش نظیر عظمت و شهر یاری
ممالک فرنگستان بوجود کثیر الحد اعلی حضرت والا رتبت رفیع منزلت مهلاً مرتبت گردد و ن
رفت ستاره حشمت غضنفر مهابت اسکندر صلاحت دارد رایت کیکاوس کیامت کسری
شجاعت پادشاه علیجاه ستاره سپاه خورشید کلاه سلطان الفلاخ و السلاطین المصحیه
مطلع السلام و الحوارین المیسویه شایسته سریر فضل و کمال برانده * اورنگ عظمت
واقبال سزاوار شرایع معظم و تبجیل هضر آیات ربور و انجیل خاتانی ذی شوکت عالیشان
فرمان فرمای ممالک فرنگستان جعل الله تعالی عواقبه حیرا مزین و محلی باد بهد
از اهدای قوافل محبت و دوستی و اظهار قواعد صداقت و یگانگی انبای رای مهر انجلا *
قر اعتلا میگرد اند که در این اوقات خجسته سلطنت سعادت و عزت آثاری دیا و گود
مزنده را که بدینجانب ارسال داشته بودند آمده * مکتوب محبت اسلوب آنحضرت را که
بشواب همایون ما تلقی نموده بودند رمل نند از ورود آن نامه * نامی که منشتمل
بر اظهار محبت و خصوصیت بود بسیار بسیار خوشحال و فرحناک شدیم و ایلمی آن حضرت
را اعزاز و احترام تمام نموده از این همنی که آن حضرت دوست ما شده بشایت القایت
مستج و شادمان گشتیم و ما نیز ایلمی همراه مشارالیه نموده بحضرت آن حضرت
فرستادیم و شرح حال و محبت و دوستی که نواب همایون ما را به سلاطین عظم
الشان فرنگیه هست در مکتوب علیحده نوشته و مصحوب ایلمی خود ارسال داشته ایم *
در زمان قدیم هرگز در ممانه * پادشاهان ایران و سلاطین فرنگستان طریقه * الفت
و آشنائی و بازگشت نبوده الحمد لله که در زمان ما و ایشان این همنی وقوع یافته
و ذات همایون ما باعث وادی الفت و آشنائی گشته پیش از آنکه آن پادشاه عالیجاه
ایلمی و نامه * فرستد ما ایلمی بحضرت فرستاده نامه نوشته اظهار محبت و دوستی
کرده بودیم درینولا که ایلمی و نامه از جانب آن حضرت رسید سرور و خوشحال
گشته پیش از پیش طریقه * محبت و دوستی مرغی و میلوک میداریم و میخواهیم که
روز بروز دوستی ما و ایشان زیاده شود و ایلمیان ایشان وادریان اعظم اکرم که
از جانب اعلی حضرت والا مرتبت پادشاه جمجاه خورشید کلاه فریدون بارگاه دان
قلب پادشاه اسپانیه باینجانب آمده بودند ملاحظه نمودند که نواب همایون ما
چه مقدار رعایت جانب جماعت کرستان و طبقه * مسیحیه میناثیم و جماعت کرستان
که در اینولا میت از همگی فراغت خاطر در هابید خود بطاعت و عبادت اشتغال دارند
و میخواهیم که طبقه * مسیحیه بتخصیص مردم آن ولایت همیشه باین دیار آمد
و شد مینوده باشند و چون آن پادشاه عالیجاه در ممانه * سلاطین عظم الشان فرنگیه
بزمیر فضل و کمال آراسته است از اینجهت جمیع سلاطین فرنگیه آن حضرت را بزرگ

- ۲ -

داشته دوست میدارند ما نیز زیاده از ایشان آن حضرت را دوست میداریم
 و بزرگ دانسته از رضا و صلاح آن حضرت تجاویز نداریم و ظیفه * محبت و وداد
 آنست که همیشه این شیوه * مرضیه را موعظه می و مصلوک داشته طریقه * آمد
 و شد بعمل آورند و ریاضت موافقت و دوستی را بررورد مکاتیب محبت آموز تـا زه
 و سر صبر گردانیده به اشارات و بشارات مسرور و شادمان گردانند چون عرض
 محصر بود زیاده اطناب نرفت عواقب امور بخیر و خوبی مقرون و سرپر د و لست
 و اقبال بذات حمیده صفات فرین و مشحون باد *

SHAH 'ABBAS I's 'Farman', i.e. Rescript, for Fr. Redempt of the Cross to accompany
Sir Robert Sherley on his second embassy—to Pope Paul V and Spain, dated
Ramazan 1024 A.H. = Sept. 1615

(from the Archives of the Generalate of the Carmelite Order, Rome)

(Typewritten copy of the original, photographed, see fronting p. 217)

الملك لله

فرمان همیون شد آنکه بنویس پادشاه عظام کرام عندنی الزهاد
انمسیحیه پادری جوان و پادری ردemptor از جانب فرنگستان بخد مت نواب هماهون
اعلی آمده درین دیار بودند و درینولا عزتکاب بهگراده اعظم دین و بروت شهرلی
را برسم رسالت و ایلیگری بحانب فرنگستان و خد مت سلاطین رنج الشان فرنگ
فرستادیم مقرر فرمودیم که پادری اعظم پادری جوان رفیق خود پادری ردemptor را بهبیت
اعتماد همراه بهگراده مذکور نماید که با اتفاق بحد مخصصات پادشاهان فرنگ رفته
از جانب نواب هماهون ما ابلاغ رسالت نمایند و خود در این صوبه در خدمت
اشرف بوده باشد و مشارالیه حسب الامر اعلی پادری ردemptor را همراه بهگراده مذکور
گردد روانه نمود و پادری جوان را ما در اینجا نگاه داشته ایم من باید که پادری
مزبور هر جا و هر ولایه ار قلمرو هماهون ما وارد گردد حکام کرام و داروگان و مردم
آن ولایت مقدم او را گزافی داشته کمال عزت و حرمت بخدیم رسانند و در باب قدغی
مباحی از فرموده تحلف نوزند و در عهد دانهسته تقصیر نمایند تحریرافس
شهر رمضان المبارک سنة ۱۰۲۴

In the circle:-

بنده شاه ولایت عباس

۹۹۹

Around it:-

والصالحين
اللهم صل على النبي والولي والبتول والسبطین والسجاد والهاضر والكاظم
والرضا والتقي والمكرم والمهدي .

SHAH SULAIMAN TO POPE INNOCENT XI, undated (about 1673-5), seal dated
Muslim year 1078 A.H. = A.D. 1667-8 (Arch. Sec. Vat., Arm. A.A., I-XVIII, 761)
(For photograph see fronting p. 415)

جلالا للسلطنة والجلاله والحشمة والشوكه والشهامة والفضيلة والافاضة والعسز
والامتنان كلنص باهای د هم

مکاتیب محبت اسالیب عالیحضرت مملی منزلت والا مرتب ولاطون فطنت ارسطو فطرت
د انش یزوه صاحب شکوه سلطنت وجلالتما ب حشمت وابهت قباب شوکت ونصفت انتصاب
فصائل وکمالات اکتساب جامع نشأتیں فصل واقبال حاوی حالتیں مجد کمال عاج مدایح
مضیلت وجلالت صاعد مصارج شهامت وسمالت خمرو بلند افسر عالی مقام پاد شاه صاحب
کلاه عظیم الاحترام رافع رایت دولت وکامکاری جالس سریر شوکت ونامداری بخندیم اعظام
السلطین المعصومیة متبع افایم الخواصین المسیحیة در بهترین وقتی که یاری بساری
تمالی شایسته المتعال ^{ببروری} عظمت واقبال هدم الزوال ابواب کامیابی وکامرانی بر رخسار
آمال وامانی کشاده اسباب مسرت وشادمانی از هر جهت مهیا وآماده بود بصحب
زیده الاشیاء والامثال فریچک ^{بیک} سبب از دیاد دوستی وارتباط ویاخت تراضی
حبور وانسجام گردد اشعاری که در باب سفارش ومطالب پادری از ارباب پادری انتونیا
وسایر حکیشان آنوالا شان ونصاری سکنه ولایت آذربایجان مرقم خامه * موالات شده بود
چنانچه اقتضا رای ملکه آرا ورضای آن زینت بخش مسند عزت واعلا بود قرر فرمود بسم
که بیکریکمان عظام واما ووزرا ولتکام ملکات آذربایجان در باره * ایشان بعمل آورند
واحدهی بخلاف حکم وحساب مزاحمت بحال ایشان نرسانند در هر باب امداد واعانت
انجامت بقدمهم بنقدیم رسانند آنوالا جاء همواره این شوه * پسندیده را مرفعی
داشته اعلام حقایق حالات واطهار مقاصد ومهمات که در منصب صواب داشته باشند
محرک سلسله * دوستی وموالات وفتح ابواب ^{بریت} ~~موفقیت~~ وضافات میبده باشند که همت
علای پادشاهانه بحصول آن مصروف ومطوف گردد امام سلطنت وجلالت ونصیلت واقبال
یماناد *

Seal I

On the upper portion of the seal

الله محمد علی

Underneath it: یا امام حسن

Inside the circle:-

بنده * شاه دین سلیمان است
۱۰۷۸

Around the circle:-

گر کند بد رقه * لطف تو همراهی ما

چرخ بردوش کشد غاشیه * شاهی ما

In the middle of the last inscription:-

یا امام حسین

SHAH SULAIMAN TO POPE INNOCENT XI, undated (about 1683-5)—seal dated
Muslim year 1091 A.H.=A.D. 1680-1 (Arch. Sec. Vat., A.A. Arm. I-XVIII, No. 737)
(For photograph see p. 422)

هر المملطنة والحشمة والنصبة والشوكة والهدنة والفصلة والبسالة والافادة والاماعة
والكمال انسينوس پاپای یارد هم

رقبه شریعه محبت فرا ورسوله منجیه مؤلف انتمای عالیحضرت متعالی مرتبت سامسی
منزلت بلند فطرت ناهید بهجت فلاتون حصلت ارمضو نطنت گوهر آید ار همدن فصل
وانصال در شاهوار دج سلطنت وجلال نور حد یقه جلالت و سر بلند ی نور حد قسه
شهل متحر و ارجندی راتی مد اچ بهنش و ذکا عاج هاج دانش واعتلا پادشاه
والاحاء حورشید کلاه حسرو فریدون شکوه وارا جاء خطه جمشید مقام رشم صولت
کسری احترام باسط بساط ابهت و بسالت جالس سریر نصفت نخامت ملاذ اعظم الحوائسین
المصطفی هاد افاجم السلاطین المسیحیة در هنگایی که ایوب عشرت و انبساط بر رحصار
نواب هما یون باز واسباب شوکت وعظمت بمعنائت د اور همچون مهیا وساز بود مصحوب
ریس الاشاه سباستون کتاب شرف یاب عز وورد ووصول گردید آنچه در باب جسد الی
با سلطان روم مرقم نموده بودند چنانچه کمر بهاد شاهان فرنگ و روس اعلام شده چون
د بروین وزمانی د ورود رازاست که این خانواد هدلت رسوم با پادشاه آن مرزو بمسم
صلح نموده اند و در این مدت متعادی از ان حایب امری ثنائی بمشهور نرسیده در بنوقت
ارتکاب المراتب خلاف ضای بهیمتا ومخالف فرموده حصرت ودر عقد تصویق و مسوقوب
بمسوقت خود است آن حسرو صاحب کلاه بدام سالک و سالک اتحاد بوده حقایق حالات
را با مظلایی که داشته باشد اعلام نماید که ارکس عز وجلال وموقف حشمت واقبال
امر قضا بها بانجاح واسعاف آن احسا واجرا یابد باقی اهام سلطنت وابهت
وعظمت وشوکت وجلالت باد .

Seal II

On the upper portion

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

Inside the circle:-

سولیمان بنده شاه ولایت
۱۰۹۱

Around the circle:-

اللهم صل على محمد المصطفى وفاطمة الزهراء وعلى المرتضى والحسن والحسين
وعلى ومحمد الباقر وجعفر الصادق وموسى الكاظم وعلى الرضا ومحمد التقي وعلى
النبي والحسن العسكري والحجة والمهدي صاحب الزمان .

SHAH SULAIMAN TO POPE INNOCENT XI, undated (about 1685-6)—seal dated Muslim
year 1091 A.H = A.D. 1680-1 (Arch. Sec. Vat., A.A Arm. I-XVIII, No. 1737a)
(For photograph see p. 424)

جلالاً للسلطنة والعظمة والحشمة والنسبة والشهامة والبسالة والفصيلة والافادة
والافاضة والاقبال انسنوس باپای یازد هم

عالم حضرت مجلس رتبت عطار د فطنت برجیس منزلت مشتری صمادت عالم مقام کیوان احتشام
سلطنت و جلالت پناه حشمت و نصفت دستگاه عظمت و شوکت انتباه شهامت بمسالبت اکتنا ه
فصائل مآب دقایق کیش همار اکتساب حقوق اندیش حد یو خورشید صمیر کوه و قمار
و شهریار کامکار رفیع مقدار در درخشان درج دولت و اقبال احقر رخشان برج فصیلت
و افضال مرزنده جراع برتری فرازند رایت سروری مستخدم حواقیص صاحب نگین عیسریه
دنیج سلاطین باغز و تنکین مسحبه را بعد از انبیا لوازم محب و الفت و اظهار مبرات
صد اقت و خلعت مرفوح رأی قمر صیای مهر انجلا و کشف صمیر خورشید نظیر مودت انتما
میکرد اند که کتاب دوستی انتساب آن ابهت و جلالت قبال مصحوب سفیر نغز گشتار
حجسته مقال سلیمان ایلی پادشاه و الاجاه له عز و رود حاصل و بانجم بهشت نشا ر
شاهی واصل گردید ایما نموده بودند که کسان آنمالیکان را مرخص فرمایم که در الکا
شهر و ان منازل جهة سکنی مترددین دیار آن خسرو صاحب اقتدار عمارت نمایند مامول
آن زمینده بر سر عزت و تنکین بشرف حصول قرین ^{ویدم} قضااضای قدر اقتدار در آن
باب شرف اصدار یافت پیوسته در استحکام بنیان دوستی و یکجبهتی کوشیده مطالب
و مقاصدی که درین صوب صواب داشته باشند اعلام نمایند که توجه خدیوانه بحصول
آن موصول گردد اختر اقبال برضای ایزد متصل بیری از وصال باد

APPENDIX C

THE SHARIMAN FAMILY OF JULFA, VENICE AND LEGHORN, LEADING ARMENIAN CATHOLICS OF THE ORIGINAL COMMUNITY IN JULFA

THE EARLIEST mentions in the letters preserved in the archives of the Sacr. Congregation de Propaganda Fide call members of this family 'sons of Sarrat *or* Shariman': afterwards only the latter name is used.

Largely or altogether owing to pressing recommendations for some such privilege by Bishop Elias of S. Albert of Isfahan, the Shariman brothers were enrolled by Pope Innocent XII in 1696 in the citizenship of Rome, and granted freedom of the ports of Rome and Ancona (see Bishop Elias' letter of 28.6.1697, in *S.N.R.*, II, p. 78, alluding to that enrolment and grant as already given and operating). In 1699 the Emperor Leopold granted the family the title of 'Counts' of Hungary, a title confirmed by the Emperor Francis I by a decree of 24.7.1817. In 1736 the family was made a member of the nobility of Orvieto: in 1740 of that of Spoleto: in 1742 of that of Viterbo: in 1749 of that of Perugia: in 1751 of that of Macerata:

On 15.11.1646 (see *S.R.*, vol. 65, p. 330) Khwajeh Sarrat made a profession of Catholic Faith: to Fr. Elias of S. Albert's letter of 21.10.1685 (*S.R.*, vol. 495) there is attached a declaration of Faith signed in Armenian script, and made 31.3.1685, by eleven members of the family. Fr. Felix of S. Antony, 2.11.1671 (*O.C.D.* 238 p.) referred to Khwajeh Zakharia. The successive generations will be indicated below with capital letters, A, B, C, etc.:

- A.1. *Khwajeh Zakharia*. He is specified in the letter of Fr. Elias, 16.1.1688, *S.N.R.*, II, p. 403, as "the eldest of the five brothers about 65 years old", i.e. born about 1623, perhaps the son of nephew of the Khwajeh Sarrat above-mentioned.
- B.1. Of Khwajeh Zakharia, who before his death divided his possessions among his children; one daughter is cited, married to 'Agazar' before 21.3.1685 (see *S.R.*, vol. 495): and
- B.2. One of the youths named Basil studying at the Urban College, Rome, at the same time as a cousin also named Basil, and named by Bishop Elias in his letter of 15.9.1697 (*S.N.R.*, II, p. 198) was a son of Khwajeh Zakharia.
- A.2. *Khwajeh Markar*, "second of the five brothers" (see Fr. Elias' letter, 10.8.1694, also on 10.10.1694) had lent 200,000 ducats to the Republic of Venice, and offered a "very fine "house" in Julfa for an episcopal residence, promising also to maintain two or three missionaries at Julfa, 24.9.1691. He it was who played such a courageous part in opposing the schismatics in July 1694, when they had the Carmelites expelled from Julfa, as told in the main story: and he bore the expense of the enlargement of the church of the Jesuits at Julfa. Named by Fr. Basil of S. Charles and others as having become a renegade to Islam, "having "been really persecuted to pay an immense sum", 10.12.1699 (*S.R.*, vol. 588, p. 407). Mgr Peter of Alcantara of S. Teresa in a letter of 2.9.1706 (see *S.R.*, vol. 560, p. 228) alluded to Khwajeh Markar as having paid the Carmelites punctually for 15 years rent of the 'hammam' before he became a renegade. Then he retired to Venice, whence later he had "sent 50 sequins providentially for the Capuchins of Isfahan" (so presumably his adoption of Islam was not permanent). On 25.2.1708 (*S.N.R.*, III, p. 33) the Nuncio at Venice wrote to the Sacr. Congregation that he had renewed pressure on the Sharimans at Venice, *especially Markar*, to continue their promised financial assistance to the missionaries. In *S.N.R.*, III, p. 372, there is a letter signed by Markar Shariman, written from Venice, dated 19.4.1710.
- B.3. An elder son of Khwajeh Markar, dead by 1691, had left in his will a 'hammam', i.e. Persian vapour bath, to endow the Residence of the Carmelites (or a house for a bishop) at Julfa, which brought in 90 scudi annually as rent.

- B.4. Khwajeh Markar had also a son, *Emmanuel*. "His son must be a Muhammadan at the "death of his father, in order to obtain his father's money. These boys had been instructed "by Bishop Elias" (see letter of Fr. Antonio d'Esterro, Augustinian Prior, and Vicar General, dated 5.7.1700, *S.N.R.*, II, p. 372).

Emmanuel is stated as son of Markar by Fr. Basil of S. Charles, 13.9.1707 (*S.N.R.*, II, p. 504): mentioned as being still at Julfa, 2.9.1706 (*S.R.*, vol. 560, p. 238) by Fr. Peter of Alcantara, and as refusing for 5 years previously to pay the Carmelites rent of the 'hammam'; on 18.9.1714 as still declining to pay it (see Fr. Jerome of S. Francis, *S.N.R.*, III, p. 70). He was made secretary of the embassy sent from Persia to the Porte by Shah Ashraf the Afghan in 1725 (see the letter of 14.10.1725 from Bishop Fedeli of Isfahan): and Fr. du Cerceau's recension of the *Memoirs* of Fr. Krusinski, S.J., refers to his part in that mission. Evidently he had ceased to reside in Julfa by 1738, for the diary of the Carmelite mission at Aleppo, reproduced in *Études Carmelitaines* for January 1925, p. 162, had under 8.12.1738:

"The heretic Armenian patriarch, having come to look for money for his wants, and "getting none from the Catholic Armenians, went off to return to Armenia, but left a "letter for the Pasha" (of Aleppo) "giving names of all the Catholics. The following "Sunday, 15.12.1738, all the churches were watched by spies . . . at the Mass were "many Armenian gentlemen from Julfa, among them *Count Emmanuel Shariman* and his "son. . . ."

The *Acta* of the Sacr. Congregation de Prop. Fide on 11.5.1778, p. 133, refer to the "late "Emmanuel Shariman, an inhabitant of Venice" and to money owed by the brothers Shariman, for which they were in liquidation, as being "a debt of Emmanuel, their father".

- B.5. *Adeodatus* is named (by Bishop Barnabas Fedeli, *S.N.R.*, III, p. 546 *et seq.*) as brother of Emmanuel, and at Venice, 6.11.1727.
- C.1. The *Acta* of 1.12.1778 speak of a legacy which the Sacr. Congregation has to collect from the "Counts Shariman at Venice", so presumably sons of Emmanuel.
- A.3. *Khwajeh Michael*, i.e. Mauqil, "the third" Sarraf-Shariman brother, so given, 28.6.1697, by Bishop Elias (*S.N.R.*, II, p. 178), when two of his sons were proceeding from Julfa to Rome. At the same time as his brother Markar he became a renegade from Catholicism to Islam, having been

"really persecuted to pay an immense sum to a miserable Armenian renegade", 10.12.1699 (see *S.R.*, vol. 538, p. 407). "There is nothing to be hoped of the two Shariman who "became Muhammadans in December,"

wrote the Vicar General, Fr. Antonio d'Esterro.

- B.6. His son, *Aqa Aviat*, was bearer of a letter of recommendation by Bishop Elias, 28.6.1697 (see *S.N.R.*, II, p. 178), who also on 27.4.1697 had recommended him and two elder brothers (already in Rome?), for whom their father, Michael, expressed gratitude.
- B.7. 'Count' *Wali Jan*, mentioned as at Leghorn in 1705 (Bishop Elias' letter of 16.7.1705, *S.N.R.*, II, p. 469).
- B.8. 'Count' *David*, son of Michael Shariman, at Leghorn in 1705 (see his letter of 7.9.1705, *S.N.R.*, II, p. 473): mentioned as at Leghorn in 1727 in letter of Bishop Barnabas, O.P., 17.11.1727, *S.N.R.*, III, p. 546, and it was his brothers who were mainly instrumental in providing money to ward off attacks by schismatics during the Afghan régime. Count David wrote from Leghorn, 2.6.1727 (*S.N.R.*, III, p. 605), and again 22.3.1728 to the Sacr. Cong. de Prop. Fide for assistance to be given to Catholics at Isfahan (*S.N.R.*, IV, p. 529). In a letter of Fr. Sebastian of S. Margaret, 16.8.1747 (*S.N.R.*, V, p. 201) he is named as brother of
- B.9. 'Count Aratun', born about 1687, of Julfa (see *S.N.R.*, V, p. 260). He arrived from Italy at Julfa, 27.1.1714 (see Fr. Barnabas, O.P., *S.N.R.*, III, p. 436): was "in Julfa, brother of "Count David at Leghorn", on 28.11.1721 (letter of Bishop Barnabas, *S.N.R.*, III, p. 522): and again mentioned on 26.3.1722 and in October 1722 by the Bishop (*S.N.R.*, V, p. 531). The "Aratun" (Alexander, Stephan, Bartholomew and Gregory) "of the noble family of "Shariman leaving Julfa for Italy", mentioned on 8.2.1717 in a letter of Bishop Barnabas (*S.N.R.*, III, p. 597) may not have referred to him, possibly to a son.

He was burnt alive in the Maidan of Isfahan by order of Nadir Shah, after having one eye gouged out, in 1747, "a sexagenarian" (see letter of Fr. Sebastian, 16.8.1747, *S.N.R.*, V, p. 201), as also an account in *S.N.R.*, V, p. 260.

- C.2. Count *John Stephen Shariman*—perhaps a son of Aratun, and that "Stephen" mentioned under B.9, as leaving Julfa for Italy together with four others (Bishop Barnabas, 8.2.1727)—in 1755 from Venice petitioned the Pope on behalf of his nephews, Michael, son of John, and Gregory, son of Peter, "students in the College of the Jesuits at Prati in Tuscany, where "they were already clothed in clerical garb". He referred to the decline of our House as regards the senior descendants of Michael, "my grandfather", and asked for some 'abbeys in Venetian territory, at disposal by the death of Card. Quarini, for which "these youths "are qualified, no less than if they had been Venetians, we having been always considered "such by the Most Serene Republic".

"Khatun," wife of Count *John Shariman*, was still residing in Julfa, 5.10.1764 (see letter of Fr. de Bernardis, O.P., *S.N.R.*, VII, p. 312).

- B.10. *Leo*, at Julfa in 1747 (see *S.N.R.*, V, p. 260).

- B.11. *Peter Leopold* at Julfa (see *S.N.R.*, V, p. 260). A Peter Shariman from Leghorn wrote, 19.10.1717, to the Cardinal Prefect de Prop. Fide, referring to payments through his brother in Isfahan to Mgr Barnabas (*S.R.*, vol. 603, p. 531); from Leghorn on 17.5.1719 he wrote to send 1,000 scudi for Bishop Barnabas (*S.N.R.*, III, p. 483). Mentioned by Fr. Sebastian as at Julfa, 16.8.1747, and brother of 'Counts' David and Aratun and Leo: he escaped when Nadir Shah wanted to arrest and kill him as well as Aratun. One of those present when Bishop Philip Mary of Isfahan made his will, 18.8.1749 (*S.R.*, vol. 747, p. 87).

- A.4. *Khwajeh Gaspar Shariman*, the fourth brother (see *S.R.*, vol. 420, p. 123): he was living at Leghorn, Italy (see *S.R.*, vol. 421, p. 354, and vol. 422, p. 168) when in 1669 he applied to the Sac. Congregation for Armenian books to be printed, also offering 500 pieces of eight for the Armenian community at Leghorn, the money brought to Rome and invested, for two Dominican Fathers, priests, sent to Leghorn, one being Fr. Sebastian Knab, O.P., to officiate for the Armenians there. Also, 20.5.1672 (*S.R.*, vol. 433, p. 152) he wrote a letter from Venice regarding books in the Armenian language. Gaspar Shariman furnished nearly all the money for the purchase of the Dominican House at Julfa (see letter of Fr. John Bartholomew, O.P., 5.10.1696, *S.N.R.*, II): in 1697 he had to pay 150 Tumans following trouble stirred up by the Kalantar Lucas over the inheritance of a nephew (see Bishop Elias, 15.4.1697, *S.N.R.*, II, p. 200). Gaspar had five sons (see letter of 10.10.1694, *S.N.R.*, II, p. 414): he was still, or again, in Europe (see *S.N.R.*, II, p. 504), when Fr. Basil of S. Charles wrote to his son,

- B.13. *Basil*, or Barseig, in Rome that his sister, daughter of Gaspar, left alone at Isfahan, wanted her father's permission to join them in Italy. Basil, son of Gaspar, had written a letter to his sister saying that he had been raised to the priesthood (1707), see *S.N.R.*, II, p. 504.

This was almost certainly the same Basil, on behalf of whom, as he was leaving Julfa for Rome, a letter was written to the Sac. Congregation, 26.9.1692, by Bishop Pidou of Baghdad, asking for him to be admitted to the Urban College (*S.N.R.*, II), and who was also mentioned by Fr. Hyacinth David, O.P., 1.11.1692 (*S.N.R.*, II, p. 214). Allusion to progress in his studies made by Bishop Elias, 15.9.1697 (*S.R.*, II, p. 198), when his cousin, also named Basil (see B.2) simultaneously was at the College. It was presumably this 'Abbate' Shariman, who had complained to the Sac. Congregation of the sharpness with which a Carmelite Father had written to him regarding the 'hammam' at Julfa, assigned to the Julfa mission of the Carmelites (*S.R.*, vol. 563, p. 404): and to whom Fr. Sebastian of S. Margaret, writing from Julfa, 15.12.1749 (*S.R.*, vol. 474, p. 89) referred as "Monsignor Basil Shariman, bishop "of some town in the Romagna, first cousin of Counts David and Peter Leopold". He also was indicated as having been previously, in 1714, put forward by the Republic of Venice for a vacancy among the Auditors of the Sac. Roman Rota (see the letter of Count John Stephen in 1755?).

- B.12. *Stephen*, given as an 'elder brother' of Basil, son of Gaspar, and as going to Rome, bearer of a letter (see 4.7.1695, Fr. Elias, *S.N.R.*, II, p. 146).

- B.14. *Athanasius* is mentioned in the letter of Fr. John Bartholomew, O.P., from Isfahan, 29.1.1697, as among his scholars in the Dominican school at Julfa, and a younger son of Gaspar with

- B.15. *Laurence*, another brother.

- A.5. *Khwajeh Murad Shariman*, "the youngest of the five brothers, 50 years old already", wrote Fr. Elias, 16.1.1688 (*S.N.R.*, I, p. 493), i.e. he was born about 1638. Mgr F. Picquet, Bishop of Baghdad, had deposited in 1695 13,090 piastres with Khwajeh Murad, who in the records of the East India Company, London, is given as a writer of letters to, and recipient of others from their Factors at Gambrun.
- B.16. *Shariman*. On 24.11.1695 a letter from the Nuncio in Vienna to the Secretary of the Sacr. Congregation (*S.N.R.*, II, p. 151) referred to Shariman (and Nazar), sons of Murad: the Sacr. Cong. had recommended them to him, and he had particularly aided them in the matter of a loan of 90,000 ducats they had made to the Republic of Venice. On 22.7.1697 these two brothers wrote from Venice to the Cardinal Prefect of the Sacr. Cong., expressing regret at failure of representations by the Nuncio in Paris to obtain recovery of their two bales of silk (*S.N.R.*, II, p. 191). He is mentioned on 30.10.1706 by Fr. Peter Martyr, O.P., as having built a house for the Dominicans at Julfa (*S.R.*, vol. 559, p. 549). From Isfahan he sent respectful greetings to the Cardinal Prefect (*S.N.R.*, III, p. 427) on 14.10.1713 with letter of Fr. Cherubin forwarded to Rome via Venice.
- Mentioned as his elder brother in the will of Nazar Shariman, 16.7.1714 (*S.R.*, vol. 603, p. 20).
- B.17. *John Baptist*, according to a letter from the Secretary of the Sacr. Cong. de Prop. Fide, 24.6.1699 (*S.N.R.*, II, p. 277), was admitted as a boarder in the Urban College, Rome, with the usual oath being taken by special favour asked of the Pope. Perhaps the 'John' Shariman mentioned in a letter from Fr. Peter Martyr, O.P., 12.3.1706 (*S.N.R.*, II, p. 481) as having brought back from Rome a painting of the Virgin, to give to the Dominican church at Julfa, and the 'John' named in the will of Nazar, 16.7.1714, as "my elder brother" (*S.R.*, vol. 603, p. 20).
- B.18. *Nazar*. On 24.11.1695 a letter from the Nuncio in Venice to the Secretary of the Sacr. Cong. referred to Nazar (and Shariman), sons of Murad, stating that the Sacr. Congregation had recommended them to him, and he had particularly aided them in the matter of a loan of 90,000 ducats they had made to the Republic of Venice. On 22.7.1697 with his brother Shariman he wrote from Venice to the Cardinal Prefect about 2 bales of silk belonging to them in France, and the tax on them. Writing from Rome, 24.6.1699 (*S.N.R.*, II, p. 273) to Fr. John Bartholomew, O.P., at Julfa the Secretary to the Sacr. Cong. spoke of 'Count' Nazar as having just left Rome, after a stay of several months, for Florence and Venice, with the intention of returning to Persia, and praised his goodness and piety, having helped him as far as possible. Mentioned as present with his brother Sarrat at the Corpus Christi procession in the Armenian church, 18.6.1702 (see letter of Fr. Peter Martyr, O.P., 27.7.1702, *S.N.R.*, II, p. 429), and by the same Dominican Religious on 30.10.1709 (*S.R.*, vol. 559, p. 549) as having added a wing to the House of the Dominicans, which his brother, Count Shariman, had built for them, and made a covered way between the two parts. On 20.5.1708 he is mentioned as about to leave for Europe in a letter of Fr. Basil of S. Charles (O.C.D. 238 u.): on 2.4.1709 (*S.R.*, vol. 573, p. 48) there is a 'certificate' by the Carmelite Fr. Hugo of S. Dionysius that together with his whole family he not only professed the Catholic religion to very great edification, but also was "as it were, its support and main pillar in these parts". "Really a good Catholic" (Fr. Barnabas, O.P., 2.8.1713): on 6.4.1714 (*S.N.R.*, III, p. 452) this Dominican had drawn a bill on him. Fr. Barnabas Fedeli, O.P., on 19.5.1715 (*S.N.R.*, III, p. 457) wrote: "Our good Mr. Nazar Shariman is dead, and has left 2,000 Tumans to satisfy the usury he had employed in some contracts." His will was dated 16.9.1714 (see *S.R.*, vol. 603, p. 20).
- B.19. *Sarrat*, according to the letter of 27.4.1697 (*S.N.R.*, II, p. 186) from Bishop Elias, was taking to Rome the reply from the Shah to the letter written by the Pope requesting the readmission of the Carmelites to Julfa. On 18.6.1702 he had been present at the Corpus Christi procession at the Dominican church in Julfa (Fr. Peter Martyr, O.P., 27.7.1702, *S.N.R.*, II, p. 429). "He left Venice for his native country 2½ years ago," occurred in a letter of 1.4.1713 (*S.N.R.*, III, p. 412) by Peter Shariman: "this week we received news of his death "in Isfahan ten months ago", i.e. in 1712.
- B.20. *Stephen*, mentioned as of Venice, in 1713-14 (*S.R.*, vol. 600, p. 265). A Stephen Shariman was mentioned as leaving Isfahan for Italy by Bishop Barnabas, 8.2.1727 (*S.N.R.*, III, p. 597).
- B.21. *Peter* wrote on 1.4.1713 to the Cardinal Prefect from Venice: "among the most devoted servants of Your Eminence was Mr. Sarrat, my brother" (*S.N.R.*, III, p. 412).

A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia

Possibly descendants of A.1 were *Joseph* Shariman, sons of Bagrad and *Zakharia* Shariman

“two brothers of a branch of the Shariman, very rich merchants, who both three years ago
“(1764) within a year of each other died in Bengal, leaving by their wills, as they had no
“heirs, the sum of 100,000 rupees (=500,000 scudi) to the convent of S. Lazzaro of the
“Armenian monks at Venice for the benefit of Catholics, and the conversion of heretics of
“their race” (Bishop Cornelius, 15.10.1767, Bushire, see *S.N.R.*, VIII, p. 466).

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(References to Carmelites under the separate biographical notices of each are not here repeated, as their names are to be found in alphabetical order on pp. 782-785 at the beginning of Part III, nor are details relating to the founding, buildings and story of each Convent and Residence, as these are to be read in extenso in Part IV under the separate head of each establishment: in the case of both Parts III and IV considerable quotations from the same material as that in Part I have had necessarily to be made in order to complete the facts known about each Religious and the vicissitudes of each Residence. Religious named without initials (S.F., O.P., O.S.A., etc.) after their names are Carmelites.)

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